

New England's Salamander Discovered

By an irreligious and scornful
Pamphlet, called *New England's Jonas*
cast up at London, etc. Owned by Major John
Childe, but not probable to be written by him.

OR,

A satisfactory answer to many aspersions
cast upon New England therein.

Wherein our government there is showed to
be legal and not arbitrary, being as near the Law
of England as our condition will permit.

Together

With a brief Reply to what is written in
answer to certain passages in a late Book called
Hypocrisy Unmasked.

By Edw. Winslow

LONDON

Printed by Ric. Cotes, for John Bellamy, and are to be
sold at his shop at the sign of the three Golden Lions in
Cornhill near the Royal Exchange, 1647.

TO
Major John Childe in answer to
his Preface.

SIR,

I am sorry for your own sake, being a gentleman reported to be peaceable in your conversation, that you should be thus engaged in other men's quarrels; especially to farther other men's falsehoods and irreligious jeers and scoffs, whose spirits if you were so well acquainted with as myself and some others that came lately from New England, as well as thousands in the country, you would be more wary than to engage as you do.

But first for answer to your preface, and then I conceive I have answered every word of yours in your seeming treatise: and yet I would not be mistaken that any should think I judge you unable to write such a piece, for there is no solidity in it: but I am so well acquainted with this language and such proceedings before ever I saw your face, as no man is or ever was better acquainted with the phrase or writings of another, than I am with your chief animator to this undertaking, whom I call New England's Salamander, because of his constant and many years exercise, and delight in opposition to whatsoever hath been judged most wholesome and safe for the weale-public of the country (from whence he last came) either in politics or ecclesiastics, being ever willing to enjoy the common benefits of peace by government (which maintains every man in his proper right) but never willing to bear any part of the charge in supporting the same, as appeared by his constant caviling thereat whenever any rates came upon the country though never so easy and just.

But to come to the occasion of your printing the I following relation, which you say "are the sufferings that not only my brother Robert Child doctor of physic, with some gentlemen and others have suffered in their persons and estates by fines and imprisonment in New England, and false reports and feigned miracles here," etc. For answer, that your brother was in prison, and for what I certified you at my first coming over; though to you grievous in regard of natural affection, (which I honor where I find in any). Then also being occasioned thereunto I freely imparted to you the country's colorable grounds of suspecting his agency for the great incendiaries of Europe, besides the matter of fact for which he was committed, yea that the very year he came over, a gentleman in the country (Mr. Peters by name) was advised by letters from a foreign part that the Jesuits had an agent that summer in New England. And that the country comparing his practice with the intelligence were more jealous of him than any; (though to me he was a mere stranger) and therefore I marvel that Major Childe should give me occasion, and force me to publish these things which I neither affect nor intended: but I shall forbear in that kind because I would not provoke.

As for "their estates being weakened by fines," that is yet to prove: for though they were fined, yet the fines were not levied, nay so gentle was the censure of the Court, that upon the public acknowledgement of the offense the fine was to be remitted to all or any one of them so doing. And for "false reports and feigned miracles fomented here to color their unjust proceedings," as you term it; I answer, your book is the first reporter, of many things I here meet with, especially as you lay them down, as shall appear more particularly.

In the next place you say, "they give out that my brother and others desire a toleration of all religions." This is the first time that ever I heard it so reported of them.

Secondly, whereas you say “they are accused to be against all government both in church and commonwealth.” This I know to be false; for I heard them demand in Court the Presbyterian government, and it was granted them. Besides, before this demand in Court, at a private conference with an eminent person (who well hoped to have satisfied them) he demanded of the petitioners what church government it was they would have? One of them answered, he desired that particular government which Mr. John Goodwin in Coleman street was exercised in. Another of them said, he knew not what that was: but he for his part desired the Presbyterian government. A third of them said he desired the Episcopal government if it might be, if not, the Presbyterian: and a fourth told me himself that he disclaimed anything in the petition that was against the government of the churches in New England, etc. resting and liking what was there done in that kind. Now the former three passages (and not without the latter) were all told me by grave persons in New England such as I believe. And therefore if any so accuse them I must needs clear them: but withal testify I never met with this accusation against them before I read it in your book.

Thirdly, for their “petitioning the Parliament;” take notice we hold that no subject ought to be restrained this liberty and therefore count it no offense nor ever did, and therefore they were not committed for that.

A fourth false report you term, is, “their petition brought from thence to be presented to the Parliament (which they had named Jonas) in a ship called the *Supply*; being in a storm near Scilly, out of horror of conscience the petition was torn and thrown overboard: and that then the storm immediately ceased, and they miraculously saved. To this I answer, I was not in the ship (I praise God) and therefore what I say in it must be from others whom I judge truly godly, and of the most grave and solid persons amongst them; and, Sir, let me tell you, and the world in answer to you, I have heard the passage from divers, but never as you print it; and do think verily your informers belie themselves that they behave somewhat to cavil at. But though I had not thought to have entered upon a large answer to any particular: yet it being one of the heads of your treatise, I shall be larger in answering that than any other thing; partly to vindicate Mr. Cotton, who is much abused in your book; and partly from their own pen to show the profane carriage of their party in the ship by their fearful provoking the Almighty to follow them with his terrors throughout the voyage from New England to Scilly, where they had a great deliverance, and yet nevertheless to show how they go on still to abuse God’s mercy, patience, and long suffering by this profane title and story colored by your self. And thus much for answer to your preface. As for the four heads of your book and the postscript, I shall answer them as they arise.

An Answer to the imperfect Relation of the Hingham Case

Were I not so well acquainted with our New England Salamander’s ways, and what a puther he made in the country about this business, I should stand amazed at the malice of men to see this brought against the government. To answer either this case or the next at length would ask so much pains, and be so great a bulk, as their book being but a two penny jeering gig, penned rather to please the fancy of common understandings, than to satisfy any solid judgments; would go much further than ever the answer would be like to follow, that so he might bemire us with a witness. And if he can cause any reproach to lie upon us (whether just or unjust, that matters not) then hath he hit the mark he shoots at. And therefore to avoid the many particulars would fall in distinct answer by giving an account of the whole business, I shall desire the reader to accept this general.

The inhabitants of Hingham were known to be a peaceable and industrious people, and so continued for many years; the Lord supporting them in the midst of many straights in their first beginnings, crowning their endeavors with his blessing, and raising them up to a comfortable and prosperous outward condition of life, and such is their state through God's mercy and goodness this day, living very plentifully. But Satan envying their happiness (the Lord permitting as it seems) on a sudden cast a bone of division amongst them, which took mightily, to the great grief and admiration of their neighbors on every side; which controversy indeed arose about the choice of their Captain as is related.

But our Salamander living too near them, and being too well acquainted with them, blew up this to such an height by his continual counsel and advise which the major part of the town followed to their own smart, and the great grief and trouble of church and commonwealth, as they not only filled their court with complaints against each other, and wearied out the chief magistrates in place, but complained openly against one of them, viz. the Deputy Governor, who upon hearing the case thought good to bind some of them over to the Court; some submitted and gave bond, others refused, and were sent to prison, etc. This gentleman, as on all other occasions so in this particular much honored himself, by leaving his place upon the bench and going to the bar, and would not be persuaded to cover his head or take his place till the case was heard and ended, which continued many days, partly by reason of the great liberty the Court gave the plaintiffs in regard it reflected upon one of themselves, (and I think the first case that ever befell in that kind;) but more especially because our Salamander was got to Boston, where though he would not openly show himself, yet kept close in a private room where they had recourse unto him many days, yea many times a day for advice, and followed it to the utmost, to the great charge of the country (which came to much more, as I have heard, then the hundred pounds fine which was laid upon them) in providing the diet of their Court.

But the Court finding for the defendant after much trouble in many days agitation fined the plaintiffs in an hundred pound, and laid it upon sundry of them in particular ameracements according to their several demeanors in the action, and left the Deputy Governor to take his course with them, who only rested in the vindication of his name; which the country so far cleared, as not long after, their election day falling by course, they chose him their Governor, a place not strange to him, in which we left him, having more often borne it than all others in that government. And for the differences which befell them in their church; whether the court or the churches I know not, but the one entreated divers of the Elders to go unto them, who through God's mercy and blessing upon their endeavors prevented a division amongst them, though they could not at first settle things so well as they desired. And thus much for answer to the Hingham case which may be sufficient to satisfy any judicious reader: and for those whose hearts are fraught with malice, the Lord only can convict such, to whom I will leave them.

An Answer to the second head, namely the Petition of Doctor Robert Childe, etc.

This remonstrance and petition of theirs which hath made so great a sound in other places as well as here, notwithstanding their golden pretences of respect and reformation, was no sooner delivered, but before they could possibly expect an answer from the Court (notwithstanding the largeness of it) copies were dispersed into the hands of some known ill-affected people in the several governments adjoining, as Plymouth, Connecticut, New Haven, etc. who gloried not a little in it; nay the petitioners spared no pains, for before our coming away we heard from the Dutch Plantation, Virginia and Bermudas, that they had them here also, with such expressions in their letters as the present Governor of Bermudas was

bold to affirm to a gentleman from whom I had it, who was then bound for New England to get passage for England, that he was confident he should find New England altogether by the ears as well as England; which he knew well by a petition and remonstrance which he had received from thence, etc. Now had a peaceable reformation been the mark they aimed at, they would not have gone about thus to make the government so much despised far and near, by casting such contempt upon them as they have endeavored before ever they knew what acceptation their remonstrance and petition would find; which was taken into consideration till the next general court, where they were answered at large, charged with manifold falsehoods and contempts and fined for the same, after a solemn hearing of the cause.

But however I shall forbear to give a particular answer in print to the said remonstrance, not because I cannot, for I have the whole case, but court's defense against it, etc. which would be larger than both these books, being as I said before too large in regard of the price of the buyer; and therefore shall give such a general answer as may satisfy the indifferent and equal minded reader, and thereby deceive also our Salamander's expectation to draw out from me the whole which befell since his coming away, that so he might find more fuel to bask himself in, and satiate his contentious humors to the full.

But for answer, good reader, take notice as well of the quality of these petitioners as of their demeanor before expressed, and then thou shalt find divers of them to be inconsiderable in regard of propriety with us; who might be justly suspected to draw in the rest who are much bewailed by many of us: and in so doing it's possible thou mayest as well be jealous of their good intents as those in the country: for three of them, namely Doctor Childe, John Smith and John Dand, they are persons that have no propriety or known proper estate in the government where they are so busy to disturb and distract: and for Mr. Thomas Fowle (who whether drawn in or no I know not) he joined with them in this petition and remonstrance at such a time when he was resolved to leave the country, and since hath done, and sent for his wife and family, as I hear. As for Doctor Childe he is a gentleman that hath traveled other parts before he came to us, namely Italy; confesseth he was twice at Rome, speaketh sometimes highly as I have heard reported in favor of the Jesuits, and however he took the degree of Doctor of Physic at Padua, yet doth not at all practice, though he hath been twice in the country where many times is need enough. At his first coming to New England he brought letters commendatory, found good acceptation by reason thereof with the best; falls upon a diligent survey of the whole country, and painfully travels on foot from plantation to plantation; takes notice of the havens, situation, strength, churches, towns, number of inhabitants, and when he had finished this toilsome task, returns again for England, being able to give a better account than any of the country in that respect. He comes a second time, and not only bestoweth some books on the College, as Sir Kenelm Digby and many others commendably did, but brings second letters commendatory, having put in some stock among some merchants of London, and for the advancement of iron works in the country, which through God's goodness are like to become very profitable to them; but hath no more to do in the managing of them than any here who have other their agents being expert in the work. This gentleman's carriage is now changed, and is not only ready to close with such as are discontented, but to be a leader of such against the government, affront the authority God hath hitherto honored with his blessing, appeal from their justice, and thereby seek to evade any censure; and if he might be thus suffered, why not others? And then we must all give over; for if we have not the power of government, and cannot administer justice seasonably on all occasions, well we may come back again and take some other course, but we cannot there subsist.

A second of these is Mr. John Smith, who formerly lived about two or three years in Boston, but before this remonstrance, himself and wife were removed to Rhode Island, but never had any personal inheritance in the country, and was now at the Massachusetts but as a stranger.

A third is one Mr. John Dand, who hath lived in Boston as a sojourner since these wars in another man's house at board-hire, whose business and occasions there are unknown unto us; and whose

carriage till this present was seemingly fair, but all on a sudden though no further entressed in the country he thus engageth himself against the authority of the place. Thus taking Mr. Fowle with them who was upon departure from the country as afore, you may see the persons to be such as have no considerable interest amongst us, at least four in seven: and all this being true I have related, I suppose by this time the reader may conceive, or at least suspect their fair pretences and great glisterings are not pure gold.

But besides all this take notice good reader, that our Salamander wintered many months amongst them, very gracious and frequent in their companies, and no doubt a great help in furthering their designs in their remonstrance, which broke forth not long after his return home the spring following: and indeed his company had been enough alone to have produced such an effect; and therefore for my part so well knowing the man I cannot wonder at it as many do, assuring myself he better knows how to ripen such fruit than all the costermongers in London.

And now let me go to the title of the book which hath its relation to the petition aforesaid; and after their gig called *New England's Jonas Cast Up at London*¹, they would make the world believe that “divers honest and godly persons are imprisoned in New England for petitioning for government in the Commonwealth, according to the laws of England, and either for desiring admittance of themselves and children to the sacraments of our churches, or else for leave to have ministers and church government according to the best reformation of England and Scotland.” Now these charges are most notorious false, and so known, for I came not alone from New England, but accompanied with an hundred persons at least, which I believe can testify in the case. And therefore Major Childe take notice how you are abused by them to father such devilish and slanderous reports as these.

For the first, there were none committed for petitioning, but for their remonstrance and the many false charges and seditious insinuations tending to faction and insurrections slighting the government, etc. And lest any should think (as I hear some do) that the Court of the Massachusetts hath dealt rigorously with them, and that the petition is very fair and orderly, etc. let the reader know that such thoughts must either proceed from great weakness in not understanding or discerning the many gross charges in it, or else from partiality or evil affection to the government which they neither love nor know; for in their remonstrance they not only defame the government, but control the wisdom of the State of England in the frame of their charter which is under the broad seal of the kingdom by charging the government “to be an ill-compacted vessel.” Secondly, they charge all the afflictions that have befallen the personal inhabitants either by sickness on the land, or losses at sea “upon the evil of the government.” Thirdly, they go about to persuade the people, that all the privileges granted and confirmed under the broad seal to the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts belong to all freeborn Englishmen; which contrariwise belong only to the said Governor and Company, and such as they shall think meet to receive. Fourthly, they closely insinuate into the minds of the people (as the jealousies of others) that these now in authority do intend to exercise unwarranted dominion, and an arbitrary government abominable to Parliament, etc. foretelling them of intolerable bondage, which is enough alone to stir up a people to commotion. Fifthly, how do they go about to weaken the authority of the laws of the place, the people reverence of and obedience to them in this their remonstrance, by persuading the people that partly through want of the body of the English laws, and partly that through the insufficiency and ill frame of those they have, “they can expect no sure enjoyment of their lives and liberties under them:” when as the State well knew the English body of laws was too heavy for us, and therefore as liberty is granted in our patents to make our own laws, so it is with this proviso, that they be

¹ [Vassall, William?] and John Childe. *New-Englands Jonas Cast Up at London: Or, A Relation of the proceedings of the court at Boston in New-England against divers honest and godly persons, for petitioning for government in the commonwealth, in accordance to the lawes of England, ...* (London: T.R. and E.M., 1647).

as near the laws of England as may be, which we understand as near as our condition will permit, which I shall speak more of elsewhere. Sixthly, they falsely charge the government with denying liberty of votes where they allow them, as in choice of military officers, which is common to the non-freemen with such as are free. Seventhly, their speeches in their remonstrance are charged to tend to sedition by insinuating into the peoples minds, “that there are many thousands secretly discontented at the government,” etc. whereby those that are so may be emboldened to discover themselves, and know to whom to repair; and what greater means can be used to unsettle a settled people, and to kindle a flame in a peaceable Commonwealth, if the Lord prevent not, and authority should suffer such things to pass uncensured? Eighthly, they slander the discipline of the churches in the country, and the civil government also, by inferring that the frame and dispensations thereof are such, as “Godly, sober, peaceable men cannot there live like Christians;” which they seem to conclude from thence, that “they desire liberty to remove from thence where they may live like Christians:” when as indeed our arms are open to receive such both into church and commonwealth, blessing God for their society. Ninthly, they do in effect charge the government with “tyranny in impressing their persons to the wars, committing them to prison, fining, rating them, etc. and all unjustly and illegally,” whereas no war is undertaken, nor any press goes forth, but according to the law established; but the thing they would have is that any Englishman may *volen nolens*, take his habitation in any government, be as free as the best, etc. thus breaking all order, charters, and peace of societies: for if he be English born (by their principles) no government may refuse him be he never so pestilent, whether Jesuit or worse. Tenthly, they lay a false charge upon the churches in affirming “that Christian vigilancy is no way exercised towards such as are not in church fellowship:” whereas they cannot but know the contrary. For however we have nothing to do to bring them to the church, and cannot cast out those that were never within, yet privately we perform the duty of Christians towards them, either in holding private communion with such as are godly, or reproving and exhorting the rest also as occasion and opportunity offereth. Eleventhly, that this dirt might stick fast, and men might more easily receive these injurious charges against the government; in the conclusion they proclaim, “That our brethren in England (meaning the Independents) do flee from us as from a pest.” When as for my part I believe that if our brethren were with us they would close with our practice, or at least we should be dealt more brotherly withal, and then we should not only hearken to what counsel should be of God, from them or any other in God’s way but be willing to reform any thing that is amiss either in Church or Commonwealth. Twelfthly, that it may appear these injurious charges are their own apprehensions, and pretenses rather than jealousies of any others, they have publicly declared their disaffection to the government, in that being called to the court to render account of their misapprehensions, and evil expressions in the premises, they refused to answer: but by appealing from the government they disclaimed the jurisdiction thereof, (what in them lay,) before they knew whether the court would give any sentence against them or not: when as indeed their charter enjoineeth nor requireth any appeal, but have the power of absolute government by virtue thereof: but these seven petitioners, whereof three are mere strangers and have no propriety within the government (and a fourth then to depart and now departed from it) will not bear it as the rest. And for my part if these four that were inhabitants were not drawn in by the three strangers to make up the number of seven to trouble the commonwealth, I should wonder (well knowing their abilities otherways, especially of some of them) there being no want of fit persons if many thousands discontented persons to repair unto them, then having any reality in it. And for the matter of appeal from New England hither, which is three thousand miles distant, it will be found to be destructive to them that there live: for no country can subsist without government, or repair so far to it; nor will any wise man accept a place in government where he shall be exposed to go so far to give account of his actions, though they be never so just: but the best is, the Parliament is known (and it is their duty) to seek the good of the subjects by

all due means: and I doubt not (if ever tendered to them) but they will soon discover the mischief intended by our adversaries, or at least like to ensure (if they prevail) by overthrowing those hopeful beginnings of New England in straightening our privileges at such a time, when England's are restored; but we hope to share with them rather by enlargement, being we went out in those evil times when the bishops were so potent being persecuted by them, and in that we suffered since with the Parliament in adhering to them to the loss of ships, and goods, etc. But I shall rest on God in what is said, hoping the reader will be satisfied in point of our innocency in regard of the evils charged on us; and therefore to proceed.

In the next place whereas they complain of imprisonment, one of them being to go to sea just when things were to be heard, was required to give bond to stand to the award of the court, leaving six partners behind him to plead his cause; also Mr. Smith being a dweller in another government and not there, being present at the same time was required to do the like; which order they withstood for an hour or thereabouts, and were that time under the marshals custody, but no sooner advised they with our Salamander their counsel, but he advised them to give security, which they accordingly did, and so were dismissed; now this I suppose was because he was to go to sea with them immediately, which they accordingly did.

Secondly, take notice that before Doctor Childe, etc. were committed, the business of the remonstrance was ended, and they censured by fine, every one according to his particular offense, and carriage in managing the whole, and it is not our manner to punish twice for one offense.

Thirdly, take notice that the government they charge was proved in open court to be according to the law of England, and therefore not committed for petitioning for that they had.

Fourthly, let the reader know that the Presbyterian government was as freely tendered them by the Governor in the open court without any contradiction of any the assistants or other, as ever I heard anything in my life, though it appeareth that our Salamander is not a little troubled in it, as I shall have occasion to touch in my answer to the postscript, which I verily believe he penned every word.

Lastly, let the reader take notice that Doctor Robert Childe, Mr. John Smith, and Mr. John Dand, were committed for certain papers upon close search of Dand's closet, there found the night before the ship came away, which were far more factious and seditious than the former. Doctor Childe being committed because one of the copies was under his known hand, another copy under Mr. Dand's hand, and both in his custody; Mr. Smith in that he not only offered to rescue the papers from the officers that were sent to make search: but when he saw that he could not rescue them, broke out into high speeches against the government: and amongst other things said, he hoped ere long to do as much to the Governor's closet, and do as much to him as he did for them, etc. or to the like purpose. And now Major Childe, let the world and you take notice together wherefore your brother and those honest and godly persons you pretend to speak of were committed. Nor do I believe that any people under the heavens that know what belongs to government and have the power of it, would do less than the magistrates there did. But what the event will be God only knows; but this I know, they are in the hands of merciful men, however they have been abused, or may by our Salamander (whose reports I often meet with) or by any other whatsoever.

And for answer to their relation of the effects this petition produced, much of it is false and answered before, the rest not worthy of answering; as concerning the elders, there long sermons to provoke the magistrates against them, etc. no wise man will believe as they relate. And thus much for answer to the second part of their book concerning the petition and remonstrance.

A brief answer to the third head of their book, concerning the Capital Laws of the Massachusetts, etc.

Here I find the capital laws of the Massachusetts reprinted, and the oath they administer to their freemen, which I suppose they are sorry they can find no more fault with: and all these capitals rehearsed to show the danger Doctor Childe is under by virtue of the last, which followeth in these words.

“If any man shall conspire or attempt any invasion, insurrection or public rebellion against our Commonwealth, or shall endeavor to surprise any town or towns, fort or forts therein, or shall treacherously and perfidiously attempt the alteration and subversion of our frame of policy or government fundamentally, he shall be put to death, Numbers 16, 2 Samuel 3 and 18 and 20.”

Now if together with this they had manifested a liberty the court gives to any notwithstanding this law, fairly and freely to show their grievance at anything they conceive amiss, and needeth either alteration or repeal, than they had dealt fairly indeed: but because they leave it out, I take it my duty to put it in. I know our Salamander is not without some exception at anything we do: but because I find none more than as before, I shall pass to the next head of their book.

An answer to their Relation concerning the throwing the Petition overboard as a Jonas as they term it.

I acknowledge that Mr. Cotton taught from that text they mention in 2 Cant. 15². “Take us the foxes the little foxes which destroy vines,” etc. and let the reader understand that this text fell in his ordinary course of lecture in going through that book, and not taken on purpose on that particular occasion. The points he delivered from hence as I remember were these two. The first was, “When God had delivered his church from the danger of the bear, and the lion, then the foxes the little foxes sought by craft and policy to undermine the same.” The second was this, “That all those that go about by fox-like craft and policy to undermine the state of the churches of Jesus Christ, they shall all be taken every one of them.” The text as I take it he showed belonged to that time of the church when they returned from Babylon, and were building the temple; and proved the first point of doctrine from that of Tobias and Sandballat that would have built with the Jews; the second was amplified by the history of Haman in the book of Hester: and so brought many other examples, and amongst others the story of the bishops in the days of Henry the eighth, Edward the sixth, Queen Elizabeth, and to the beginning of these wars, who under a color of building and being master builders in the Lord’s house laid heavy burdens upon the saints, corrupted the worship of God and lorded it over his heritage, and when they were come to the top of their pride the Lord Jesus could endure them no longer, but they were taken even every one of them in the same snare they had set for others. But I forbear the amplifying of it, and hasten to the application so far as it concerneth this scornful story by them penned of their feigned miracle, as they call it.

His use of exhortation was twofold. First, to such as lived in the country to take heed how they went about any indirect way or course which might tend to the prejudice of the churches of Jesus Christ in the same, or the governments of the land, which through God’s mercy was not only in the hands of

² i.e. Song of Solomon 2:15.

such as truly feared the Lord, but according to his revealed will so far as we can judge. And therefore if any (though never so secretly or subtly) should go about any such thing, the watchman of Israel that slumbereth not nor sleepeth will not take it well at their hands: for He that hath brought his people hither, and preserved them from the range of persecution, made it a hiding place for them whilst he was chastising our own nation amongst other the nations round about it, manifested his gracious presence, so apparently walking amongst his churches, and preserving and prospering our civil state from foreign plots of the late archbishop and his confederates, and the domestic of the heathen where we live; there was no question to be made but He would preserve it from the underminings of false brethren, and such as joined with them: and therefore, saith he, let such know in the foregoing respects it is the land of Emmanuel, a land that is precious in the eyes of the Lord, they shall not prosper that rise against it, but shall be taken every one of them in the snares they lay for it. And this, said he, I speak as a poor prophet of the Lord according to the word of his grace in my text which however in the proper sense of the Holy Ghost belonged to that age of the Church mentioned in the book of Nehemiah, yet it is written for our example and instruction: for God is the same yesterday, today, and forever; no less careful, no less able, and no less willing to save and deliver his people by engaging himself in their case; and who can stand before him?

In the second place, saith he, whereas divers of our brethren are to go for England, and many others to follow after in another vessel, let me direct a word of exhortation to them also; I desire the gracious presence of our God may go with them from the errors of the times when they shall arrive, and prosper them in their lawful designs, etc. But if there be any amongst you my brethren, as 'tis reported there are, that have a petition to prefer to the high Court of Parliament (which the Lord in mercy go on blessing to bless as he hath begun) that may conduce to the distraction, annoyance and disturbance of the peace of our churches and weakening the government of the land where we live, let such know, the Lord will never suffer them to prosper in their subtle, malicious and desperate undertakings against his people, who are as tender unto him as the apple of his eye. But if there be any such amongst you that are to go, I do exhort and would advise such in the fear of God when the terrors of the Almighty shall beset the vessel wherein they are, the heavens shall frown upon them, the billows of the sea shall swell above them, and dangers shall threaten them, (as I persuade myself they will) I would have them then to consider these things: for the time of adversity is a time for God's people to consider their ways. I will not give the counsel was taken concerning Jonah, to take such a person and cast him into the sea; God forbid: but I would advise such to come to a resolution in themselves to desist from such enterprises, never further to engage in them, and to cast such a petition into the sea that may occasion so much trouble and disturbance. But it may be hardness of heart and stoutness of spirit may cause such a person or persons with stiff necks to persist, and yet in mercy with respect to some precious ones amongst you, (as I persuade myself there are many such go in each vessel) the Lord may deliver the vessel³ from many apparent troubles and dangers for their sakes; but let such know, the Lord hath hard judgments in store for such, for they are not now free (he being the God of the land as well as of the sea:) and if you turn to Numb. 14:36,37, you shall there see how he threatened to destroy such as brought a false report upon his land with the plague: and truly God hath still plagues in store for such as bring a false report upon his church and people; nay said he, I hear the Lord hath a destroying angel with the sword of pestilence in that kingdom, striking here and there, as seemeth good unto him, (though not vehemently, blessed be His name) and who knows what the Lord will do? And therefore I advise such in the fear of God, and I speak it as an unworthy prophet of his according to that portion of his word I now speak from, to lay these things to heart, for it is the Lord Jesus hath said, "Take us the foxes, the little foxes,

³ Winslow's frequent use of the word "vessel" in this work is almost certainly a play with words: the presumed "Salamander" was William Vassall.

etc.” or “let them be taken.” And believe it for a truth, all those that go about by fox-like craft and subtlety to undermine the churches of Christ Jesus, they shall all be taken, even in the very snare and gin they set for others.

And thus much of what Mr. Cotton delivered on this Thursday’s lecture in Boston, November 5, 1646, which I have showed to many eminent persons now in England who were present at this lecture, and judge it not only to be the sum of his exhortation but his very expressions, and are ready to testify it on all occasions against all opposers, as Mr. Thomas Peters and Mr. William Golding ministers; Herbert Pelham, Esquire, Captain William Sayles, Captain Leveret, Captain Harding, Mr. Richard Sadler, etc. And take notice withal good reader, that I never heard the good man deliver anything with more earnestness and strength of affection than these things thus slighted by our adversaries as thou seest.

And for the second part of their story, viz. their passage, and the passages of God’s providence befell them in it; take notice good reader, that however our Salamander turned things into a jest as soon as they were delivered, asking whether he were a great fox or a little one; yet many others that were engaged to go but in the ship, their hearts trembled that they were to go in such company. And Mr. Thomas Peters a minister that was driven out of Cornwall by Sir Ralph Hopton in these late wars, and fled to New England for shelter, being called back by his people, and now in London, upon sight of what I have written gave me leave before many, to add this: that upon Mr. Cotton’s exhortations, having shipped his goods and bedding to have gone in the ship with them, amongst other arguments this was the main, that he feared to go in their company that had such designs, and therefore took passage to go rather by way of Spain, etc. And to speak the truth, as the ship rode out many fearful stresses in the harbor after they were ready, before they could go to sail, the wind being fair but overblowing: so after they came to sea had the terriblest passage that ever I heard on for extremity of weather, the mariners not able to take an observation of the sun or star in seven hundred leagues sailing or thereabouts. And when they were all wearied out and tired in their spirits, certain well-disposed Christians called to mind the things delivered by Mr. Cotton before mentioned, and seeing the tempest still to continue, thought meet to acquaint such as were conceived to be meant by Mr. Cotton, and that had a purpose to persist in such courses, that they thought God called them now to consider of the things delivered by him; and hereupon a godly and discreet woman after midnight went to the great cabin and addressed her speech in sobriety and much modesty to them, whereupon one of the two answered in these words, or to this purpose: sister I shall be loath to grieve you or any other of God’s people with anything I shall do, and immediately went to his chest or trunk, and took out a paper and gave it to her, and referred it to discretion of others to do withal as they should see good: which the woman not in a distracted passion (as they reported) showed to Mr. Richard Sadler and others, who although they knew it was not the right petition but that they were deluded, yet became they judged it also to be very bad, having often seen it in New England, but never liked the same, cut it in pieces as they thought it deserved, and gave the said pieces to the seamen who cast them into the sea. The storm for the present continued that night, say some, others say, some abatement of wind befell presently after, but all conclude it abated the next day; but that they had divers storms afterward being then 200 leagues short of the Land’s End, is most certain: and in one of these hideous storms, having no sail aboard, the ship lying adrift with the helm bound up, the master conceiving he was to the southward of Scilly laid the ship to the northward the night being very dark. In the last watch of the night one of the quartermasters going to the pump discerned rocks ahead within a cables length, and made such an outcry as the whole ship was awakened, and nothing but death presented them: there was much hast made to let loose the helm, and to come to sail; but before it could be done the ship was engaged amongst the rocks of Scilly, and nothing could be discerned under water, but by the breaking of the waves, which was their best direction to cun the ship: in this labyrinth the ship traveled for a quarter of an hour or more, in which time it was generally observed the ship readily

obeyed her helm, (or rather the great pilot of the seas) upon the word given, which at other times she was slow in. At length the ship drove in and came aground between two islands, and could not be got off being ebbing water; and it was the special providence of God to place her there in much mercy and compassion on his poor afflicted ones, the vessel being full of passengers; for on both sides and on head were desperate rocks, which were not discovered till the morning light, the ship all this while lying fast upon a bed of sand or owse; when it was day the dangers which they had escaped in the night to their admiration presented themselves, nor durst the master work the ship till he had gotten a pilot from the shore, who undertook to bring her to an anchor near Crow's Sound.

The deliverance was so strange as the inhabitants of Scilly were amazed at it, some saying it was a miracle, another that God was a good man that should thus deliver them; indeed all the island wondered, and the passengers themselves most of all when they saw the breaches at low water so far off at sea near which they passed before they knew the danger, and the rocks they sailed by after they found themselves involved as it were between Scylla and Carybdis. Much more might be added to the account the mercy, but this may suffice to let the world see 'tis no such trifle as is pretended in their profane relation, who had then other thoughts, being passengers also in the ship, and seemed willing to join with the godly party in the ship in testimony of their thankfulness, to celebrate a special day of thanksgiving unto the Lord for so great salvation, where Mr. Golding preached, being a passenger with them, and teacher to a church of Christ in Bermudas.

And now good reader what wilt thou judge of such as can turn such deliverances into a scoff, witness their profane title, *New England's Jonas Cast Up at London*; the naked truth whereof thou hast heard related; in all which Jonas was but once accidentally named, and that by the way of direct opposition to any such counsel. The master of the ship never spoke to, no speech between the woman and Mr. Vassall that I can learn, but between Mr. Fowle and her, she under no distemper of passion, but modest discreet and sober in her carriage throughout the whole. In brief, all that I can meet with that were in the ship, especially the most eminent persons, affirm this relation of theirs to be false, yea Mr. Fowle himself acknowledged it before Captain Sayles late Governor of Bermudas, Captain Leveret, and Captain Harding all passengers in the ship, who all concurred in the falsehood of the same, and the three Captains not a little offended thereat, and Mr. Richard Sadler and divers others are ready to testify to the same.

But put the case they had deluded a poor weak passionate woman by a shadow instead of a substance: methinks if any fear of God had been before their eyes, they might have trembled at so many and so great threatenings of the Almighty, who followed them from one land to another over the vast ocean with his terrors, and have showed greater thankfulness for such a deliverance as before recited, than to carry themselves as they do; laboring to delude the reader as well as themselves, and to ascribe all to the winter season, as if all our passages were ordinarily such (as appeareth by their note in the margin, page 12) when by that is false also, witness some that came with them, who affirm they have been in winter passages, but never in the like; (the master and his company all concurring therein) being confident also they fared the worse for their company. And thus much I can affirm, and at least an hundred more that came with me, who came away about the middest of December (five weeks deeper in winter than they) and yet through God's undeserved favor had a comfortable passage and landfall, which I thought good to add to the rest that persons may not be discouraged from the passage, though I must confess the spring and fall are the best seasons. But let them go on, if nothing will reclaim them; and I will wait and attend the word of the Lord in the mouth of his servant, and observe the dispensation of his providence towards his churches, and the enemies of the same. And thus much for answer to the fourth head of their book published by Major Childe.

An Answer to the Postscript

In this postscript which containeth more matter then the whole book, I can trace our Salamander line by line, and phrase after phrase, in his accustomed manner to delude many simple ones, and weaken their respect to the government of New England; where he did a great deal more hurt by his personal presence, than he can do here by such slanderous invectives as he either pinneth upon others (witness this silly piece called *New England's Jonas*) or any he shall publish hereafter. To answer every particular at length would be too tedious. But because he pretendeth an answer to some passages in a book written lately by myself, called *Hypocrisy Unmasked*, concerning the independent churches holding communion with the reformed churches; at the request of many I came to a resolution as to answer the former passages, so to reply to his malicious cavils in this; who indeed hath not answered any one thing, but rather raised some scruples that may cloud what I did, and cause such as are ignorant to doubt where things are most clear: but however I am prevailed with in this case not only by some of the Independent, but Presbyterian brethren, to answer; yet withal am come to a resolution not to write any more in this kind; partly because the world is wearied with too many controversies of this nature: but more especially because our Salamander so much delighteth in them, as appeareth by many years sad experience, being restless and endless therein. But for answer.

He beginneth with the discovery “of a subtle plot against the laws of England, and the liberties of the English subject,” etc. And then secondly, he would render me odious to the world, as being “a principal opposer of the laws of England in New England.” Thirdly, he would make our government of New England to be arbitrary. And fourthly, his malicious cavils and bitter indignation at anything may tend to union between brethren, I mean the Presbyterians and Independents, but of these in order. And first, for the “subtle plot,” etc. which is contrived, saith he, “by writing against Gorton, a man whom they know is notorious for heresy, that so behind him they may get a shot at a bigger game,” etc. Answ. It is well known, and our Salamander is not ignorant, that however Gorton notoriously abused himself and every government of New England where he lived; yet when that country was grown too hot for him, he came over here and complained against us, to that honorable Committee of Parliament; to whose care the well ordering the affairs of foreign plantations is referred. The Right Honorable the Earl of Warwick, being Governor in chief, and Chairman of the same; who, upon Gorton and his companion's complaints, sent over to the government of the Massachusetts, whom it most of all concerned to give answer to the same, etc. Whereupon they to show their respect to the Parliament, sent me to render a reason thereof, which I still attend till their more weighty occasions will permit them to hear. But when I came over, I found that Gorton had enlarged his complaints by publishing a book called *Simplicities Defense Against Seven-headed Policy*, etc. which being full of manifold slanders, and abominable falsehoods; I took myself bound in duty to answer it, as I did by that treatise he mentioneth, called *Hypocrisy Unmasked*, which was but an answer to Gorton as this is to him, being necessitated thereunto in vindication of the country, whose agent I am, though unworthy. And yet our Salamander would blind the ignorant, and make them believe we took occasion to write such a thing to make the Parliament have a good opinion of us, as if none of all this had preceded.

Next that he might still turn our innocent simplicity into policy, he takes advantage where none is, and lays hold on a request of mine, which I must still prosecute (maugre his malice) and I trust in God the Parliament will be sensible of it, viz. that the Committee “would take into consideration how destructive it will be to the well-being of our plantations and proceedings there (which are growing up into a nation) here to answer the complaints of such malignant spirits as shall there be censured by authority, it being three thousand miles distant, so far as will undo any to come hither for justice, utterly disabling them to prove the equity of their cause,” etc. Now if he had set down this request as it is, I

would never have answered word to it, nor need at present to any, but such as are ready to burst with malice, and the more satisfaction I shall give, the worse they will be. And for “the danger of the state of England is in by this plot,,” he could not more clearly have expressed the unevenness of his spirit to any indifferent reader, than by such expressions, and therefore need no farther answer thereunto.

Secondly, whereas he chargeth me to be “a principal opposer of the laws of England in New England,” etc. He dealeth with me here in this particular just as he did there. For our Salamander having labored two years together to draw me to his party, and finding he could no way prevail, he then casts off all his pretended love, and made it a part of his work to make me of all men most odious, that so whatever I did or said might be the less effectual. As for the law of England I honor it and ever did, and yet know well that it was never intended for New England, neither by the Parliament, nor yet in the letters patents, we have for the exercise of government under the protection of this State: but all that is required of us in making of our laws and ordinances, offices and officers, is to go as near the laws of England as may be: which we punctually follow so near as we can. For our letters patents, being granted to such, and their associates: these associates are the freemen, whereof there are many in every town: now take notice good reader that as every corporation here sends their burgesses to the Parliament upon summons: so divers times a year the Governor sending out his warrants, the town choose their deputies, viz. two of a town out of these freemen, which meeting together with the Governor and his assistants, compose and make or repeal such laws and ordinances as they conceive our necessities require: and however we follow the custom and practice of England so near as our condition will give way: yet as the garments of a grown man would rather oppress and stifle a child if put upon him, then any way comfort or refresh him, being too heavy for him: so have I often said the laws of England, to take the body of them, are too unwieldy for our weak condition: besides, there were some things supported by them which we came from thence to avoid, as the hierarchy, the cross in baptism, the holy days, the *Book of Common Prayer*, etc. All which I doubt not but this renowned Parliament will utterly abolish as they have done in part to God’s glory and their everlasting fame, (I mean whilst time shall be.) But I have been so far from slighting the law of England as I have brought my own book of the statutes of England into our court, that so when we have wanted a law or ordinance we might see what the statutes provided in that kind, and found a great readiness in our general court to take all help and benefit thereby. And never did I otherwise oppose the law of England: nor ever stand against the liberties of the subject, but am ready to sacrifice my life for the same, whenever I shall be called thereunto. Indeed this I have said in answer to his cavils, that if the Parliaments of England should impose laws upon us having no burgesses in their House of Commons, nor capable of a summons by reason of the vast distance of the ocean being three thousand miles from London, then we should lose the liberty and freedom I conceived of English indeed, where every shire and corporation by their knights and burgesses make and consent to their laws, and so oppose whatsoever they conceive may be hurtful to them: but this liberty we are not capable of by reason of distance, and therefore etc. And thus much for answer to that point, which will satisfy any equal-minded man, but is nothing to him.

Thirdly, he chargeth “our government to be arbitrary.” Answ. I showed before after what manner we made our laws; and for the choice of our officers once every year they are either chosen or renewed by election, and this is done by the freemen who are the associates to the Governor, to whom all the power is granted. And these are to govern according to their laws made and established, and not according to their wills. And however there are many that are not free amongst us, yet if understanding men and able to be helpful, it’s more their own faults than otherwise oft-times, who will not take up their freedom lest they should be sent on these services (as our Salamander and most of his disciples who are too many I must confess) and yet it is the same with many thousands in this kingdom who have not liberty to choose: nor yet may the freeholders and freemen choose, any that are not freeholders,

freemen, and gentlemen of such a rank or quality that are chosen. So that for my own part I see not but that as we go by the express of our letters patents, so we go according to the practice of England; the law made binding the maker as well as any other, having one rule for all.

As for our trials between man and man, he knows we go by jury there as well as here: and in criminals and capitals we go by grand jury and petty jury. And where the death of any is sudden, violent, or uncertain, the coroner sits upon it by a quest, and returneth a verdict, etc. and all according to the commendable custom of England, whom we desire to follow. But their main objection is, that we have not penal laws exactly set down in all cases? 'Tis true I confess, neither can they find any Commonwealth under heaven, or ever was, but some things were reserved to the discretion of the judges, and so it is with us and no otherwise, our General Courts meeting together twice a year at least hitherto for that very end, and so continuing so long as their occasions and the season will permit: and in case of any misdemeanor befall where no penalty is set down, it is by solemn order left to the discretion of the bench, who next to the word of God take the law of England for their president before all other whatsoever. And as I said before, if I would enter into particulars I could here set down in a line parallel as I received it in answer to the Petition of Doctor Robert Childe, etc. mentioned in their book, "the fundamentals of the Massachusetts concurring with the privileges of Magna Charta and the common law of England at large." But as I said before, it would be too tedious for answer to this worthless and malicious charge. And yet I dare affirm that Virginia, Barbados, Christophers, Mevis, and Antigo have not all of them so many laws as New England, nor so many express penalties annexed. As for the uniting of the four Colonies, I briefly showed the reason of it in my former treatise, being necessitated thereunto by a secret combination of the Indians to cut us all off, as our Salamander well knows and approved; and if in America we should forbear to unite for offense and defense against a common enemy (keeping our governments still distinct as we do) till we have leave from England, our throats might be all cut before the messenger would be half seas thorough; but he that will carp at this, what will he not do? And for not making of our warrants in the king's name which is another thing he complaineth of: he well knows the practice of the country is various in that respect, some constantly observing it, others omitting to express it, but all deriving our authority from hence. But if any wonder why I say so much in answer to it as I do, it is because I never purpose for reply to anything he or any other shall write in this kind to him, for 'tis to not end to write many books, especially when we have to deal with such an one as delights in contention and nothing else.

In the last place take notice good reader how he cavils, and is vexed at, rather then answers anything I say tending to preserve peace and unity between the Presbyterian and Independent brethren. And whereas he saith "there is a fallacy in what I have written," how can that be? When I show the very particular instances and persons that did and still do hold communion with us, and our Salamander knoweth most of these persons, and I believe the very things also, and hath nothing to say against any one of the instances brought, only he asketh whether any of us the many thousands (a great word) that came from New England, do communicate here with the Presbyterians. To which I answer by way of question to any rational and indifferent man, whether a church or churches of ours, allowing and admitting any of the Presbyterians or their members into full communion with them, doth not more fully answer the question or his cavil, and prove communion of churches on our part, than for a particular member of ours to join in communion with some of the Presbyterian churches which it may be that Independent church whereof he is may never hear of? And sure enough if I should draw an argument from his proposition to prove it; he would be sure to say your churches allow it not, etc. and therefore it proves no communion of churches at all. Secondly, were I where I could not communicate with an Independent congregation, and might with a Presbyterian, and they walked orderly, I know nothing but I might comfortably partake in that ordinance of the Lord's Supper with them: but I should not forsake

that communion I more affected for that I less affected where I might enjoy either, nor I believe will any understanding Presbyterian brother on the other side. And so much for answer to that cavil, and the many branches of it.

In the second place, he cavils at this, that I say in page 96 of my book called *Hypocrisy Unmasked*, that the French and Dutch churches “are a people distinct from the world, and gathered into an holy communion.” And then he addeth, “he should have said covenant which is his sense and that the sixth person is not of the Church,” meaning, “amongst them.” And this, saith he, we have but his word for, and makes it a falsehood in me: but I return it upon himself, whose bold spirit dare affirm anything against the apparent light of the sun; for however the Dutch baptize the children of all nations that are presented to them, as well as their own, as I showed in my former treatise; yet this their practice stands not upon the Presbyterian bottom, nor do I know I confess, what they take for their warrant in it; yet I affirm, and that of my own knowledge, having lived divers years amongst them, that their Church is a select people, gathered together into an holy communion, which holiness he scoffs at, and which they call the *Chement*; and that many thousands of those whose children they baptize, never are admitted to the Lord’s Supper, which they account “Church communion;” nor are ever brought before their Classis, and there examined, admitted, occasionally admonished, yea, excommunicated if they submit not to the rule: and that all those that are admitted are such as tender themselves, and thereupon are examined, etc. in the Classis; as before. And for an instance of the truth of it, a godly English minister that had sometimes lived in Rotterdam, told me (upon this very occasion) that the deacons of the Dutch Church at Rotterdam, told him, that although there were almost 7000 houses in their city, and in many of them divers families, yet they had but 2000 persons in church fellowship.

And for the French churches, who knows not that the nation, I mean, the body of them are still Papists, and yet (as blind as Bayard) our malicious Salamander, whose tongue is known to be no slander from whence he came, doth charge me with falsehood herein. ‘Tis true, through God’s mercy there are many thousand Protestants amongst them, and I wonder that any man should be so audacious, as to affirm these are not a distinct people from the rest that have undergone so many massacres and persecutions for the testimony of their faith, and witness they have born against the abominations of Rome, and the Papacy, still so much admired in that nation by the body of it. And as I said of Holland, the sixth person is hardly of the Church; so in France, the tenth man for ought I hear, is not a Protestant. And how then they should be a national Protestant church I know not.

As for his jeer about the Covenant, let him go on in his way of scorn and contempt of the “covenant between God and his people;” and yet he shall find the church in the Old Testament established by a covenant; and after their greatest desertions and declingings, upon solemn days of humiliation, their covenants again renewed throughout the same. And the churches under the New Testament are still the same, though the ceremonies and ordinances be altered by the Lord thereof; yea, the Scottish Churches, (which he saith are national, and so would make a breach in that respect between them and us) are solemn and serious in their covenant; and the English in the late reformation no less serious, to God’s glory be it spoken; when as there are many hundred thousands in both nations that will not take these their covenants, but remain in popish superstition, and willful ignorance.

All for our tenders to the Scots to live amongst us and enjoy their liberty in the exercise of the Presbyterian government formerly, and the late tender of the court of the Massachusetts to their petitioners for the enjoyment of it at present, themselves providing for it, ‘tis not so strange as true: but whereas they say, they hear not of the latter (being since they came away) ’tis false; I have told them, and they may hear it by many others: but they have not the spirit of peace in them, nor will they take notice of anything that tends thereunto; but seek, as appeareth by this postscript, to blow up the coals of

contention and division, so much as possible may be, hindering peace and good agreement between brethren, by all the means and courses they can use.

And for what he saith concerning Mr. Hubbard's censure; daring me to say, "whether Mr. Hubbard were not punished directly or indirectly for baptizing some children whose parents were not members of the church in New England."

For answer, I do and dare affirm in my conscience, that I am firmly persuaded he was not; and however I do not desire to meddle in the case, nor to engage in other men's controversies, but rather seek to heal them by all due means, yet I thought good to answer his challenge in this particular, that so that cloud of jealousy might also be dispelled, so far as concerneth my own thoughts in the case; and had he but so much charity in himself as becomes a Christian man, I am confident he would be of the same mind as me. And so much for answer to that particular, and the whole book, wherein the reader may see more malice in our accusers, than policy in us, whose simplicity is branded with subtlety, fallacy, and what not? But blessed be God, it is by such whose tongues are their own, and will not be controlled by any, and from whom I expect all that malice can invent; but am come to resolution, that whatever our Salamander shall vent either in his own name, or by others (as at this time) I will leave him to God, and refer our vindication to the Lord Jesus Christ, who hath all power in heaven and earth committed to him, in whose eyes, I trust, we are precious, who undoubtedly will clear up our innocency, when these our proud enemies shall be scattered before him. And to whom with the Father and the Spirit, God over all, blessed forever, be glory and praise to all eternity.

Amen.

FINIS.

