



A GODLY MINISTER
MICHAEL E. LEVERIDGE

Godly minister William Leverich graduated from Emmanuel College, Cambridge in 1626 and was ordained as a priest in the Church of England in 1627. His brief curacy of the parish of Great Bowden in Leicestershire ended when he was taken before a church court in 1629. He was then the rector of Great Livermere in Suffolk before emigrating to New England in 1633. He was the minister at Dover in New Hampshire before moving to Sandwich in the colony of New Plymouth in 1637. His sixteen years there included missionary work amongst the Amerindians. William moved to Oyster Bay on the boundary between the British and Dutch areas of Long Island in 1653 and then from 1658 at Huntington to the east and Newtown to the west. He visited Europe in 1660 and died in Newtown in 1677.

William and his family faced the challenges of life in a new continent and he met or knew some of the best-known individuals in early American colonial history. He described his missionary work in a letter that was published in London in 1652 and some of his theological notes survive in the New York City archives. Restless but respected, he is remembered today by Leveridge Lane in Sandwich, Leverich Place in Huntington and Leverich Street in Queens.

Michael Leveridge is a graduate of Selwyn College, Cambridge. He taught biology in various parts of England before retiring to the Cambridge area, where he now researches his family history. William Leverich has not been identified as one of his relatives, but this biography has been written in collaboration with William's descendant, Tom Leverich.

A Godly Minister

The Reverend William Leverich
of Great Britain, New England
and New York

Michael E. Leveridge

in collaboration with

Thomas V. Leverich

Cambridge
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Michael E. Leveridge, Cambridge, England
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Michael E. Leveridge

Introduction

*And he gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists;
and some, pastors and teachers.* Ephesians 4: 11.

The Reverend William Leverich was one of the first episcopally-ordained ministers to cross the Atlantic from Great Britain to New England. He experienced at first-hand the early years at Dover in New Hampshire and the settlements at Duxbury and Sandwich in New Plymouth Colony, before moving on to Oyster Bay, Huntington and Newtown in Long Island. He was both a European pioneer in these places and a founder member of the churches there. His arrival in America in 1633 and his career in New England and New York have been known in outline since they were first described by John Farmer in 1829, but he is less well known than many of his ministerial contemporaries and this is the first published account that spans the whole of his seventy years. William's life has here been placed in the context of the times he lived. He emigrated for religious reasons and this aspect of society in Great Britain and America has been emphasized. His life can be divided into three approximately equal parts - about twenty-nine years in Great Britain, twenty years in New England and twenty-four years in New York. An introductory section is provided for each of these parts and each section is followed by chapters dealing with the places where he lived.

The introductory section on Great Britain concentrates on the structure of the English church and the Puritan challenges to its beliefs and practices, but concludes with brief references to Scotland and the Netherlands. Chapter 1 discusses the origin of the surname Leverich and suggests William's possible relatives and place of birth in Northamptonshire. Chapter 2 looks at Cambridge during William's time there as an undergraduate at Emmanuel College from 1622 to 1626. Both Cambridge University in general and Emmanuel College in particular played a major role in the education of the early Puritan ministry in New England. Chapter 3 deals with William's first identified ministerial appointment as curate of the parish of Great Bowden in Leicestershire. He married Ellen Johnson during his short time there, which ended when legal action was taken against him in the court of the Archdeacon of Leicester. Chapter 4 examines his equally short time as rector of the parish of Great Livermere in Suffolk. This county was the English home of many of the early settlers of New England, and William and Ellen emigrated from there in 1633.

The many different British plans to colonize New England that were made before William and Ellen moved there are outlined in the introductory section on New England. The section also provides a reminder that New England was not a vacant land when the British settlers arrived. Chapter 5 looks at William and Ellen's brief stay at Dover in New Hampshire and a less certain and even briefer time in Boston. Chapter 6 deals with their short time in Duxbury and their much longer time in Sandwich, the first New Plymouth settlement on Cape Cod. William was involved in missionary work amongst the Amerindians during his sixteen years in Sandwich and his account of this work was published in London in 1652. New Plymouth was overshadowed by its larger neighbor Massachusetts Bay, but maintained an independent existence until long after William and Ellen left for Long Island in 1653.

The title New York for the third introductory section is something of a misnomer, as the area centered on the Dutch colony of New Netherland and the future New York City was known as New Amsterdam. The boundary between the British and Dutch areas of control on Long Island and the mainland was uncertain and the subject of dispute between the two groups of settlers. Chapter 7 deals William and Ellen's five years at Oyster Bay in a part of Long Island on this disputed boundary. They moved eastwards to Huntington in 1658 and their lives there and at Newtown to the west of Oyster Bay are dealt with in chapter 8. William visited Europe in 1660 and the whole of Long Island became part of New York when New Amsterdam was captured by a British fleet in 1664. William's final years in Newtown until his death there in 1677 were spent with his sons Caleb and Eleazer, and Caleb's descendants continued to live in Newtown for many generations.

Most of the early British settlers and especially the ministers among them had had common experiences, and the challenges they faced in their New World were similar, but they responded in different ways. There were indeed several 'New England ways' and William experienced more of them than most of his contemporaries. He was a man of wide learning and deep religious faith, and one who was politically active in the American communities in which he lived. Though restless and frustrated by not obtaining enough support from his fellow settlers for his view of God's kingdom on earth, he played an important part in the European colonization of New England and New York.

William met or knew some of the best-known individuals in early American colonial history. He was a contemporary of Thomas Shepard at Emmanuel College and Thomas Hooker preached at Great Bowden whilst William was there. John Winthrop Sr recorded William's arrival in New England and wrote about him during his time there. John Winthrop Jr attempted to attract William to his new settlement in Massachusetts Bay and William sought to join him after his move to Connecticut. John Wilson commended William's work amongst the Amerindians. John Davenport sought him as president for a college he was attempting to

establish in New Haven. William met Pieter Stuyvesant, the Director-General of New Netherland, during his years in Oyster Bay and contact with the Dutch authorities may have encouraged William to visit Europe. Beyond these names William would have known or been known to most of the early ministers and other leaders of European society in New England and New York.

William and Ellen's lives are hidden in the records on both sides of the Atlantic and in a small number of seventeenth-century pamphlets. The only memorials to them in the United Kingdom are the buildings that William knew - the older parts of Emmanuel College and the churches at Great Bowden and Great Livermere. In the United States, Leveridge Lane in Sandwich, a mural in Oyster Bay post office, Leverich Place in Huntington, and Leverich Street and the adjacent Leverich cemetery in Queens, New York City provide today's residents of some of the places where William and Ellen lived with reminders of their lives in their adopted country.

A Note on Currencies, Dates and Quotations

The principal unit of currency in Great Britain and its colonies was the pound sterling (*libra*, £, *l*, *lb* or *ll*). A pound was divided into twenty shillings (*solidi* or *s*) and each shilling into twelve pence (*denarii*, *d* or *p*). The twelve, six, three and two pence coins minted in Boston in 1652 by John Hull, who was born in England near where William later became a minister, had a lower value and they are dealt with in chapter 6. The principal unit of Dutch currency in use in New Netherland was the guilder. This was also known as a florin (*f*) and consisted of twenty stivers. A Flemish pound consisted of six guilders and a schelling of six stivers.

Several different sets of dates were used in the places where William lived or by those with whom he was in contact. The year began on March 25 in the calendar that was in use in Great Britain and its colonies during the seventeenth century, so that for example March 24, 1632 was followed by March 25, 1633. The use of a calendar in which the names of some of the months were based on non-Christian gods was rejected in Massachusetts Bay in the 1630s and the traditional names were replaced by numbered months starting with March as month 1. January and February thus became months 11 and 12. This system was first used by John Winthrop Sr in his journal in 1635 and irregularly at first in the Massachusetts Bay records in 1636. All these forms of the Julian calendar were ten days behind the Gregorian calendar that was used in much of Western Europe, including parts of the Netherlands, and in New Netherland in America. This calendar was adopted by Great Britain and its colonies in 1752 and each new year was then started on January 1.

It is not always easy to determine which calendar was in use when dealing with the British settlements in New Netherland, but in general it has been assumed that English writers used the Julian calendar and Dutch writers the Gregorian calendar, and their occasional references to the day of the week helps confirm this usage. The use of these calendars is shown by the dates used for the execution of Charles I on a day that is recorded in modern British accounts as January 30, 1649. In contemporary accounts it was recorded as:

30 January 1648	in Great Britain and its colonies
30 mo 11, 1648	in Massachusetts Bay and some other parts of New England
9 February 1649	in the Netherlands and New Netherland

This book follows the usual modern practice in the English-speaking world of referring to dates before 1752 by their contemporary dates, but with the year starting on January 1. Dates are shown in both the Julian and Gregorian calendars when referring to Dutch sources, e.g. January 30, 1648/February 9, 1649. The original dates have been retained in quotations, with the addition of modern style dates in brackets.

In the quotations the original spelling has been retained, but punctuation and the use of capital letters have been modernized. The many abbreviations in seventeenth-century handwriting have been expanded, 'ye' and 'yt' have been written as 'the' and 'that', and the modern usages of 'u' and 'v' and of 'i' and 'j' have been followed. The nineteenth and twentieth-century translations of Dutch documents have been left unchanged. Translations have generally been provided of Latin phrases, and biblical quotations have been taken from the Authorized or King James version of 1611.

Chronological Summary

- 1603 Elizabeth I of England dies and is succeeded by James VI of Scotland as James I of England.
- 1606 Virginia Company charter granted.
A William Leverich is baptized at Ecton, Northamptonshire.
- 1609 William Bradford and the Pilgrim Fathers move from England to the Netherlands.
- 1610 Henry Hudson sails through Hudson's Straits and discovers Hudson's Bay.
- 1614 New Netherland Company formed.
- 1616 John Smith's *A description of New England* published.
- 1620 Council for New England formed.
The Pilgrim Fathers land at Plymouth and found New Plymouth Colony.
- 1621 Dutch West India Company formed.
- 1622 William enters Emmanuel College, Cambridge.
- 1625 James I dies and is succeeded by his son Charles I.
- 1626 William graduates B.A. from Cambridge University.
William ordained deacon at Peterborough Cathedral.
Dutch West India Company establishes New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island in New Netherland.
- 1627 William ordained priest at Peterborough Cathedral.
- 1628 William appointed curate at Great Bowden, Leicestershire.
- 1629 Massachusetts Bay Company incorporated.
William marries Ellen Johnson at Great Bowden and appears before the Court of the Archdeacon of Leicester.
- 1630 Massachusetts Bay Company moves to Boston Bay.
Providence Island in the Caribbean settled by Europeans.
- 1631 William graduates M.A. from Cambridge University and is appointed rector of Great Livermere, Suffolk.
- 1632 William and Ellen's daughter Hannah is baptized at Great Livermere.
- 1633 William emigrates to New England and settles at Piscataqua (Dover), New Hampshire.
Dutch establish the Fort of Good Hope on Connecticut River.
- 1635 William admitted to the church at Boston, Massachusetts Bay.
British colonization of Connecticut begins.
- 1636 Roger Williams is banished from Massachusetts Bay and moves to Providence Plantations.
William moves to Duxbury, New Plymouth.
Hartford in Connecticut established by Thomas Hooker and others.
- 1637 William moves to Sandwich, New Plymouth.
Pequot War.
New Haven established by John Davenport and others.
- 1638 Anne Hutchinson banished from Massachusetts Bay and moves to Providence Plantations.
- 1640 Bay Psalm Book published.
- 1642 English Civil War begins.
- 1643 United Colonies of New England established.
- 1644 Providence Plantations obtains a royal charter.
- 1646 English Civil War ends.
- 1647 Pieter Stuyvesant becomes Director-General of New Netherland.
- 1648 The Cambridge Platform is published.
- 1649 Charles I executed.
George Fox, founder of the Quakers, begins preaching in England.
- 1652 *Strength out of weakness* published in London.
- 1652-54 First British-Dutch War.
- 1653 William moves to Oyster Bay, Long Island.
Fort of Good Hope seized from the Dutch.
Oliver Cromwell is named Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland.
- 1655 William declines an offer of the post of president of a college to be established at New Haven.
- 1658 William moves to Huntington, Long Island.
Oliver Cromwell dies.
- 1660 British monarchy restored with Charles II as king.
William visits Europe.

- 1662 Connecticut obtains a royal charter.
William in London. He moves to Newtown, Long Island on his return.
Half-Way Covenant established.
- 1664 British forces occupy New Netherland, which is renamed New York.
- 1664-67 Second British-Dutch War.
- 1665 New Haven Colony unites with Connecticut.
William returns to Huntington.
- 1669 William returns to Newtown.
- 1672-74 Third British-Dutch War.
- 1673 Dutch forces occupy New York.
- 1674 British forces re-occupy New York.
- 1675-78 King Philip's War.
- 1677 William dies at Newtown.
- 1679 New Hampshire separated from Massachusetts Bay.
- 1691 New Plymouth incorporated in Massachusetts.

Great Britain

*This royall throne of kings, this sceptred ile,
This earth of majestie, this seate of Mars.*

William Shakespeare, *The tragedie of King Richard the Second*, 1597.¹

The 'sceptred ile' that William Shakespeare referred to at the end of the sixteenth century contained two independent kingdoms and a principality. James VI had reigned over the Kingdom of Scotland since the abdication of his mother Mary Queen of Scots in 1567 when he was one year old. Elizabeth had succeeded her half-sister Mary as Queen of England in 1558, but for much of the century there was no Prince of Wales, a title then as now given to the eldest son of the reigning sovereign. England and Scotland had separate governments and parliaments, and different legal systems. The reformation also followed different courses in the two countries.

In England and Wales episcopacy and much of the church hierarchy were retained, though the monasteries had been abolished by Elizabeth's father, Henry VIII. The church was divided into twenty-seven dioceses, each headed by a bishop, of which the five in the north of England and the Isle of Man formed the Province of York and the remainder the Province of Canterbury. Most of the dioceses had been in existence for many centuries, but the dioceses of Bristol, Chester, Gloucester, Oxford and Peterborough, and a short-lived diocese of Westminster, were created by Henry VIII. The dioceses of Oxford and Peterborough were formed in the center of the large Diocese of Lincoln and divided the rest of the diocese into two parts. These two new dioceses were the main English centers for the ordination of ministers, Oxford taking mainly Oxford University graduates and Peterborough those from Cambridge (figure 1).² The dioceses were divided into archdeaconries and contained large numbers of parishes, each with its own church built on an east-west axis. The parish of Great Bowden where William Leverich was a minister in 1628 was in the Archdeaconry of Leicester in the Diocese of Lincoln and the parish of Great Livermere where he was in 1631 was in the Archdeaconry of Sudbury in the Diocese of Norwich. A separate hierarchy of a dean, prebendaries and canons managed the affairs of the cathedral in each diocese.

Bishops and archdeacons exercised their formal jurisdiction through the diocesan consistory courts and the archdeaconry courts. There were also provincial courts and increasingly important Courts of High Commission, which were first established in 1559. Bishops usually made formal visitations to their dioceses every three years and the archdeacons carried out similar inquiries in the intermediate years. Prior to a visitation the bishop issued a set of visitation articles specifying the matters to be inquired into, and he or his deputy held local meetings to which the minister and churchwardens of each parish were summoned. A bishop had a chancellor and an archdeacon had an official, and in practice much of their court and visitation business was undertaken by these deputies, who were often trained in the civil law practiced in these courts, rather than the common law of the other courts.³ Sir Edward Coke set out the relationship between the ecclesiastical and the common law courts in *Caudrey's Case* in 1591:

And as in temporal causes, the King, by the mouth of the judges in his courts of justice doth judge and determine the same by the temporal laws of England, so in causes ecclesiastical and spiritual, as namely, blasphemy, apostasy from Christianity, heresies, schisms, ordering admissions, institutions of clarks, celebration of divine service, rights of matrimony, divorces, general bastardy, subtraction and right of tithes, oblations, obventions, dilapidations, reparation of churches, probate of testaments, administrations and accounts upon the same, simony, incests, fornications, adulteries, solicitation of chastity, pensions, procurations, appeals in ecclesiastical causes, commutation of penance, and other (the conusans whereof belong not to the common laws of England), the same are to be determined and decided by ecclesiastical judges, according to the Kings ecclesiastical laws of this realm.⁴

In the sixteenth century the parishes were increasingly used as the administrative units for local government. Each parish had its own churchwardens, constable and surveyor of the highways, and the Elizabethan poor law made parochial overseers of the poor responsible for the management of poor relief. The justices of the peace or magistrates in each county held quarter sessions four times a year and more frequent petty sessions, and they had both a judicial rôle and administrative functions that included the supervision of parochial affairs. The right to hold quarter sessions was an essential part of a county's existence, so that those incorporated towns and cities that were entitled to hold their own quarter sessions were also described as counties.

Incorporated towns - cities where there was a cathedral and boroughs elsewhere - often consisted of more than one parish: indeed the presence of large numbers of parishes was a distinctive feature of many English towns. The square mile of the City of London contained over a hundred parishes and the City of Norwich thirty-six. The franchise could be quite extensive in cities and boroughs where the right to become a freeman depended on becoming a member of a trade guild, but rural parishes were often under the control of a vestry or parish meeting composed of only a small number of landowners.

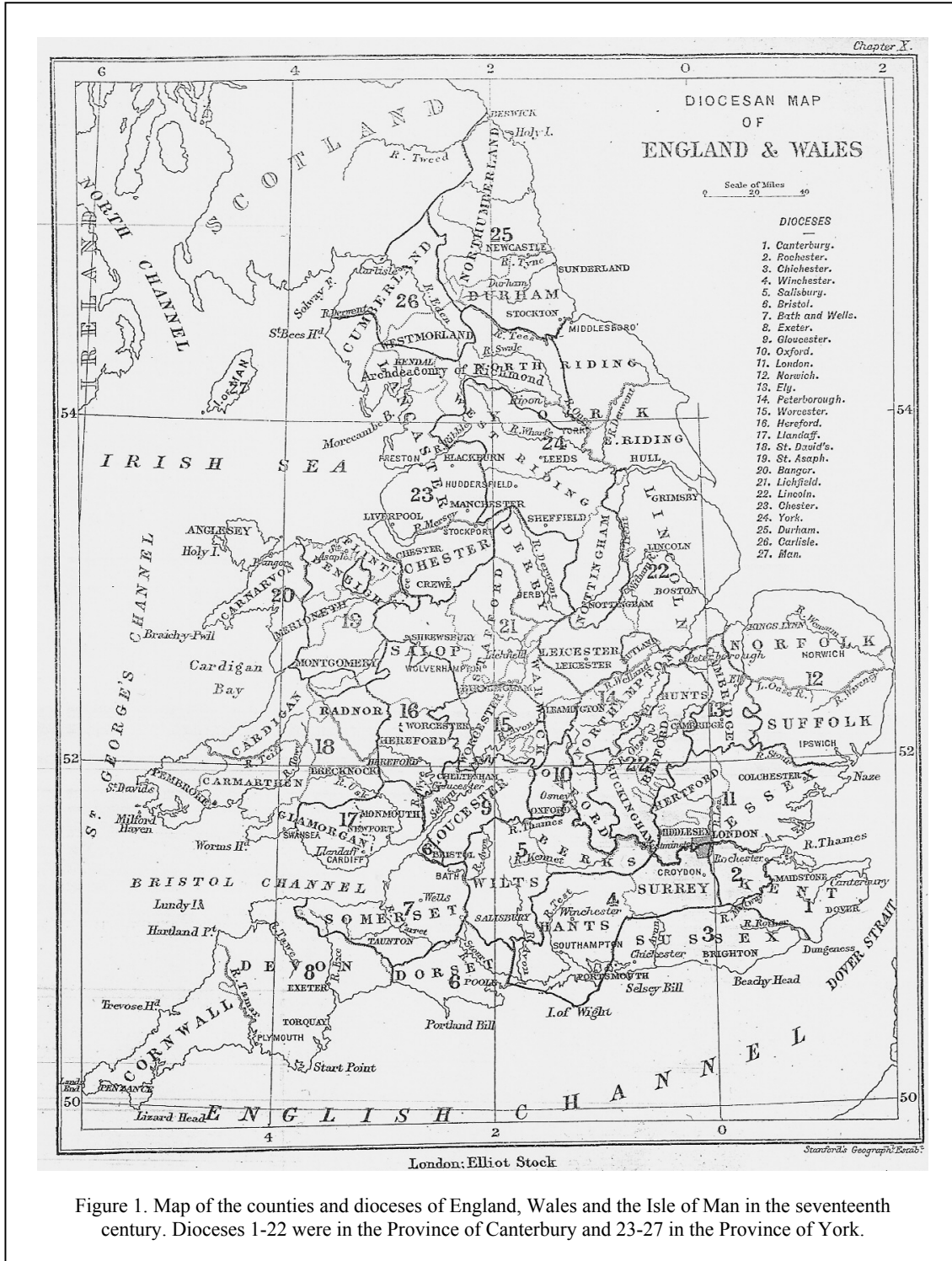


Figure 1. Map of the counties and dioceses of England, Wales and the Isle of Man in the seventeenth century. Dioceses 1-22 were in the Province of Canterbury and 23-27 in the Province of York.

The reign of Elizabeth was a time of official religious uniformity in England and Wales but increasing diversity. Those who felt that the reformation had not gone far enough came to be called Puritans. The name was used as a term of contempt and appeared in print in the 1570s at the time of the Admonition Controversy:

.....they lincke in together and slaunderously charge poore men.....with grevous faults, calling them Puritanes [*An admonition to the Parliament*, 1572].⁵

This name Puritane is very aptly given to these men, not bicause they be pure no more than were the heretikes called Cathari, but bicause they think them selves to be *mundiores ceteris*, 'more pure than others', as Cathari did, and separte them selves from all other churches and congregations as spotted and defiled. [*Whitgift, An answer to a certen libel intituled, An admonition to the Parliament*, 1572].⁶

If you meane, that those are Puritanes or Catharans, which do set forth a true and perfect patern or platforme of reforming the church, then the marke of thys heresie reacheth unto those, which made the books of common prayer. [Cartwright, *A repleye to An answere made by M. Doctor Whitgifte agaynste the Admonition to the Parliament*, 1573].⁷

Then at the start of the next century Shakespeare used the clown in *All's well that ends well* to mock their styles of dress:

Though honestie be no Puritan, yet it will doe no hurt.
It will weare the surplis of humilitie over the blacke-gowne of a bigge heart.⁸

An admonition to the Parliament sought a non-episcopal constitution for the Church of England and an end to the church hierarchy, but though widely read it had little success. The Puritans were never a coherent group, but Puritan is a convenient word to describe many of those who challenged some of the beliefs and practices of the Church of England.⁹

The England into which William Leverich was born saw a change of monarch. Elizabeth died on March 24, 1603 and was succeeded by James VI of Scotland, who became James I of England, France, Scotland and Ireland, but the royal style was changed to King of Great Britain, France and Ireland in the following year. The British crown had not held any territory in mainland Europe for fifty years, but France continued to be included in the royal style until 1837 (figure 2).¹⁰ When James journeyed south from Scotland in April he was presented with a petition by a group of Puritans who sought to be relieved from their 'common burden of humane rites and ceremonies'. This so-called Millenary Petition from the more 'than a thousand of your majesties subjects and ministers' whose wishes it professed to represent led James to call a conference of bishops and Puritan ministers at Hampton Court, his palace near London, in January 1604. Few concessions were made to the Puritans, but a decision was made to prepare a new translation of the Bible, which was published as the Authorized or King James Version in 1611.¹¹

The Elizabethan prayer book of 1559 was replaced by a new Book of Common Prayer by royal proclamation on March 5, 1604 and James set out his approach to religious diversity when he opened Parliament on March 19:

At my first coming, although I found but one religion, and that which by myself is professed, publicly allowed and by the law maintained, yet I found another sort of religion, besides a private sect, lurking within the bowels of this nation. The first is the true religion, which by me is professed and by the law is established; the second is the falsely called Catholics, but truly Papists; the third, which I call a sect rather than a religion, is the Puritans and Novelists, who do not so far differ from us in points of religion as in their confused form of policy and parity, being ever discontented with the present government and impatient to suffer any superiority, which maketh their sect unable to be suffered in any well-governed commonwealth.

In the following month James authorized the Convocation of Canterbury to approve a new series of canons and they were passed on June 25 and confirmed by letters patent on September 6. These canons codified many of the Elizabethan canons, injunctions and orders, and with few changes they remained in force in the Church of England until 1969.¹²

Opposition to the 'Papists' was strengthened by the unsuccessful attempt of Guy Fawkes and others to blow up the Houses of Parliament on November 5, 1605. The 'Puritans and Novelists' were less strongly challenged, but they were antagonized by the publication of the Book of Sports in 1618. This, *The Kings majesties declaration to his subjects concerning lawfull sports to be used*, stated that dancing, archery, leaping and vaulting, May games, Morris dances, the consumption of Whitsun ales and the decoration of churches with rushes were lawful on Sundays, providing that they were only undertaken at the end of the day's church services by those who had attended them, but that bear and bull baiting, interludes (farcical and secular plays),

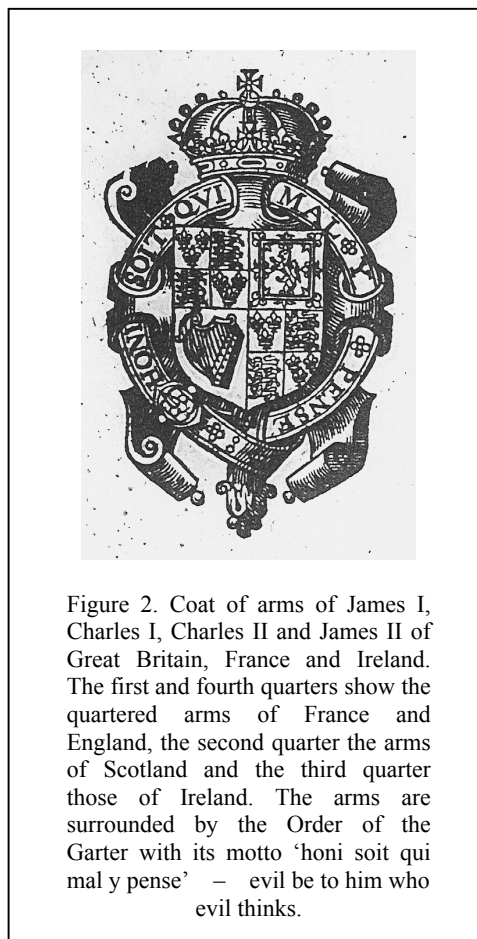


Figure 2. Coat of arms of James I, Charles I, Charles II and James II of Great Britain, France and Ireland. The first and fourth quarters show the quartered arms of France and England, the second quarter the arms of Scotland and the third quarter those of Ireland. The arms are surrounded by the Order of the Garter with its motto 'honi soit qui mal y pense' – evil be to him who evil thinks.

bowling and the wearing or carrying of offensive weapons were prohibited, and ministers were required to read the declaration from the pulpit.¹³ The contrast between the Puritans and those who supported all the doctrines of the Church of England can be summarized in two Latin aphorisms:

Quod non jubet, vetat - What God did not command, was forbidden.
Quod non vetat, permittit - What God did not forbid, was allowed.

The Puritans sought to do only what they felt was commanded in the Bible. The Church of England paid equal attention to the Bible, but followed many other practices that were considered to be consistent with its teaching.¹⁴ This caused problems with the church calendar. Only the observance of the Sabbath was specifically commanded, but the church year was centered on religious festivals such as Easter and Christmas with the addition of an occasional secular one. The most important of the secular festivals was the commemoration of the Gunpowder Plot of November 5, 1605. The service of *Prayers and thanksgivings to be used by all the Kings Majesties loving subjects, for the happy deliverance of his Majestie, the Queene, Prince, and States of Parliament from the most traiterous and bloody intended massacre by gunpowder, the 5 of November 1605* was issued in 1606 and it remained annexed to the Book of Common Prayer until 1859. The anniversary has now largely lost its religious significance, but Guy Fawkes Day continues to be widely celebrated (table 1).¹⁵

Table 1. The principal holy-days and national festivals in England in 1624.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Festival</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Festival</i>
January 1	Circumcision	June 24	Nativity of St John the Baptist
January 6	Epiphany	June 29	St Peter the Apostle
January 25	Septuagesima	July 25	St James the Apostle
February 2	Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary	August 1	Lammas Day
February 8	Shrove Sunday	August 24	St Bartholomew the Apostle
February 15	Quadragesima	September 21	St Matthew the Apostle
February 25	St Matthias the Apostle	September 29	St Michael the Archangel
March 24	Accession of King James I	October 18	St Luke the Evangelist
March 25	Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary	October 28	St Simon & St Jude the Apostles
March 28	Easter Day	November 1	All Saints' Day
April 23	St George the Martyr	November 5	Gunpowder Plot
April 25	St Mark the Evangelist	November 28	Advent Sunday
May 1	St Philip & St James the Apostles	November 30	St Andrew the Apostle
May 2	Rogation Sunday	December 21	St Thomas the Apostle
May 6	Ascension Day	December 25	Christmas Day
May 16	Whit Sunday	December 26	St Stephen the Martyr
May 23	Trinity Sunday	December 27	St John the Evangelist
May 27	Corpus Christi Day	December 28	Holy Innocents' Day

Ordination to the ministry was initially as a deacon and then as a priest, and on each occasion the clerk, clergyman or minister had to give his assent to the royal supremacy over both church and kingdom, to the Book of Common Prayer and to the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion, which had reached their final form in 1571.¹⁶ The advowson, or power of a patron to appoint a priest to the income of a benefice or living of a particular parish where he held the cure or care of souls of the parishioners, was a piece of property that could be inherited or purchased. After presentation to a living, a rector was instituted to the spiritual work of the parish by the bishop or his deputy and inducted to the temporal or financial benefits by the archdeacon or his deputy. His income was mainly derived from tithes levied on the land in the parish and from the glebe land that he directly owned, whilst the expenses of a parish's work and officers were met from local rates or taxes.

In practice the English parochial system was affected by plurality, absenteeism and impropriation. A minister might hold several rectories and other offices, and may not have resided in or near any of them. Alternatively a rectory might be held by a layman or a corporation, such as a Cambridge or Oxford college. The living might then operate on a long-term basis as a perpetual vicarage, or the parochial work might be undertaken by a curate, who had much less security and often only a small part of the income of the living. Thomas Adams deplored such arrangements when he wrote in 1614 'Let us not take and keepe livings of an hundred, or two hundred pounds a yeare, and allow a poore curate (to supply the voluntary negligence of our non-residence) eight, or.....ten pounds yeerely' and John Milton wrote in 1642 about those 'who ingrosse many pluralities under a non-resident and slubbring dispatch of soules'.¹⁷

Many patrons were laymen and their patronage gave the appointment of parish clergy a degree of independence from church control. For example Robert Rich, 2nd Earl of Warwick and an active promoter of colonial enterprises in America, was the patron of twenty-two livings, many of them in the county of Essex where he lived. In a few cases advowsons were owned by the parish vestry and two examples of this were in the City of London. The advowson of the parish of St Anne, Blackfriars was sold to a group of parish trustees

in 1607 and William Gouge, an active Puritan preacher and writer, ministered there from about 1610 until his death in 1653. The advowson of the parish of St Stephen, Coleman Street was sold to a group of parish trustees by the Crown in 1590 and John Davenport was appointed vicar in 1624. The parish became an important center for Puritans, and Davenport and several of its other residents were involved in colonial schemes in America. Both Gouge and Davenport were members of the 'Feoffes for the Purchase of Improvements', a society of four ministers, four lawyers and four merchants that was founded in 1625 to purchase parochial incomes that had been separated from their benefices and to use them to increase the income of ministers whose views they supported. The Feoffes acquired by gift or purchase about sixteen impropriations as well as some advowsons before they were suppressed in 1633.¹⁸

Quite a number of English towns and parishes had lectures, which were financed by themselves or by private individuals and were given either by a specially employed lecturer or by a combination of ministers in turn. The lectures often took place on a weekday and they provided opportunities to express Puritan beliefs away from the direct control of the religious establishment. Several of the ministers who emigrated to America had been lecturers.¹⁹

The work of the English and Welsh dioceses, archdeacons and parishes produced an abundance of records, many of which have survived from the early seventeenth century. There are records of ordinations, institutions and inductions, and of diocesan and archdeaconry courts. At a parochial level there are churchwardens' accounts and the registers of baptisms, marriages and burials that ministers have been required to keep since 1538. From 1597 copies of these registers had to be sent to the bishop (or in some places to the archdeacon) in the spring at the end of the church year and incomplete though these bishops' transcripts often are they provide a separate source of parochial information that is particularly useful when the original registers have been lost or are difficult to read. These church records and those of Cambridge University provide the earliest available information about the life and work of William Leverich.

In Scotland there was a gradual gain in royal authority over the church at the expense of the papacy before 1560, the conventional year for the start of the Scottish reformation, and a system of 'privy kirks' or unofficial churches developed. The Scottish parliament approved a protestant Confession of Faith when it met in 1560 and the superintendents who were appointed in a few dioceses gradually took over some of the functions and responsibilities of the bishops. Queen Mary had lived in France since her marriage in 1558 to Francis, the heir to the French throne. He succeeded his father a year later, but died at the end of 1560. When Mary returned to Scotland in August 1561 she issued a proclamation forbidding any 'alteratioun or innovatioun of the state of religioun, or attempt ony thing aganis [against] the forme quhilk [which] hir Majestie fand [found] publict and universalie standing at her Majesties arrivall in this hir realme', but those opposed to an episcopal system of church government gradually gained in strength during the six years leading to her abdication in 1567. Nevertheless the bishops remained in office and the Church of Scotland shared many features with the Church of England. Though unsuccessful in England, supporters of the *Admonition* to the English parliament were increasingly influential in Scotland from 1574 onwards and a presbyterian system of church government by ministers and church elders was gradually set up. Legislation alternately supporting either episcopacy or presbyterianism was passed during the next hundred years until episcopacy in the Church of Scotland was finally abolished in 1690.²⁰

The Low Countries or Spanish Netherlands were torn by revolt and war for much of the second half of the sixteenth century. Stability was restored in 1609 by a twelve-year truce between the seven United Provinces in the north and the Spanish government that retained control in the south. It split the Low Countries into a partly Protestant north and a predominately Catholic south, but did not separate them along the linguistic divide that persists today in Belgium. The United Provinces had a federal structure with the States-General as their national government and the Princes of Orange as their leading family. The truce provided the foundation for the modern kingdoms of the Netherlands and Belgium, but creates a degree of ambiguity when referring to the word 'Netherlands' and its Latin alternative 'Belgica'. Furthermore, though Holland was one of the most influential provinces, it was not the whole country. The 'Netherlands' is used in this book to refer to the United Provinces of the Netherlands and 'Dutch' is used for both the language and the people of these Netherlands.²¹

The Dutch Reformed Church became the national church of the Netherlands. Its doctrine was defined by the Synod of Dort, which met from November 1618 to May 1619, and it was organized as a system of consistories, classes and synods. The Netherlands provided a degree of religious toleration not only for its own citizens but also for emigrants from England. English churches were established and they served the needs of three main groups - religious separatists, soldiers in the service of the Dutch state and merchants. A group of immigrants that sought separation from the Church of England formed the Brethren of the Separation of the First English Church at Amsterdam, or Ancient Brethren, in about 1593. Their minister Francis Johnson had moved to the Netherlands in 1590 and had previously ministered to the needs of English merchants at Middelburg, and he was joined by other ministers including Henry Ainsworth. The Ancient Brethren were continually torn by internal disputes and they were unsuccessful in joining the Dutch Reformed Church.

English merchants in Amsterdam joined the Dutch Reformed Church and an English Reformed Church was formed there in 1607 as a part of the Classis of Amsterdam and the Synod of North Holland. John Paget was appointed the minister of the English church when it was established and he remained in office until shortly before his death in 1638. When a group led by William Brewster and John Robinson left Scrooby in Nottinghamshire in 1608 they initially associated with the Ancient Brethren but moved in 1609 to Leiden, where they established their own independent church with Robinson as their minister. They were accompanied by William Bradford and were later joined by Edward Winslow, both of whom became governors of New Plymouth in New England.²²

The Netherlands was important not only as a haven for English dissidents but also for beginning the European colonization of what is now New York. There they provided the first European government for the area that would become William Leverich's final home.

1 - Ancestors

He who does not think of his ancestors will be negligent of his posterity.

Attributed to William Leverich¹

In 1046 King Edward the Confessor made his clerk Leofric the Bishop of Crediton in Devon. Several years later Leofric wrote to Pope Leo IX to seek his approval for moving the bishop's seat from Crediton to Exeter. This proposal was approved and Edward and his wife Edith installed Leofric as the first Bishop of Exeter in 1050. Leofric made several gifts to his new diocese, including some land in Bampton, Aston and Chimney in Oxfordshire. Though the surnames Leverage, Leverich and Leveridge are derived from the personal name Leofric, it is unlikely that those with these surnames today are descended from this particular Leofric, but 650 years after his death in 1072 there were Leveridges farming in Bampton. No Leveridges live there now, but part of Leofric's Bampton estate was still owned by the Church Commissioners in 1990.²

The name Leofric is derived from two Old English words - 'leof' meaning beloved or dear and 'rice' meaning mighty, realm or rich. The modern word 'rich' is derived from the Old English 'rice'. Leofric is one of a group of Anglo-Saxon personal names that were formed from two words. Originally these compound names had a meaning, but later on relationship was indicated by giving a child a name beginning with one of the elements of his father's name or by combining one element from his father's name with one from his mother's name. 'Leof-' and '-ric' therefore appear in other names such as Leofgeat 'beloved-gate', Leofgod 'beloved-god', Hereric 'army-realm' and Sigeric 'victory-realm'. There are over a hundred references to individuals with the name Leofric in the Domesday Book of 1086, where it occurs in the Latin form Leuric or Levric. At first sight Leofric does not look like Leuric or Levric. However, in Old English the vowel combination 'eo' was pronounced as a single sound and in medieval Latin the letters 'u' and 'v' were not distinguished as vowel and consonant. 'Leofric' was probably therefore pronounced like 'leafric' or 'leavric'.³

Leofric or Levric was adopted as a surname when it was added to a personal name to refer to someone's father or ancestor. Indeed it is the first example of such a patronymic given by P. H. Reaney in *The origin of English surnames*. The process had already begun when the Domesday Book was compiled. It contains several individuals called William [son of] Leofric, including one who held land in Gloucestershire. Just over a century later Geoffrey son of Leofric made a grant of half an acre of land in Thurlby in Lincolnshire to St Michael's Nunnery in Stamford and the document recording the grant bears his seal.⁴ The development of the surname in this way means that the various Leverages, Leveriches and Leveridges alive today are unlikely to be descended from one particular Leofric. Leofric gradually fell out of use as a personal name when French names such as Robert and William replaced Old English ones after the Norman Conquest. Alfred, Edmund and Edward are amongst the few survivors. Surnames became well-established in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The commonest early forms of the Leverich surname were Leverage and Leverich. Leveridge began to be used at the end of the sixteenth century.

William Leverich's parents and birthplace have not been definitively identified. The most that can be said with any degree of certainty is that he is very unlikely to have been born at a place called Drawlington in Warwickshire. The story that he was born there and was the son of Sir Saville Leverich of Drawlington Hall first appeared in an undated manuscript biography of William written by one of his great-great-great-grand-daughters, Susan Maria Leverich, who was born in 1836. Her account was probably the source of the information that appeared in Fitch's *Encyclopedia of biography of New York* in 1916, in the Venns' *Alumni Cantabrigienses* in 1924 and in later accounts and databases. However, no such place as Drawlington has been identified in Warwickshire, nor anywhere else in England. Similarly no record has been found of a building called Drawlington Hall, nor of a Sir Saville Leverich. There also appears to be no evidence for the years of birth of 1603 or 1605 that have been ascribed to William.⁵

Some of William's nineteenth-century descendants adopted a coat of arms that Susan Leverich stated was granted to a John Saville Leveridge knighted by Queen Elizabeth in 1562 and that in 1692 John Theobald Leveridge was the plaintiff in an action against the Irish Leveridges who had appropriated it. The suit was decided in favour of John Theobald and the Irish relatives had to pay a fine of £800 and costs. No evidence has been found to support her account. English coats of arms are officially granted by the College of Arms, but as in the case of William's descendants many are adopted unofficially (figure 3). These 'Leverich' arms were granted or confirmed to William Leversage of Wheelock in Cheshire by William Flower, Norroy King of Arms, in 1580, but no link has been found between his family and William Leverich. Various versions of the Leversage coat of arms are recorded as associated with the surnames Leverage, Leverett, Leversedge and Leverage, including one with leveretts or young hares in place of the ploughshares. The Cloister at Canterbury Cathedral in Kent has one with leopards' faces instead of ploughshares. Another version with the leopards' faces on the chevron is on the font at St Martin, Herne in Kent with other coats of arms that enable the font to be dated to 1405-14 (figure 4). A similar coat of arms was once present on a fourteenth-century effigy in the church of St Martin, Ash-next-Sandwich in Kent that is said to be of Sir John Leverick.⁶

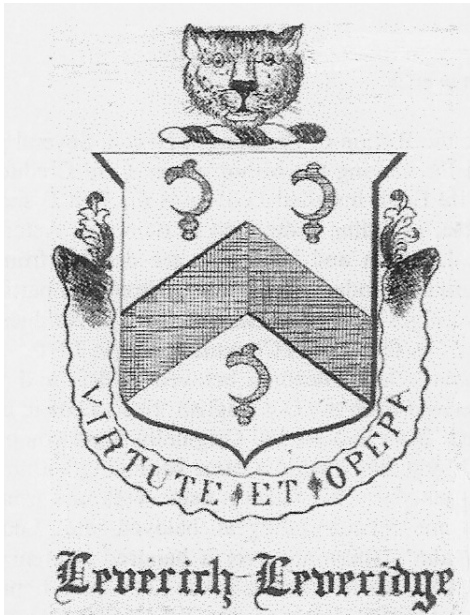


Figure 3. Coat of arms adopted by some of William Leverich's nineteenth-century descendants. Its heraldic description is 'argent a chevron between three ploughshares erect sable' and the crest 'a leopard's face proper'. The motto reads 'virtute et opera' - virtue and work.

The lack of evidence for a Drawlington ancestry does not exclude the possibility that William came from Warwickshire. Similar surnames do occur in the records of the county, but none seem to have any connection with William. The place-name Lericheshull in Beaudesert in 1282 is now Liveridge Hill, but there is no trace of the use of the name as a surname in the records of the parish. Several people had the surname Leevinge in the parish of Radway in the early seventeenth century and one of them was referred to as Henry Leeverige in a will of 1652, but this was an isolated occurrence of the spelling.⁷

William may, however, have come from Northamptonshire, since it is very possible that he was Abraham and Eleanor Leverich's son William, who was baptized at Ecton in 1606. Leveriches lived in several Northamptonshire parishes along the valley of the River Nene to the east and north-east of Northampton in the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (figure 5). A William Leveryche was referred to in some financial accounts relating to Eston-justa-Stamford in 1444-45 and a John Leveryk was the minister of Thorpe Achurch in 1481. Eston is the modern Easton-on-the-Hill, which is two miles south-west of Stamford.⁸



Figure 4. Two of the coats of arms on the early fifteenth-century font of the church of St Martin, Herne, Kent.

The will of John Lewrige of Ecton was proved in the court of the Archdeacon of Northampton during the period 1527 to 1532. The will of William Leveryche of Stanwick in Northamptonshire and Little Stanbrige in Essex was proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury in 1556. Little Stanbrige is now known as Little Stambridge. John Winthrop, the future governor of Massachusetts Bay, married Mary Forth, daughter and heiress of John Forth of the adjacent parish of Great Stambridge in 1605. Fifteen years later Oliver Cromwell married Elizabeth Bouchier, daughter of Sir James Bouchier of Little Stambridge Hall.⁹

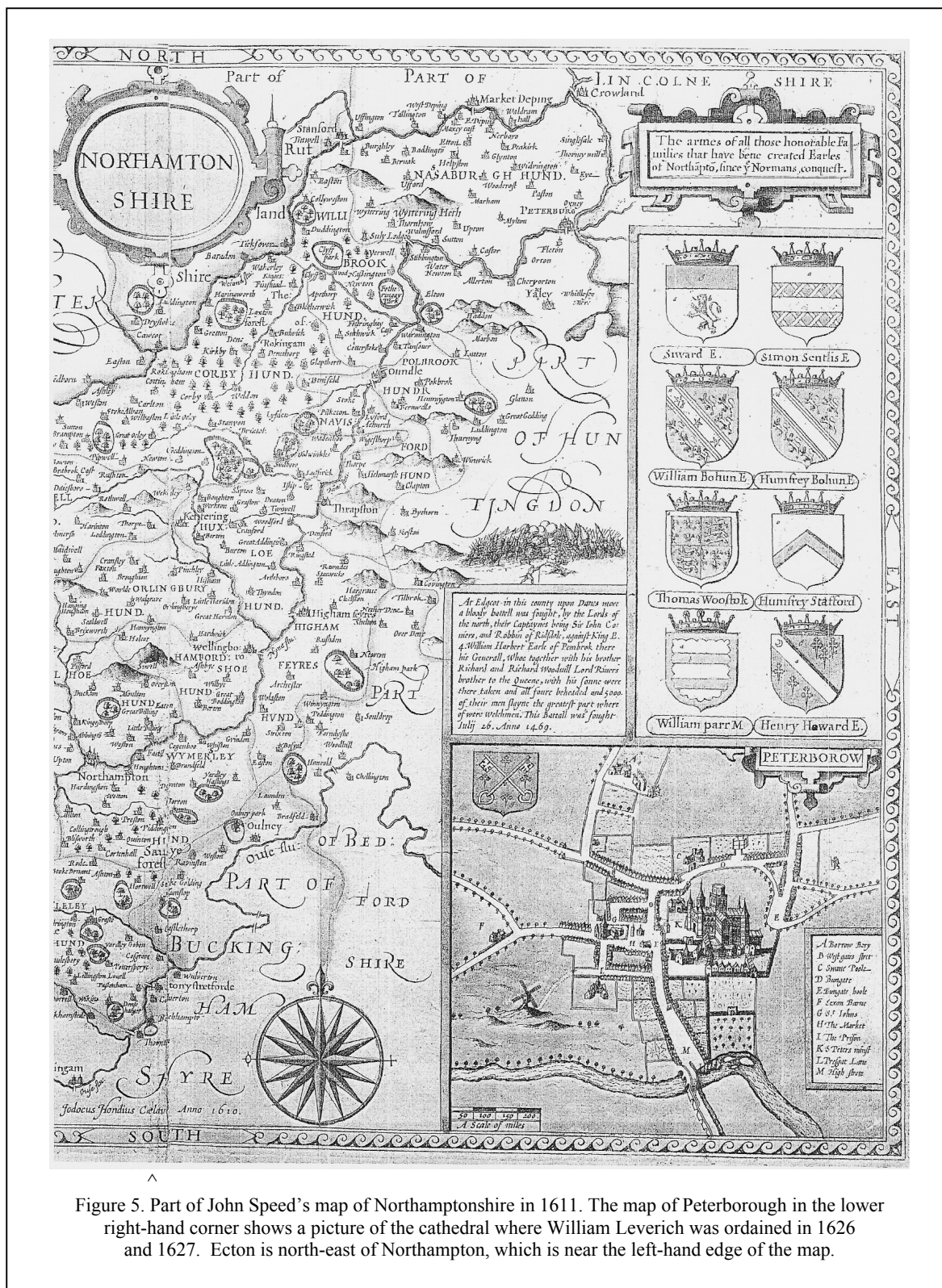


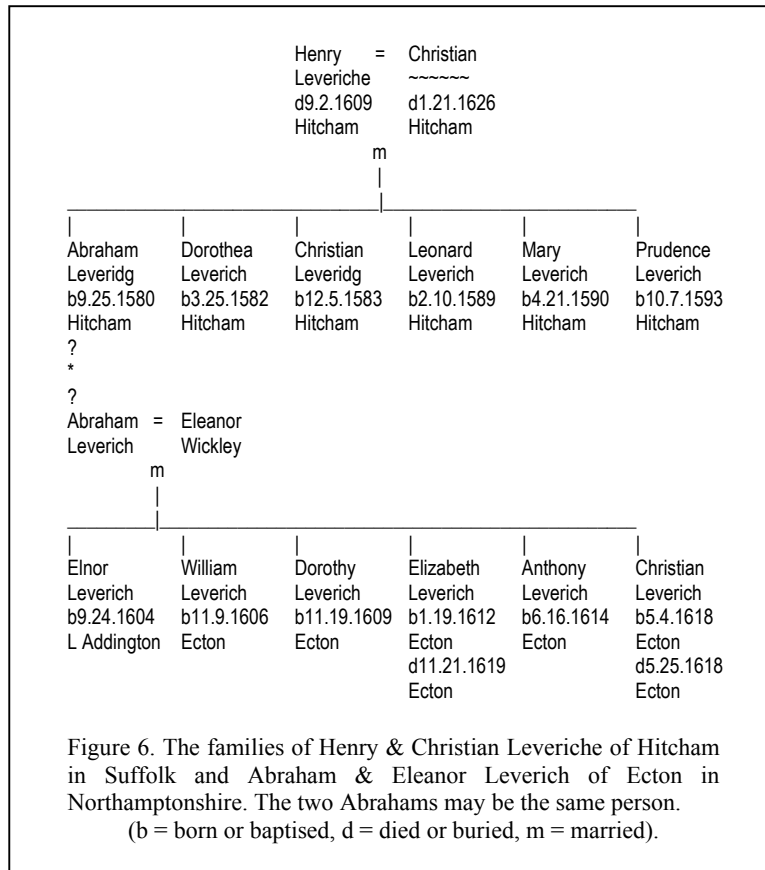
Figure 5. Part of John Speed’s map of Northamptonshire in 1611. The map of Peterborough in the lower right-hand corner shows a picture of the cathedral where William Leverich was ordained in 1626 and 1627. Ecton is north-east of Northampton, which is near the left-hand edge of the map.

The Henry Leveriche of Hitcham in the county of Suffolk whose will was proved in the court of the Archdeacon of Sudbury on October 22, 1609 would have had links to Northamptonshire as he made bequests to the poor of Ecton and Little Addington, a parish ten miles north-east of Ecton (table 2). He had six children and his elder son Abraham may have been William of Ecton’s father. Abraham of Ecton’s eldest child was baptized at Little Addington in 1604 and the other five at Ecton (figure 6). His wife Eleanor was a daughter of John and Anne Wickley of Little Addington. Their family was described by John Bridges (1666-1724) in the early eighteenth century, but his account was not published until 1791:

Giles Wykeley, gent., the second son of Henry Wycliff or Wickley of Yorkshire, and by Eleanor, daughter of Thomas Tawyer of Raundes, had issue John, Thomas and Edward, and one daughter Alice, wife to Edward Fulhurst of Wakerley. He died seized of a manor in Adington-Parva held by fealty of the crown, as of the honor of Gloucester, in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, leaving his son John, a minor seven years old, his heir and successor. By Anne his wife, daughter to Reginald Bass of Strixton, John Wikley had issue four sons, Thomas, Henry, Edward and Arthur, with five daughters, Eleanor the wife of Abraham Leverick of Ecton, Anne of Christopher Clarke of Thingdon, Elizabeth married to Francis Unney of Lincolnshire, Martha to John Lavender and Margaret to Thomas Sutton of Woodford. He appears to have been living in 1618 and was succeeded in this manor of Adington-Parva by Thomas Wykeley his eldest son..... From him it descended to his posterity.¹⁰

Table 2. Summary of the will of Henry Leveriche of Hitcham in Suffolk made in 1606 and proved in 1609.

<i>Beneficiary</i>	<i>Bequest</i>
My wife Christian Leveriche	The tenement where I live and 2 acres of ground belonging thereunto for life; then to be equally divided between my daughters Dorathie, Christian, Elizabeth, Mary and Prudence Leverich
My daughters	One field called Stone Field being now in diverse parcels
Poor people of Hitcham	Ten shillings
Poor people of Eckton	Ten shillings
Poor people of Little Addington	Five shillings
My wife Christian	Residue of estate



Seventeenth-century parish registers only occasionally recorded dates of birth, but most babies were probably baptized soon after they were born. The Book of Common Prayer stated that ‘the pastors and curates shall often admonish the people, that they deferre not the baptisme of infants any longer then the Sunday or other holy day next after the child be borne, unlesse upon a great and reasonable cause, declared to the curate, and by him approved’.¹¹ William of Ecton was therefore probably less than a month old when he was baptized on November 9, 1606.

John Cole in *The history and antiquities of Ecton* published in 1825 referred to the parish ‘as the residence of the parent stock of the illustrious Franklin’. The register in which the Leverich baptisms were recorded was examined by the ‘illustrious’ Benjamin Franklin in 1758 when he visited the parish to look for information about his own ancestors, and the church he saw is still there (figure 7). Benjamin wrote to his son William in his autobiography in 1771 that

The notes one of my uncles (who had the same kind of curiosity in collecting family anecdotes) once put into my hands, furnished me with several particulars relating to our ancestors. From these notes I learned that the family had lived in the same village, Ecton in Northamptonshire, for three hundred years, and how much longer he knew not....on a freehold of about thirty acres, aided by the smith's business, which had continued in the family till his time, the eldest son being always bred to that business, a custom which he and my father both followed as to their eldest sons. When I searched the registers at Ecton, I found an account of their births, marriages and burials from the year 1555 only, there being no registers kept in that parish at any time preceding. By that register I perceived that I was the youngest son of the youngest son for five generations back. My grandfather Thomas, who was born in 1598, lived at Ecton till he grew too old to follow business longer, when he went to live with his son John, a dyer at Banbury in Oxfordshire, with whom my father served an apprenticeship. There my grandfather died and lies buried. We saw his gravestone in 1758.....

My grandfather had four sons that grew up, viz. Thomas, John, Benjamin and Josiah..... Thomas was bred a smith under his father; but being ingenious, and encouraged in learning.....by an Esquire Palmer, then the principal gentleman in that parish, he qualified himself for the business of scrivener, became a considerable man in the county, was a chief mover of all public-spirited undertakings for the county or town of Northampton and his own village, of which many instances were related of him..... He died in 1702, January 6, old stile, just four years to a day before I was born. The account we received of his life and character from some old people at Ecton, I remember, struck you as something extraordinary from its similarity to what you knew of mine. 'Had he died on the same day,' you said, 'one might have supposed a transmigration.'¹²

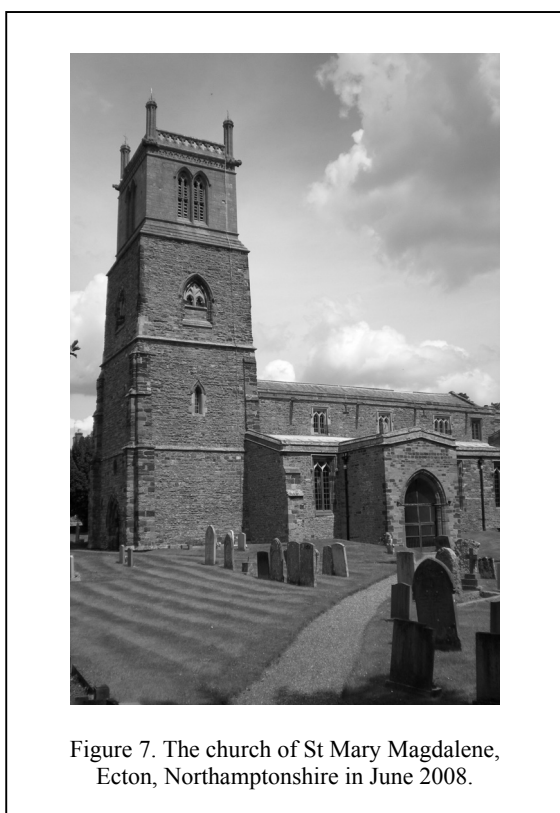


Figure 7. The church of St Mary Magdalene, Ecton, Northamptonshire in June 2008.

Abraham Leverich was almost certainly the 'cousin Abraham Leverich' who was referred to in the will of Richard Leverich of Ecton and Stanwick which was made in 1610 and proved by his son Phynees in the Archdeacon of Northampton's court in 1613. Probate of the will of Richard's wife Mary was obtained in the same court when she died in 1616. Richard and Mary had at least eleven children, who were recorded as baptized or buried in Ecton or were mentioned in their wills (figure 8).¹³

Their eldest son John was baptized on November 13, 1572 and was probably the John Leveridge who matriculated at Magdalen Hall (now Magdalen College), Oxford on June 23, 1587, though he was then stated to be aged 13. John was a pupil of William Woode, a fellow of Magdalen who died soon after making his will on November 8, 1588. Woode left ten pounds to his sister Ellenor, wife of Richard Write, and ten pounds and the residue of his estate to John, whom he made executor of his will. John obtained probate of the will in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury on October 26, 1593, when he would probably have been aged 21. He remained at Magdalen until 1595, but does not appear to have ever graduated. He may have been the John Leverich who was one of the three men from Stanwick in a list of trained men in Northamptonshire in October 1605.¹⁴

Richard and Mary Leverich's daughter Margaret married Robert Travell at Ecton in 1596. Richard and Mary's son Henry was apprenticed to Richard Gall, a scrivener in the City of London, in 1605 and became a member of the Writers of the Court Letter of the City of London in 1617. He may be the same person as the Henry Leverich of the City of London parish of St Bartholomew the Less for whose estate letters of administration were granted to a creditor William Poole by the Prerogative Court of Canterbury in 1639. Richard and Mary's son Phynees was probably the Phiness Leverich of Swineshead whose will was proved in the court of the Archdeacon of Huntingdon in 1647.¹⁵

Richard's will was witnessed by Richard Cleburne, the rector of Stanwick, and his son-in-law Robert Travell, the rector of Weston Favell, a parish near Ecton that is now part of the town of Northampton. Robert was also one of the executors of Mary's will. Robert entered Magdalen Hall in 1586 at the age of 17 and graduated in 1589. He became rector of Weston Favell in 1593 (figure 9). He made a copy of the parish's baptisms, marriages and burials from 1540 and added the new entries from 1593. He also added his own family history at the start of what is now the parish's first surviving register. His family had purchased the advowson of Weston Favell in 1583. Robert, himself, appears to have obtained it in 1596, but probably sold it in 1620. His coat of arms and pedigree were recorded during a heraldic visitation in 1619.¹⁶

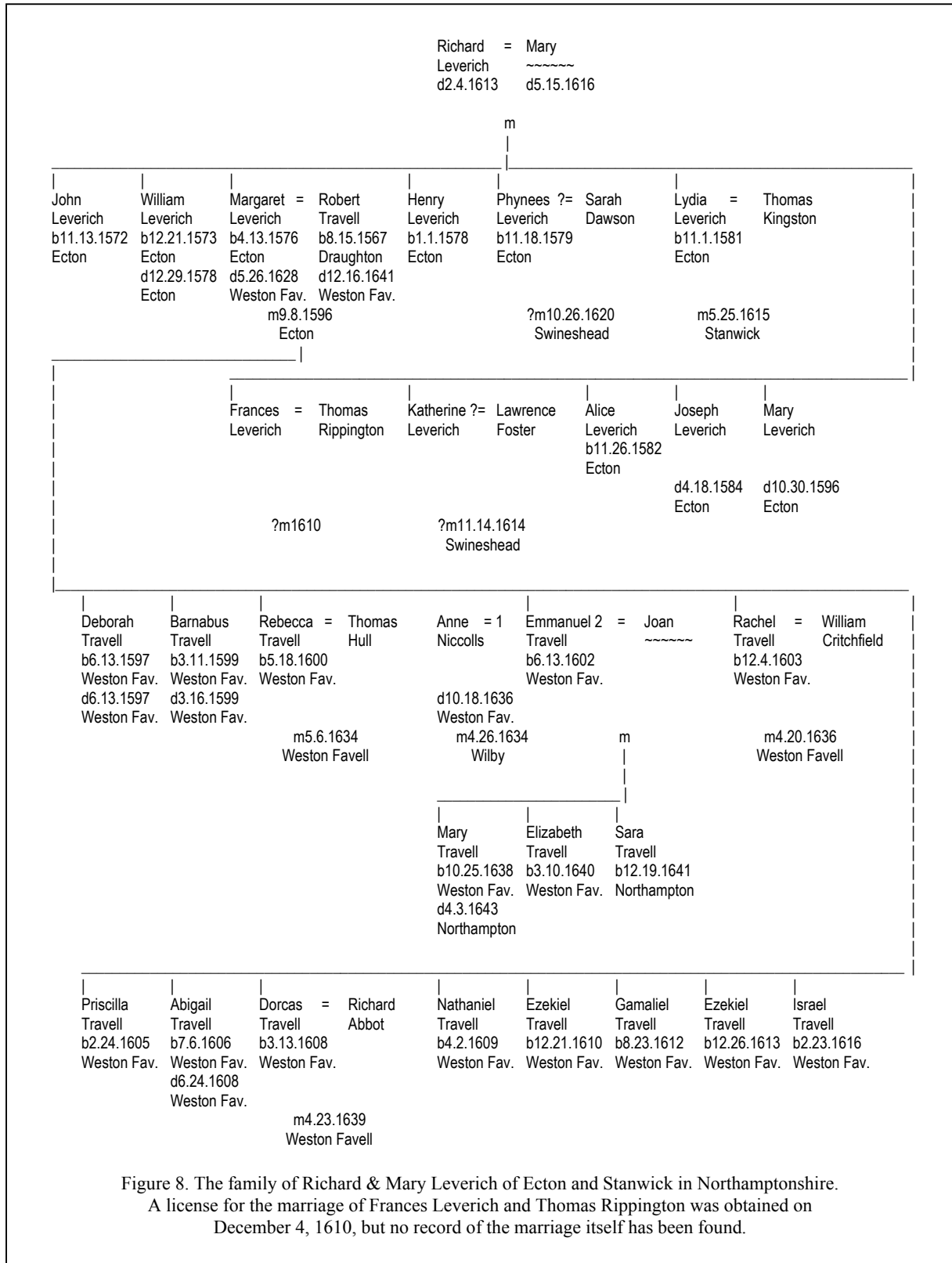


Figure 8. The family of Richard & Mary Leverich of Ecton and Stanwick in Northamptonshire.
A license for the marriage of Frances Leverich and Thomas Rippington was obtained on December 4, 1610, but no record of the marriage itself has been found.

Robert shared some of the Puritan ideas that were current in Northamptonshire, but he was not one of the sixteen Northamptonshire ministers who signed a statement on ‘certain motions in the cause of Reformation’ on July 21, 1603. He was, however, taken before the Consistory Court of the Diocese of Peterborough on at least two occasions in 1604 for objecting to the use of a surplice and for not following the Book of Common Prayer.¹⁷ He was deprived of his living, but was reinstated on April 30, 1605 on the presentation of his father-in-law Richard Leverich when he agreed to conform to the recently-approved canons of 1604.



Figure 9. The church of St Peter, Weston Favell, Northamptonshire in February 2001.

Reinstatement would normally have led to Robert having to pay a second set of first fruits, the tax which was payable to the Crown when a clergyman was appointed to a new living. However, on May 18 a warrant to the Exchequer was issued

to exonerate & discharge Robert Travell, clarke, his heires and executors, from the payment of any some of money for the first fruits of the parsonage of Weston in the county of Northampton due by force of any act of parliament for the first fruits, to which parsonage he was heretofore presented & admitted by the Bishop of Peterborough and lately deprived thereof because he would not conforme himself to the canons in that behalfe, since which time he hath submitted himself; procured by the Archbishop of Cantorbury.¹⁸

Robert recorded the baptisms of his thirteen children in the parish register of Weston Favell and remained rector there until his death in 1641. His will had a distinctive beginning that reflected his personal faith. Instead of the usual words with which testators commended their souls to Almighty God, he wrote, probably in his own hand, that

haveing many yeares travelled towards my promised rest, and now feelinge my selfe not onely drawinge neare unto my seventieth year, but haveing received a commandment from God to put my house in order Esay.38.i,^a doe now attendinge to my duty, being in perfect health & memory (blessed bee God), make this my last will and testament in forme and manner following. First I commend my soule which is my chiefest treasure unto the safe keepinge of my Savior Jesus Christ, with a full assurance that hee will be pleased to repose itt for a time among his blessed saints & angels untill I shall receive itt of him again in a glorified state to reighne with him for ever.

a Isaiah 38: 1. In those days was Hezekiah sick unto death. And Isaiah the prophet the son of Amos came unto him, and said unto him, Thus saith the Lord, Set thine house in order: for thou shalt die, and not live.

Robert may have had a guilty conscience as he appears to state in his will that he had sold glebe or church land in Weston Favell to Roger Coles on the security of Robert's son Emmanuel paying Roger ten pounds a year and that 'to prevent dissention after my decease, my will is that mine executors shall pay ten pounds unto the aforesaid Roger Coles.....and that the.....lands bee againe restored to the Church' and that the half year's rent of £36 due from John Pendleton of Northampton should be divided between them 'for the mending of their persons'. Robert went on that he had disposed of the greatest part of his goods during his lifetime and

he made bequests of two shillings to 'my disobedient sonne Immanuel', forty shillings to the poor of Weston Favell and ten shillings each to the overseers of his will, and bequeathed the rest of his estate to be equally divided between his seven children Nathaniel, Ezekaell, Israel, Rebecca, Rachel, Precilla & Dorcas'.¹⁹ It is not clear what Robert's 'disobedient sonne' had done. He was baptised as Emmanuel in 1602, was admitted to Emmanuel College, Cambridge on June 9, 1619 and probably assisted his father at Weston Favell. Robert's son Nathaniel may have gone to New England as at the Massachusetts Bay General Court on April 30, 1640 an otherwise unknown Nathaniell Travell was 'admonished to acknowledg his offence in his scandelous & slaunders speeches of several persons, which he promised to do, & to take advise'.²⁰

There were Leverichs and Leveridges living in other counties and some of them were faced with the challenges of the English reformation. Ann Leveryche married Nicholas Appleby, the vicar of the Norfolk parish of Gateley between 1549 and 1553, when clerical marriages were legalized during the brief reign of Edward VI. They were then brought before the Norwich Consistory Court and ordered to separate and undertake penance when Edward was succeeded by his half-sister Mary in 1553. Clerical marriage was restored when Mary was succeeded by her half-sister Elizabeth and Ann and Nicholas had had a son and probably at least one daughter by the time Ann obtained probate of his will in 1591.²¹

Leveridges lived in the Oxfordshire parish of Watlington during the English Civil War and in 1643 Watlington was on the dividing line between the forces of Charles I based in Oxford and the parliamentary forces based in London. Another group of Leveridges was living in the Bedfordshire parish of Elstow when John Bunyan was born there in 1628 and one of them was buried in Elstow in 1680 on the day before Bunyan's step-mother. The wills of two other Bedfordshire Leveridges were witnessed in 1683 and 1685 by a William Whitbread, who joined immediately after Bunyan the independent church in Bedford that now bears Bunyan's name.²²

2 - Cambridge

The best place for knowledge and learning.
 Thomas Shepard, Autobiography¹

Whilst William's birthplace and parentage can only be conjectured, it is certain that he entered Emmanuel College in the University of Cambridge on March 28, 1622. Cambridge was then a market town with a population of nearly 8,000 townspeople. It was small in comparison to London, or regional centers such as Bristol and Norwich, but like Oxford was divided by its university into 'town' and 'gown'. The university was a federation of sixteen autonomous colleges. The colleges admitted students, accommodated them and provided most of their tuition. Each college had a master (though he had a different title in some colleges) and up to about twenty fellows. Masters were allowed to marry, but fellows had to remain celibate for as long as they retained their fellowships. The university provided some of the tuition and awarded the B.A. degree after three years' residence. The university year was divided into four parts - Michaelmas Term in the fall, Lent Term in the spring, Easter Term ending early in July and the summer months when lectures continued but which were increasingly seen as the Long Vacation. The town was divided into fifteen parishes, each with its own parish church. The town that William arrived at in 1622 was pictured on John Speed's map of 1611 and this can still be used to find the colleges and churches that William would have known, but Speed did not add a scale of paces like those on many of his other town maps, such as that of Peterborough (figure 10).²

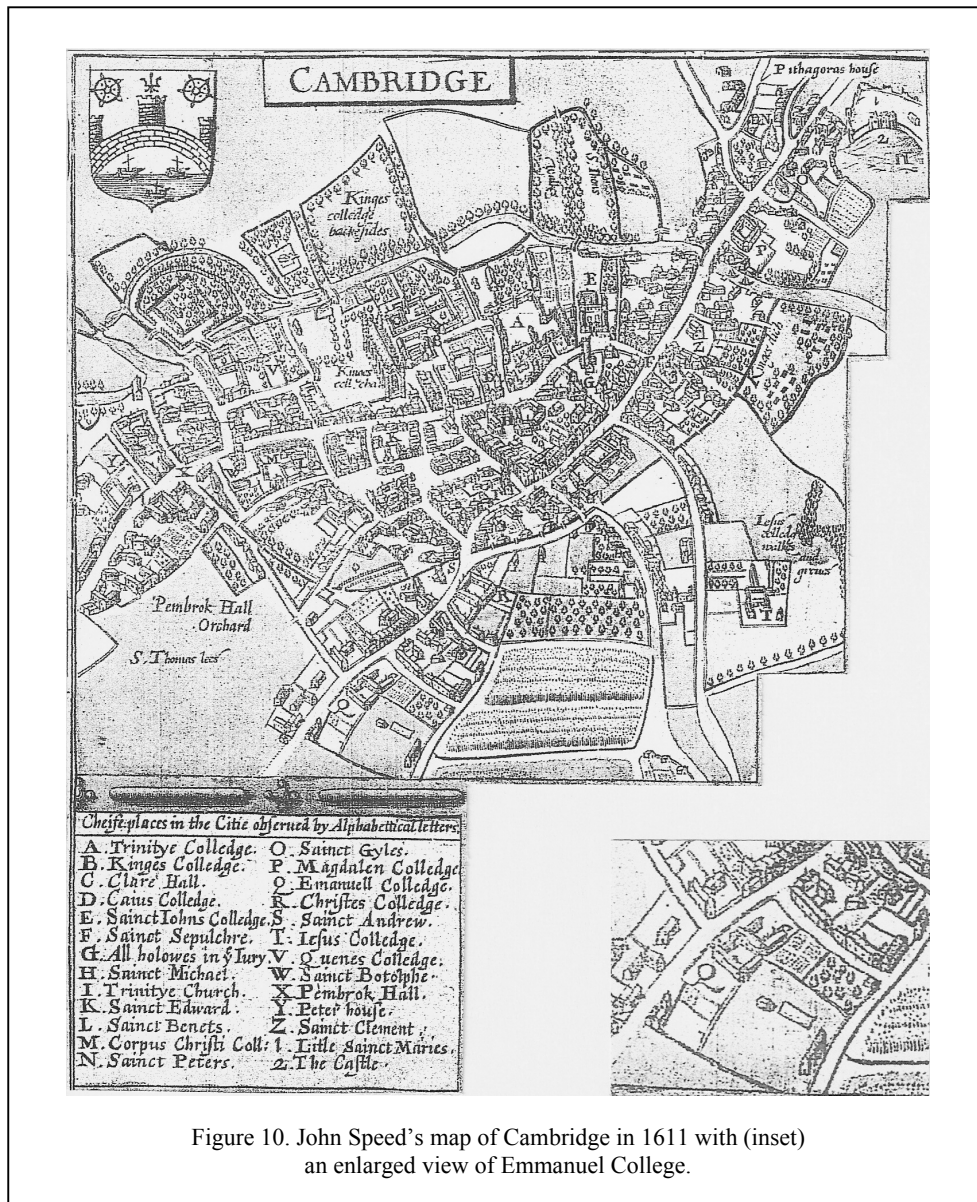


Figure 10. John Speed's map of Cambridge in 1611 with (inset) an enlarged view of Emmanuel College.

Emmanuel College was founded by Sir Walter Mildmay in 1584. It and Sidney Sussex College were the only colleges established in Cambridge during the reign of Elizabeth. The next college, Downing College, was not established until 1807. Mildmay had entered Christ's College in about 1538. He left without taking a degree and in 1540 joined his elder brother Thomas at the Court of Augmentations, a government office that had been established to handle the monastic revenues. Walter rose in prominence in the government hierarchy. He was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer on February 5, 1559, four months after the accession of Elizabeth, and retained the office until his death in 1588.³ He purchased the site for Emmanuel College on November 23, 1583, obtained the royal charter that authorized the college's foundation on January 11, 1584 and completed his deed of foundation on May 25. The first admissions took place on November 1 and eighty names had been recorded by July 1, 1585. The college's statutes were signed and sealed on October 1. In them Mildmay declared

that in establishing this college we have set before us this one aim, of rendering as many persons as possible fit for the sacred ministry of the Word and the Sacraments; so that from this seminary the Church of England might have men whom it may call forth to instruct the people and undertake the duty of pastors (a matter of all things most necessary).

but in practice the college was much more than a theological seminary and some of its members were admitted to the four London inns of court - Gray's Inn, Lincoln's Inn, Inner Temple and Middle Temple - to train as lawyers.⁴ Elizabeth, however, wondered about Mildmay's motives. Thomas Fuller recorded in 1655 that

Coming to Court after he had founded his Colledge, the Queen told him, Sir Walter, I hear you have erected a Puritan foundation. No, Madam, saith he, farre be it from me to countenance any thing contrary to your established lawes, but I have set an *Acorn*, which when it becomes an *Oake*, God alone knows what will be the fruit thereof. [And Fuller added] Sure I am, at this day it hath overshadowed all the University, more than a moyety of the present masters of colledges being bred therein.⁵

Mildmay's statutes required the college to give preference to fellows and scholars from Essex and Northamptonshire, the counties of his birth and residence in later life, but stated that there should not be more than one fellow nor more than three scholars from each of these counties at any one time. The college quickly established a Puritan reputation under its first master Laurence Chaderton and soon became one of the largest colleges. Chaderton attended the Hampton Court Conference of January 1604 and took part in the preparation of the King James Version of the Bible. His biographer, William Dillingham, recorded that when James I and his son Charles visited Cambridge in March 1615

someone pointed out to him that the chapel was far out of the eastward position; thereupon Chaderton remarked to the King that he had been told that the same was true of the royal chapel at Whitehall. The King answered, 'God will not turn away his face from the prayers of any holy and pious man, to whatever region of heaven he directs his eyes. So, doctor, I beg you pray for me.'⁶

Richard Corbett of Christ Church, Oxford singled out the college in 'A certain poeme' that was performed in Latin before the King during the visit:

Their colledges were new bepainted,	But the pure house of <i>Emanuel</i>
Their founders eke, were new besainted;	Would not be like proud <i>Jesabel</i> ,
Nothing escap't; nor post, nor doore,	Nor shew her selfe before the King
Nor gate, nor rayle, nor bawde, nor whore:	An hypocrite, or <i>painted</i> thing:
You could not know, oh strange mishappe!	But, that the wayes might all prove faire,
Whither you saw the <i>Towne</i> , or <i>Mappe</i> .	Conceiv'd a tedious mile of Prayer.

and Corbett's later poem entitled 'The distracted Puritane' contained the lines

In the howse of pure Emanuel
I had my education;
Where my friends surmise
I dazeld mine eyes,
With the light of revelation.⁷

Emmanuel College was built on the site of a Dominican friary and incorporated some of its buildings. The college was entered from the north side and its original buildings were the north-south orientated chapel on the east side of what is now rather confusingly known as New Court, a hall between New Court and what is now called Front Court, and three ranges of chambers on the west side of New Court and the west and south

sides of Front Court. The main surviving parts of these buildings are the chapel and the hall. The chapel was converted into the college's library in 1678-79 and is now a dining room. The hall was remodeled internally in the eighteenth century (figures 11 & 12).⁸



Figure 11. New Court, Emmanuel College, Cambridge in April 2006.
The old chapel is on the left and the hall on the right.



Figure 12. The Hall, Emmanuel College, Cambridge in September 2004. The portrait of Sir Walter Mildmay at the far end of the Hall was painted in 1574.

There were three types of undergraduate, each paying different admission fees. Fellow-commoners paid five pounds to the college, pensioners ten shillings and sizars two shillings and six pence. Fellow-commoners were the sons of nobility and affluent gentry. They dined (i.e. received their commons) with the fellows and were addressed as 'Mr'. Sizars were student-servants on reduced fees who paid for their commons and tuition by waiting on the fellows and fellow-commoners. The college statutes directed that 'none of the fellows of the said college, nor of the pensioners admitted to share the board and society of the fellows, to be permitted to have a man-servant, unless the servant have a chamber in college and apply himself to learning, to perform all the exercises which shall be prescribed for scholars and pensioners according to the ability and progress in learning of each'. A chamber accommodated several students - four per chamber was specified in the college statutes - and each student probably also had an individual study cubicle. William was a sizar and was one of twenty-one students whose names were recorded in Emmanuel College's admissions register during the six months from October 30, 1621 to April 29 1622 (figure 13).⁹

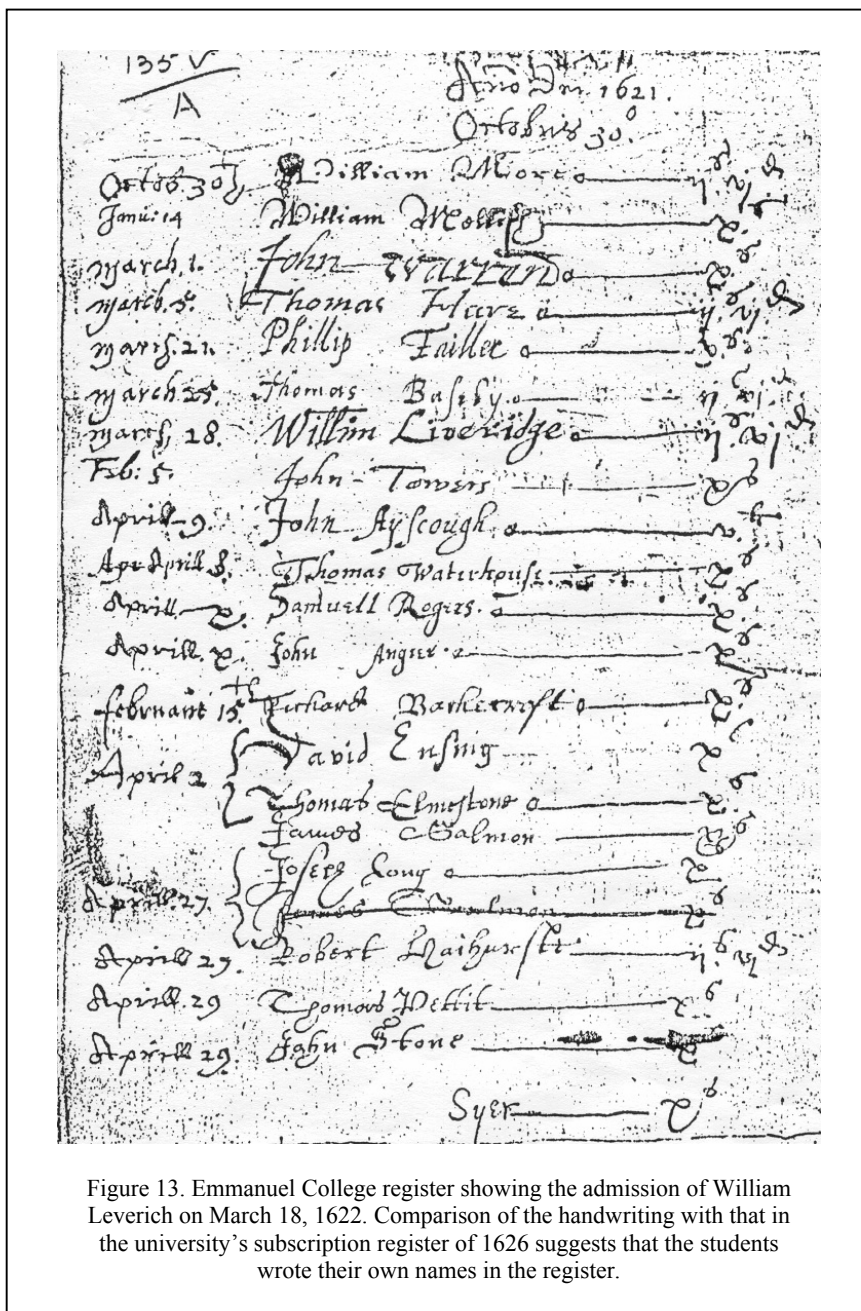


Figure 13. Emmanuel College register showing the admission of William Liverich on March 18, 1622. Comparison of the handwriting with that in the university's subscription register of 1626 suggests that the students wrote their own names in the register.

Sizars had many roles to play. After the future Sir William Paston had entered Corpus Christi College in 1624, his mother, Lady Katherine Paston, wrote 'Good child, lett not a poor hungry siser want a reward from the[e], but lett the poorest and least be fri[e]nded, [and] reape a kindnes from the[e]. Lett such not want bread

or beer, in a moderat maner, but be a healp to the healples in ther most need, and the Lord will blesse the[e] if thou beest kinde to the poor and nedy on[e]s'. William Paston's tutor, William Roberts, had himself been a sizar at the college. Thomas Hooker entered Queens' College in 1604, transferred to Emmanuel when he graduated in 1608 and was a fellow there from 1609 to 1618. He later recorded how he had received spiritual support from his sizar, Simeon Ashe, who entered Emmanuel in 1613. George Herbert, a fellow of Trinity College, probably had sizars in mind when at about the same time he wrote his well-known hymn with the verse

A servant with this clause
Makes drudgery divine
Who sweeps a chamber for thy lawes
Makes that and th'action fine.

and then changed 'chamber' to 'room as'.¹⁰ The allocation of chambers had to be handled carefully, especially when an important student was involved. Joseph Mead or Mede was a fellow of Christ's College from 1618 to 1638 and his correspondence with Sir Martin Stuteville is a key source of information about Cambridge during William's period of residence.¹¹ He was tutor to Sir Martin's son John and when he entered the college as a pensioner in 1625 Mead wrote on April 23 that

I must dispose of your son in the new building where I have a study voyd in one of the best chambers; but a M[aste]r of Art is the chamber fellow to make it thereby inconvenient for my use. I have no way but to sett one of my bachelors.....who keepest in the same building to keep with the M[aste]r of Art, and let yours have the use of his study, though it be not in so good a chamber. For bedding we shall make shift perhaps for a week till we know better what is needfull. If he keeps in the new-building he must have a whole bedding because he lyes alone; if in another chamber, where he hath a bedfellow, they must make a bed between them, and his part wilbe more or lesse according as his bedfellow is furnished.¹²

New students were matriculated by the university, though this did not always take place in the term when they arrived at their college. Each college praelector listed the names of those to be matriculated and the matriculation fees - two shillings and sixpence for fellow-commoners, one shilling for pensioners and four pence for sizars - on a piece of paper and the names were then transferred to the university's matriculation register. Most matriculations took place in July, with smaller numbers in April and December. William was one of ten Emmanuel students who were matriculated on April 13, 1622, but his name was marked 'ab[sent]' on both the college's matriculation list and the matriculation register (table 3).¹³

Absence from matriculation was uncommon and only two other students from all the colleges were marked as absent from matriculation during 1622. It may therefore be significant that one of them was 'Mr William Fitzwilliam', a fellow-commoner from Emmanuel who matriculated at the same time as William Leverich. Were the two absences connected, perhaps because William was Fitzwilliam's sizar? However, Fitzwilliam's entry to Emmanuel was recorded on August 23, 1621, the same day as Richard Winkles, a sizar who matriculated on the same day as the two Williams, so he is more likely to have been Fitzwilliam's sizar. The Fitzwilliams came from Northamptonshire. William Fitzwilliam was a grandson of the college's founder, his father was created Baron Fitzwilliam of Lifford in 1620 and his daughter Jane was the second wife of the architect Sir Christopher Wren.¹⁴

Chaderton was Master of Emmanuel College for nearly forty years until his resignation in September 1622. He was succeeded by John Preston of Queens' College, but continued to live in Cambridge and died there in 1640 at the age of over 100. Preston came from Northamptonshire and entered King's College as an undergraduate in 1604. He transferred to Queens' in 1606, was elected a fellow of the college in 1609 and was appointed Prebendary of Lincoln Cathedral in the following year. He was converted by a sermon preached by John Cotton at Great St Mary's, the university church, and was ordained deacon and priest at Peterborough Cathedral in June 1614. Cotton graduated from Trinity College in 1603, moved to Emmanuel in the following year and was a fellow of the college from 1606 until 1612. He then presented the college with its copy of Martin Chemnitz's *Examen concilii tridentini* published in Frankfurt in 1609 and became vicar of St Botolph's, Boston in Lincolnshire, where he combined an effective local ministry with support to aspiring and recently ordained ministers.¹⁵

Preston was learned, well-connected in both university and court circles, and politically astute. He refused some posts - the Professorship of Theology at Dublin, the Lady Margaret Professorship of Theology at Cambridge, the Bishopric of Gloucester and the Lord Keepership of the Great Seal - and accepted others - Preacher at Lincoln's Inn, Preacher at Holy Trinity, Cambridge and Court Preacher to Prince Charles (figure 14). Preston's election as Master of Emmanuel was arranged quickly and quietly. Chaderton resigned on about September 25 and Preston was elected on October 2. William would probably have witnessed Preston's arrival at Emmanuel, which Mead described in a letter to Stuteville from Christ's College on October 5:

Table 3. Emmanuel College students who matriculated at Cambridge University from April to December 1622. The names are listed in the order they appear in the university's matriculation register. Individuals with the note [Ordained] became Church of England ministers and were thus presumably ordained, but the details are not known. Samuel Rogers's name appears twice in the praelector's list and the matriculation register.
*Benjamin Gery matriculated as a sizar Easter 1622.

Type of student	Name	Emmanuel fee paid	B.A.	M.A.	Notes
Matriculations on April 23, 1622					
Fellow-commoner	William Fitzwilliam	August 23, 1621			2nd Baron Fitzwilliam 1644
Pensioner	John Warren	March 1, 1622	1627		Ordained deacon ?1627 Chichester & priest 1630 St Davids
	Henry Salmon	Easter term 1621	1626	1629	Fellow 1629-34 [Ordained]
	John Towers	February 5, 1622			
	Thomas Waterhouse	April 8, 1622			
Sizar	Philip Taylor	March 21, 1622	1627	1630	Gonville & Caius College 1625
	Thomas Baseley	March 25, 1622			
	Richard Winckles	August 23, 1621			
	William Leverich	March 28, 1622	1626	1631	Ordained deacon 1626 & priest 1627 Peterborough
	Thomas Hares	March 5, 1622	1626		
Matriculations on July 4, 1622					
Fellow-commoner	John Ayscough	April 9, 1622			[Ordained]
Pensioner	John Jackson	May 1, 1622			
	Thomas Holbech	April 30, 1622	1626	1629	[Ordained]. Fellow 1629. Master 1675
	Vincent Freeman	June 13, 1622	1626		
	Thomas Jermin	June 13, 1622	1626	1629	
	William Richards	June 13, 1622	1626	1629	
	George Smyth	June 19, 1622	1626	1629	[Ordained]
	Henry Bornford	June 22, 1622	1626	1629	
	Samuel Rogers	April 10, 1622	1626	1629	
	Walter Drewry	June 11, 1621	1626	1629	[Ordained]
	John Syer	April, 1622	1625		Ordained deacon & priest 1626 Norwich
	Joseph Long	April 27, 1622	1626	1629	Christ's College by 1626
	John Gray	May 18, 1622			
	William Mellish	January 14, 1622			Admitted Gray's Inn 1626
	John Stone	April 29, 1622			
	James Salmon	April, 1622	1625	1629	Ordained deacon 1626 London
	David Ensing	April 2, 1622	1626	1629	Fellow 1629
	Robert Hall	May 9, 1622	1626		
	Thomas Elmston	April 2, 1622	1626	1629	
	Richard Bachecroft	February 15, 1622			Admitted Lincoln's Inn 1623
	John Angier	April 10, 1622	1626		[Ordained by Dr Bayley, Bishop of Bangor]
	Thomas Rawson	May 24, 1622	1626		Ordained deacon 1627 & priest 1628 York
	John Horrockes	June 8, 1622	1626	1629	
	Thomas Googe	May 4, 1622			
	George Bloomfield	June 11, 1622			
	Thomas Gerard	June 11, 1622			
	Roger Goodyeare	June 19, 1622	1626		
	Thomas Shipton	June 27, 1622			
	John Gearinge	June 27, 1622			
	Edmund Shalcrosse	June 29, 1622	1626	1629	[Ordained]
	Peter Nicholls	June 27, 1622	1626	1629	[Ordained]
	Thomas Petit	April 29, 1622			Admitted Gray's Inn 1624
Sizar	Thomas Templer	May 1, 1622	1626	1629	Ordained deacon 1627 London
	Robert Hocknell	September 18, 1621	1625		Ordained deacon 1625 & priest 1627 Peterborough
	Edmund Robothom	June 5, 1622	1626		
	Ralph Greenling	May 23, 1622	1625		
	Benjamin Gery	*			
	Adam Hunt	June 29, 1622	1626	1629	
	Thomas Beverdsell	May 31, 1622			
Matriculations on December 13, 1622					
Pensioner	Thomas Owen	September 28, 1622	1627	1630	Gonville & Caius College 1623
Sizar	Robert Hayhurst	April 27, 1622	1626	1629	
	Nathaniel Hinde	June 29, 1622	1627	1630	[Ordained]
	Henry Bacon	June 22, 1622	1627		Ordained deacon & priest 1627 Peterborough
	William Aynsworth	July 11, 1622			[Ordained]

I can adde some universitie newes, viz., that on Wednesday last, in the forenoone, Mr Preston was chosen master of Emmanuell Colledg, it being the 7th day after the *vacatio agnita* by resignation of the old doctor. Yet so secretly did they carrie their busines, that not any in the towne, no, nor any of the schollers of their owne colledg, did so much as suspect any vacation or election till all was done and finished..... Never did I beleeve till now I see it experienced, that so many as 12 could keep counsell a week together, and fellowes of a colledg too! Who would have thought but there would have bin a Judas amongst 12? but they jest at Emmanuell, and tell us that Judas was gone, and they had but eleven, for one fellowship lyes voyd in regard of some suit about the maintenance for it. The new master thus chosen was presently in the afternoone fetcht from Queenes by all the fellowes, and accompanied thence by some of the fellowes there, and most of the schollers, almost to Emmanuell gates, where the seminarie of Emmanuell stood to entertaine him.¹⁶



*The true Picture of John Preston,
D^r. in Diuinity, and sometimes
Preacher of Lincolnes-Inn.*

Figure 14. John Preston, Master of Emmanuel College
1622-28.

Mead's surprise at the secrecy of the election was perhaps all the greater because the front gates of his college and those of Emmanuel were only about 100 yards apart. Preston brought twelve pupils with him from Queens', including his first biographer, Thomas Ball, who in his description of Preston's arrival stated that 'a very goodly company attended him from *Queens* unto *Emanuel*, where they were cheerfully received and entertained according to the custome, with a generous and costly banquet'.¹⁷

Nearly five months later there were foreign visitors to be seen in Cambridge. Ambassadors of Philip IV, King of Spain, and his widowed aunt, Isabella Clara Eugenia, Archduchess of Austria, arrived on February 25, 1623 and were accommodated at Trinity College. They went to see James I at Newmarket, 22 miles east of Cambridge, on the following day and then on February 27 they were awarded degrees and were entertained by a Latin disputation and ceremonial speeches before leaving Cambridge. The last of the speeches was made by Charles Chauncy, a fellow of Trinity whose theological beliefs would influence William seventeen years later in New England.¹⁸

Later in the year there were celebrations in Cambridge and other parts of the country to mark the return to England of Prince Charles after six months abroad trying unsuccessfully to conclude a marriage to the Infanta Donna Maria, sister of Philip IV. Mead reported the Cambridge celebrations to Stuteville on October 11:

The newes came to our Vicechancellor Munday fornoone. Our belles rung all that day, & the towne made bonefires at night. Tuesday the belles continued ringing; every colledg had a speech & one dish more at supper, & bonefires & squibbes in their courts, the townsmen still continuing to warm their streets in every corner also with bonefires, least they should not be merry when we were. Wednesday the Universitie assembled; in the forenoone to a gratulatorie sermon at St Maries, in the afternoone to a publick oration. The close at night was with bonefires, drummes, gunnes, fireworks, till past midnight all the towne about.

The next day the senior members of the university presented a celebratory book of verses, *Gratulatio Academiae Cantabrigiensis de serenissimi principis reditu ex Hispaniis exoptatissimo*, to the Prince and King, who were at Royston, twelve miles south-west of Cambridge. Prince Charles became king as Charles I when his father died on March 27/April 6, 1625. He married Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry IV, King of France, by proxy in Paris on May 1/11 and welcomed his fifteen-year old bride at Dover on June 13/23.¹⁹

William would have known some Latin before entering university, but Emmanuel's statutes left it to the judgment of the Master to prescribe what he thought fit 'concerning the retention of Latin speech in private and familiar intercourse'. The framework of the university curriculum provided for a first year of rhetoric followed by two years of dialectic and a fourth of philosophy and this was supported by lectures and disputations in the university's 'schools'. William's university studies would have been predominantly theological, with Greek and Hebrew to support them. Much of the teaching would have been undertaken by his tutor and by the college lecturers in theology, Greek and Hebrew. There were set texts to study and William would have needed books for his work - not only the Bible, but grammars and other books. The catalogues of the college's library compiled in about 1597 and in 1621, 1622, 1626, 1632 and 1637 show that it possessed a wide range of books. Many of them are still there.²⁰

William would probably have owned some books. Alexander Clugh, who entered the college as a pensioner in 1612 and graduated in 1616, had 61 volumes when he died in 1621. Mead's account books record the names of more than 1,600 books purchased by his students at Christ's. The sizar's book purchases averaged 14.3 per student and 0.9 per student per quarter. Colleges purchased books from bequests they were given. Timothy Hutton became a fellow of St John's College in the year that William arrived in Cambridge, was ordained in the same place and year as William and became the rector of a Suffolk parish in the year that William left his Suffolk parish for New England. When Hutton died in 1638 he bequeathed £20 15s to his college for the purchase of books, and the college's Old Library which was built whilst William was an undergraduate contains 66 volumes with bookplates recording their purchase from the bequest.²¹

Susan Leverich in her biography of William stated that he 'was doubtless familiar with the medical teaching of that day, for nothing was more common among the university educated theologues, than to attend the lectures of the medical professors, and "walk the hospital" as it was termed, which was connected with nearly all the universities'. It seems unlikely, however, that William would actually have had any medical tuition whilst he was at Cambridge, but there was a rudimentary form of medical education in the university and some members of Emmanuel did become physicians. Edward Adey, who graduated in 1625, and William Stanes, who matriculated in 1629, became members of the Royal College of Physicians.²²

The university had a professor of physic and when John Caius refounded Gonville Hall in 1557 to form the college now known as Gonville & Caius College (or Caius College for short) he created several medical fellowships. William Harvey entered the college in 1593, graduated in 1597 and went for further medical education to Padua where he graduated B.D. in 1602. His *Exercitatio anatomica de mortu cordia et sanguinis in animalibus* (Anatomical dissertation concerning the motion of the heart and blood in animals) was published in Frankfurt in 1628.²³ Mead attended anatomy demonstrations when they were available. He wrote to Stuteville on March 15, 1628 that

We had an anatomy lecture upon a boy of some 18 yeares old, Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, twice a day the 2 last dayes. I was once there, but saw it so ill accommodated that I came no more; for it was in the Regent House upon a table, when onlye halfe a skore d[octo]rs could come to see any thing, standing close by the table, and so hindring others seeing, which was the cheife: for I can read as good as they could heare, and with more ease. It will be next time I hope better, for our new d[octo]r will have one every yeare. We heare talke that the body was begged before any was condemned, which if true was very absurd.

The 'Regent House' that Mead referred to was in use as the catalogue room of the University Library by the end of the nineteenth century and is now a general common room for the university's senior teaching and administrative staff. Mead wrote again on April 16, 1631 that

Going on Wednesday from Jesus Coll[edge] pensionary with Dr Ward [Master of Sidney Sussex College] to his colledge through the closes and gardens, and espying a garden dore open, I entred and saw there a hideous sight of the skull and all other bones of a man with ligaments and tendons hanging and drying in the sun by stringes upon trees, &c. I asked what it ment. They told me it was the pedler they anatomised this Lent and that when his bones were dry they were to be sett together againe as they were naturally and so reserved in a chest or coffin for their use who desired such an inspection.²⁴

Colleges were responsible for discipline as well as the curriculum. Emmanuel's statutes distinguished students who were 'of age' and could be fined from those who were to be 'corrected with the rod'. The ages at which students entered university probably varied quite a bit, but the few students of known age to enter Emmanuel in 1622 were either 16 or 17. The highest level of discipline involved the Master and Dean, but Emmanuel's admonition book contains few entries from the 1620s and only one that was probably made whilst William was a student. Eight students were formally admonished by the Master and Dean, then Thomas Hooker, on February 5, 1617 'for making and letting of squibbs in contempt of the publick command of the master'. Two students were admonished on November 9, 1621 'for drinking unseasonably, viz. at nine or ten of the clock at night, and excessively in a chamber next to the open street to the offence of both the colledge and alsoe of the town'. Then an undated entry signed by Preston and two of the fellows recorded that

a student was admonished ‘for notorious negligence at prayers in the chappel’. The next entry was made on March 24, 1628, when a student was admonished for ‘notorious negligence at chapel, for disobedient and ill carriage’ towards the Dean and for ‘other loose behaviour’.²⁵

Bubonic plague was an ever-present threat in seventeenth-century England, and London, Norwich and other places were particularly affected by an epidemic in 1625. Fear of plague entering Cambridge led the university’s vice-chancellor and the town’s mayor to issue orders on July 11 to maintain a 24-hour watch on the town’s boundary, to apprehend ‘passengers and strangers’ and to hold a fast every Wednesday, and their order to cleanse the town helps us visualize the scene (and sense the smell) of Cambridge in the 1620s:

That the aforesaid churchwardens, constables, and overseers doe from time to time take care, that all inhabitants and other persons within their severall parishes doe pave, gravell, water, sweepe, and cleanse their doores, channells, streets and lanes which belong unto them every Tewsdays and Saturday: and to suffer no muckhills to remaine in any pent houses or yards: nor any hogs to be kept in any houses, or pent yards in the towne, nor to come in the streets, or lanes of this towne: nor any butchers to kill any beasts at their doores, or in their shops: nor farriers to bleed any beast at their shops, or doors, nor in the streetes, except they receive the blood, garbage and other filth unto some vessell, and the same presently convey to the common muckhill on the backside of the towne.²⁶

The university decided on August 1 that ‘notwithstandinge all the care that hath been taken to keep out Londoners and other strangers that come from infected places, there be divers that by stealth creepe into this towne’ and that therefore it was necessary to postpone holding its combination sermon at Great St Mary’s for six weeks and this ban was subsequently extended in October. The Master and Fellows of Emmanuel College agreed on August 15

that seing a great number of the schollers are gone away upon the contagion which is at this time in the parish, & the feare of the increase thereof, that there shall be a breaking up of the colledge, & leave given to all to depart which will & continue abroad till the 17 day of October. But because many Londoners must stay in the colledge not having whether else to goe, it is agreed that always 3 fellows shall be at home, to keepe the same course of all thinges which hath been formerly used. And because the promulgation of this may be a prejudice to the colledge abroad, we have all agreed that it shall be kept close *sicut secretum collegii*.²⁷

Mead wrote on September 4 that

I desire to be at Dalham [in Suffolk] Munday come sennight, which wilbe soone here; a week is soon gone. I cannot sooner. I have performed [i.e. preached] twice and must againe to morrow sennight. But I think I shall thinke the time long and be forced to you for want of victuall. All our market to day could not supplie us commons for night. I am steward and am faine to appoint egges, applepyes & custards for want of other fare. They will suffer nothing to come from Ely [12 miles north of Cambridge]. Eeles are absolutly forbidden to be brought to our market: so are rootes [vegetables]. You see what tis to have a Physitian among the Heads [John Gostlin, Master of Caius]. We cannot have leave scarce to take the aire. We have but one m[aste]r of art in our colledg, and this week he was punisht 10s for giving the porters boy a box on the eare because he would not let him out at the gates.²⁸

Recent redevelopment of the area immediately west of Emmanuel College has allowed an archaeological inspection of site to be made. It was found to contain a tenth-century ditch along a line that remained a property boundary into the twenty-first century, a wide range of medieval and later features, and six cows from the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries. Some of the cows were pregnant and they appear not to have been butchered and eaten.²⁹

William and thirty-eight other Emmanuel students graduated B.A. at the bachelors’ or minor commencement in the Lent Term 1626 on completion of their undergraduate studies. The supplicat or motion for the award of each student’s degree was written on a slip of paper, which was signed by the Emmanuel’s praelector, Nathaniel Fowle (figure 15):

William Leverich makes supplication to your reverences that the twelve terms which he has completed and in which he has heard the ordinary lectures (albeit not entirely in accordance with the form of the statute) together with all the contrary arguments and replies and other exercises required by royal statute may suffice for him as a reply to the question.

Na[thaniel] Fowle pr[aelector]

The words in parentheses were included in all students’ supplicats, not just William’s. The name of each student was then entered in the Grace Book, which recorded all the supplicats and other graces or motions that the university considered.³⁰ Before graduation each student was required to sign the university’s Subscriptions Register under the words ‘We whose names are here underwritten doe willingly & *ex animo* subscribe to the three articles before mentioned and to all things in them contayned’ (figure 16).

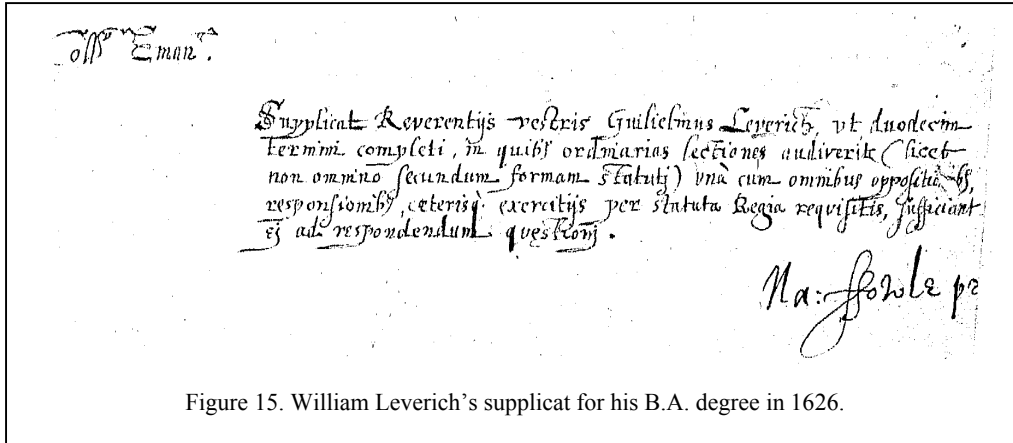


Figure 15. William Leverich’s supplicat for his B.A. degree in 1626.

Oxford undergraduates older than 14 had been required to subscribe to these three articles on matriculation since 1581. Subscription on matriculation was not required at Cambridge, but was introduced there by royal command in 1613 for those taking higher degrees and in 1616 for those taking all degrees. The articles stated

1. That the King’s Majesty under God is the only supreme governer of this realme, & of all other his Highnesse dominions and cuntryes, as well in spiritual or ecclesiasticall things & causes as temporall, & that no forraine prince, person, prelate, state or potentate hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, preheminence, or authority, ecclesiasticall or spirituall, within his Majesty’s sayd realmes, dominions and cuntryes.
2. That the Book of Common Prayer, & Ordering of Bishoppes, Priests & Deacons contayneth nothing in it contrary to the Word of God, and that it may lawfully be used & that you yourself will use the form of the sayd book prescribed in publique prayer & administration of the sacraments, & noe other.
3. That he alloweth the booke of Articles of Religion agreed upon by the archbishoppes and bishoppes of both provinces, & the whole clergie in the Convocation holden at London in the year of our Lord God 1562; and that he acknowledgeth all and every the articles therein contayned, beinge in number 39, besides the ratification, to be agreeable to the Word of God.³¹

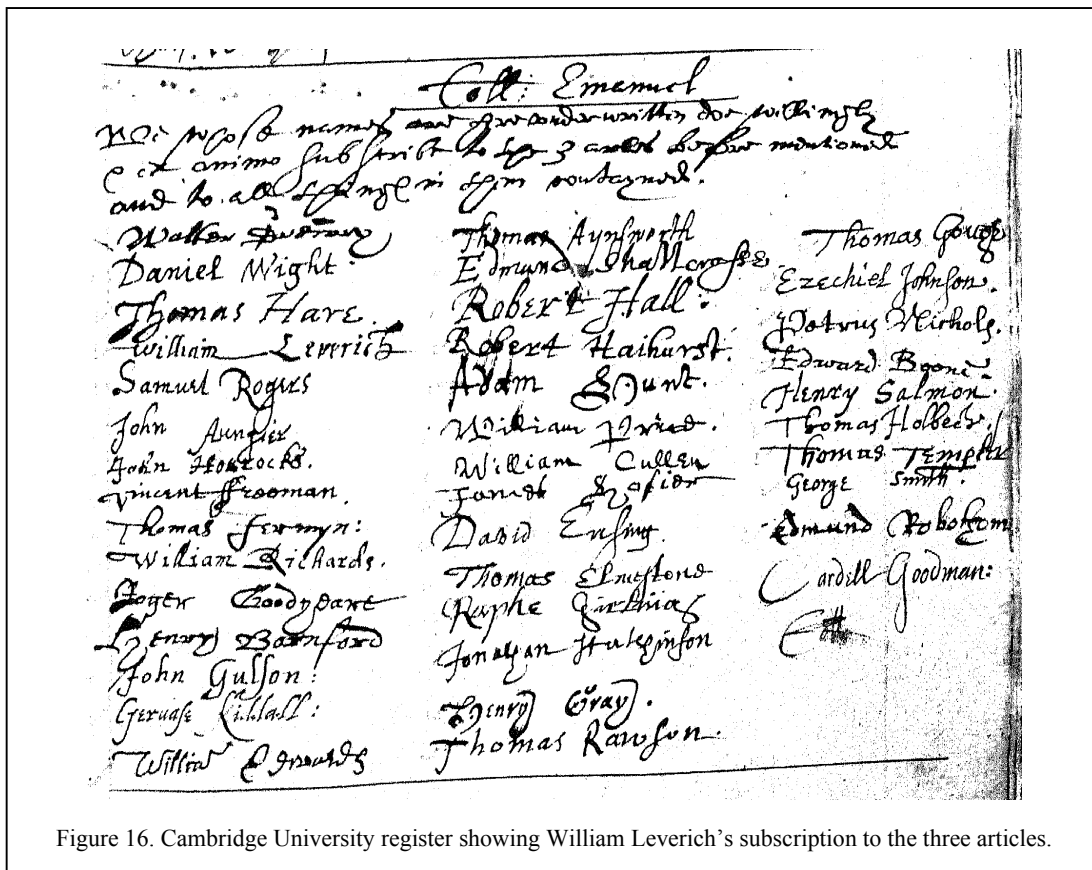


Figure 16. Cambridge University register showing William Leverich’s subscription to the three articles.

William's commencement ceremony would have been held in Great St Mary's. The churchwardens' accounts for 1625-26 record the receipt of £4 15s from 'Mr Warde proctor for the bachelors commencement' and for the commencements that took place later in the year 12s 8d from 'Mr Boule proctor for the midsummer bachelors' and 34s 2d from 'the senior proctor for the m[aster] of artes commencement'. The churchwardens' total income for the year was £39 0s 8d and the total expenditure £40 16s 6½d (figure 17).³²

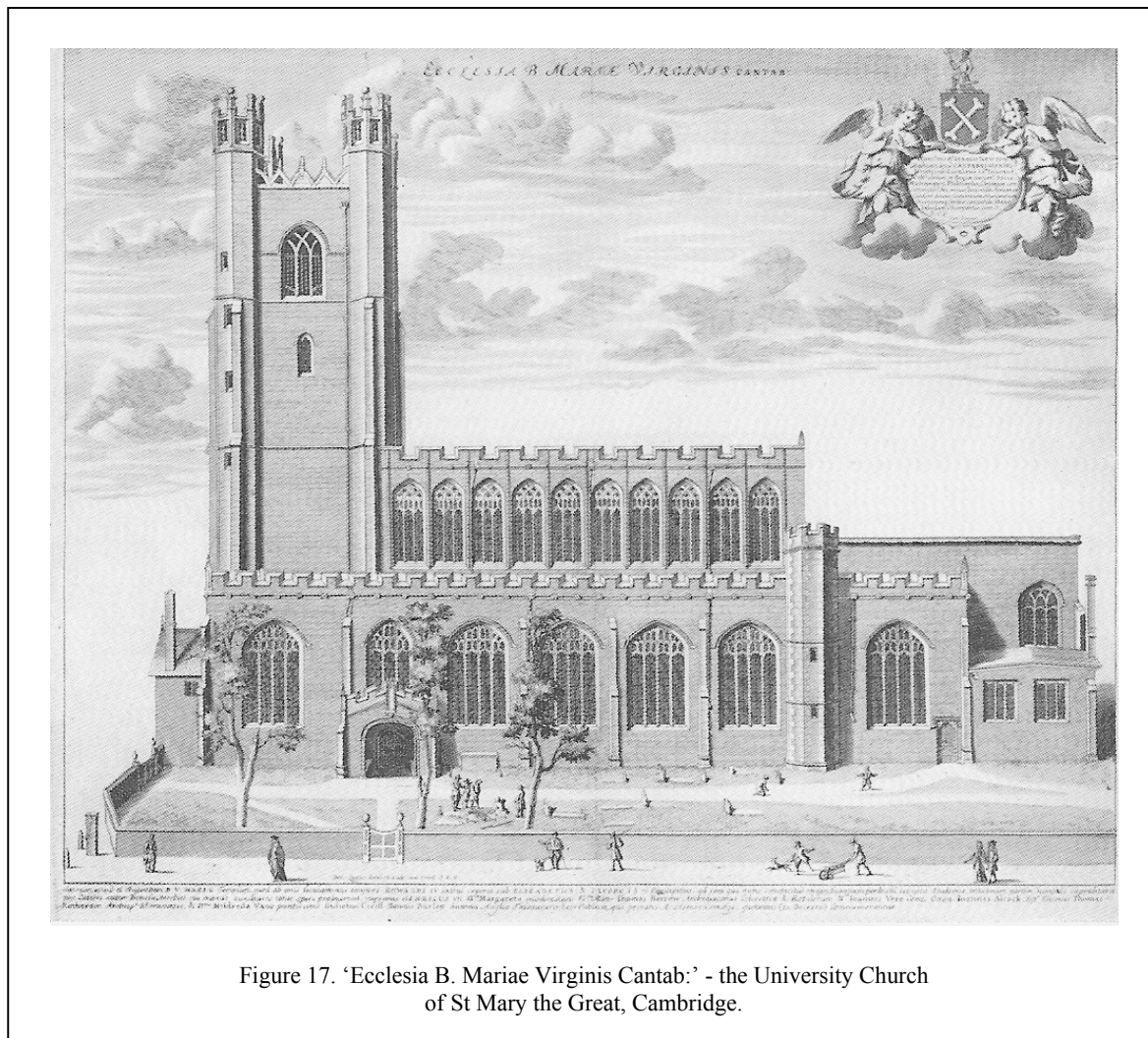


Figure 17. 'Ecclesia B. Mariae Virginis Cantab:' - the University Church of St Mary the Great, Cambridge.

The personal contacts that William made at university would be as important to him in the future as his studies and degree. If he did come from Northamptonshire, his life may have mirrored that of his much better known contemporary, Thomas Shepard. Shepard was born in Towcester, a town six miles south of Northampton, on November 5, 1605, the day of the Gunpowder Plot. His mother died when he was four, his father when he was ten and he was looked after by his eldest brother John. Shepard recalled in his autobiography how

one Mr [Daniel] Cockerill, Fellow of Emmanuel College in Cambridge, being a Northamptonshire man, came down into the country to Northampton and so sent for me, who upon examination of me gave my brother encouragement to send me up to Cambridge. And so I came up, and though I was very raw and young, yet it pleased God to open the hearts of others to admit me into the College a pensioner, and so Mr Cockerill became my tutor. But I do here wonder and, I hope, shall bless the Lord forever in heaven, that the Lord did so graciously provide for me, for I have oft thought what a woful estate I had been left in if the Lord had left me in that profane, ignorant town of Towcester where I was born, that the Lord should pluck me out of that sink and Sodom, who was the least in my father's house, forsaken of father and mother, yet that the Lord should fetch me out from thence by such a secret hand.

Shepard was admitted to Emmanuel on February 10, 1620 and graduated in 1623. His time in Cambridge thus overlapped that of William. They would have known one another and William would have heard some at least of the sermons that Shepard wrote about:

And hence when I was at Cambridge I heard old Doctor Chaderton, the Master of the College when I came, and the first year I was there to hear him upon a sacrament day my heart was much affected, but I did break loose from the Lord again. And half a year after I heard Mr Dickinson common-place in the chapel upon those words - I will not destroy it for ten's sake [Genesis 18: 32] - and then again was much affected, but I shook this off also and fell from God to loose and lewd company, to lust and pride and gaming and bowling and drinking.....

The Lord therefore sent Doctor Preston to be Master of the College, and Mr [Samuel] Stone and others commending his preaching to be most spiritual and excellent, I began to listen unto what he said, and the first sermon he preached was Romans xii - be renewed in the spirit of your mind - in opening which point, viz., the change of heart in a Christian, the Lord so bored my ears as that I understood what he spake and the secrets of my soul were laid open before me, the hypocrisy of all my good things I thought I had in me, as if one had told him of all that ever I did, of all the turnings and deceits of my heart, insomuch as that I thought he was the most searching preacher in the world.....

The Lord therefore brought Dr Preston to preach upon that text, 1 Corinthians i 30 - Christ is made unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification and redemption. And when he had opened how all the good I had, all the redemption I had, it was from Jesus Christ, I did then begin to prize him and he became very sweet unto me, although I had heard many a time Christ freely offered by his ministry if I would come in and receive him as Lord and Saviour and husband.

Shepard accepted a lectureship at Earls Colne in Essex 'after my commencing Master of Arts and my sinful taking of orders about a fortnight after of the Bishop of Peterborough' in 1627. Shepard was here referring to receiving his M.A. degree at the July or major commencement when higher degrees were awarded. He was subsequently chaplain to Sir Richard Darley at Buttercrambe in Yorkshire, where he married, and then at Heddon in Northumberland before going to New England in 1635. His wife died in 1636 and he then married Thomas Hooker's eldest daughter Joanna in about 1637.³³

William would have known members of the Ward, Rogers and Angier families, especially the John Ward, Samuel Rogers and John Angier who entered Emmanuel College in 1622 (figure 18).³⁴ John Ward's grandfather, another John Ward, was a lecturer in succession at Haverhill in Suffolk, Writtle in Essex and Bury St Edmunds in Suffolk. He and his wife Susan had three sons, Samuel, Nathaniel and John, who all became ministers. Samuel entered St John's College in 1594, graduated in 1599 and became a founder fellow of Sidney Sussex College in 1599. He was lecturer for a while at Haverhill before his appointment in 1605 as town lecturer at Ipswich, the county town of Suffolk, where he remained until his death in 1640. The Ipswich town library that was re-housed for use by him and his successors still exists. Nathaniel entered Emmanuel in 1596 and graduated in 1600. He followed a legal career before being ordained in 1613. He was rector of Stondon Massey in Essex from 1626 until he was excommunicated and discharged in 1632. He moved to Massachusetts Bay in 1634. John appears to have entered Emmanuel in 1609, graduated in 1613 and become rector of Dennington in Suffolk in 1624 and then of St Clement, Ipswich in 1645. He was a member of the Westminster Assembly and preached before the House of Commons in 1645.³⁵

Nathaniel's son John entered Emmanuel on August 30, 1622 and graduated B.A. in 1626 and M.A. in 1630. He was appointed rector of Hadleigh in Essex in 1633 and remained there until 1639, when he went to Massachusetts Bay with his brother James. Nathaniel's daughter Susan married Giles Firmin, who entered Emmanuel in 1629 and went to New England in about 1632. Firmin referred to his Ward and Rogers relatives in *The real Christian* published in London in 1670, but wrote much more about the teachings of Thomas Hooker and Thomas Shepard.³⁶ An apparently unrelated Samuel Ward who was born in 1572 was elected a fellow of Emmanuel in 1596 and Master of Sidney Sussex College in 1610. He worked on the translation of the Apocrypha of the King James Version of the Bible and was Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity from 1623 until his death in 1643.³⁷

Samuel, Nathaniel and John Ward's widowed mother Susan married widower Richard Rogers. He had entered Christ's College in 1566 and was ordained in 1571. He was lecturer at Wethersfield in Essex from 1577 until his death in 1618. His sons Daniel and Ezekiel from his first marriage both went to Christ's. Daniel entered Christ's in 1592 and graduated in 1596. He was a fellow of the college from 1600 to 1608 when he became rector of Haversham in Buckinghamshire. He was lecturer at Wethersfield and was suspended in 1629 but was subsequently restored. His elder son, another Daniel, entered Sidney Sussex College in 1624, graduated in 1628 and was rector of Haversham from 1665 to 1680. His younger son, Samuel, entered Emmanuel in 1629 and graduated in 1633. Samuel's diary gives an account of his life from then until 1638. Ezekiel graduated in 1605, was chaplain to the Barringtons of Hatfield Broad Oak in Essex and in 1621 was appointed by them as rector of Rowley in Yorkshire where he remained until he was suspended in 1636. He went to New England in 1638.³⁸

Richard Rogers's nephew, John Rogers, entered Emmanuel in 1588 and was ordained in 1595. He became vicar of Haverhill in 1603 but spent most of his life at Dedham in Essex, where he was lecturer from 1605 until his death in 1636. His memorial in the chancel of the church shows him in a pulpit dressed in skull-cap and gown. The Dedham lectureship continued until 1918, when it was amalgamated with the vicarage. John's sons Nathaniel and Samuel both went to Emmanuel. Nathaniel entered the college in 1614 and graduated in 1617. He had a chaplaincy in Essex for two years and was then curate at Bocking in Essex until 1631, when he became rector of Assington in Suffolk. He went to New England in 1636 taking his son John, a future

president of Harvard, with him. Samuel was probably the Samuel Rogers who entered Emmanuel on April 10, 1622 and graduated in 1626. The will his step-mother Dorothy made in 1640 described him as a clerk and referred to his wife Mary and his children John and Mary. The will also mentioned her husband's daughter Anger, a reference to his daughter Bridget, who married Edmund Angier.³⁹

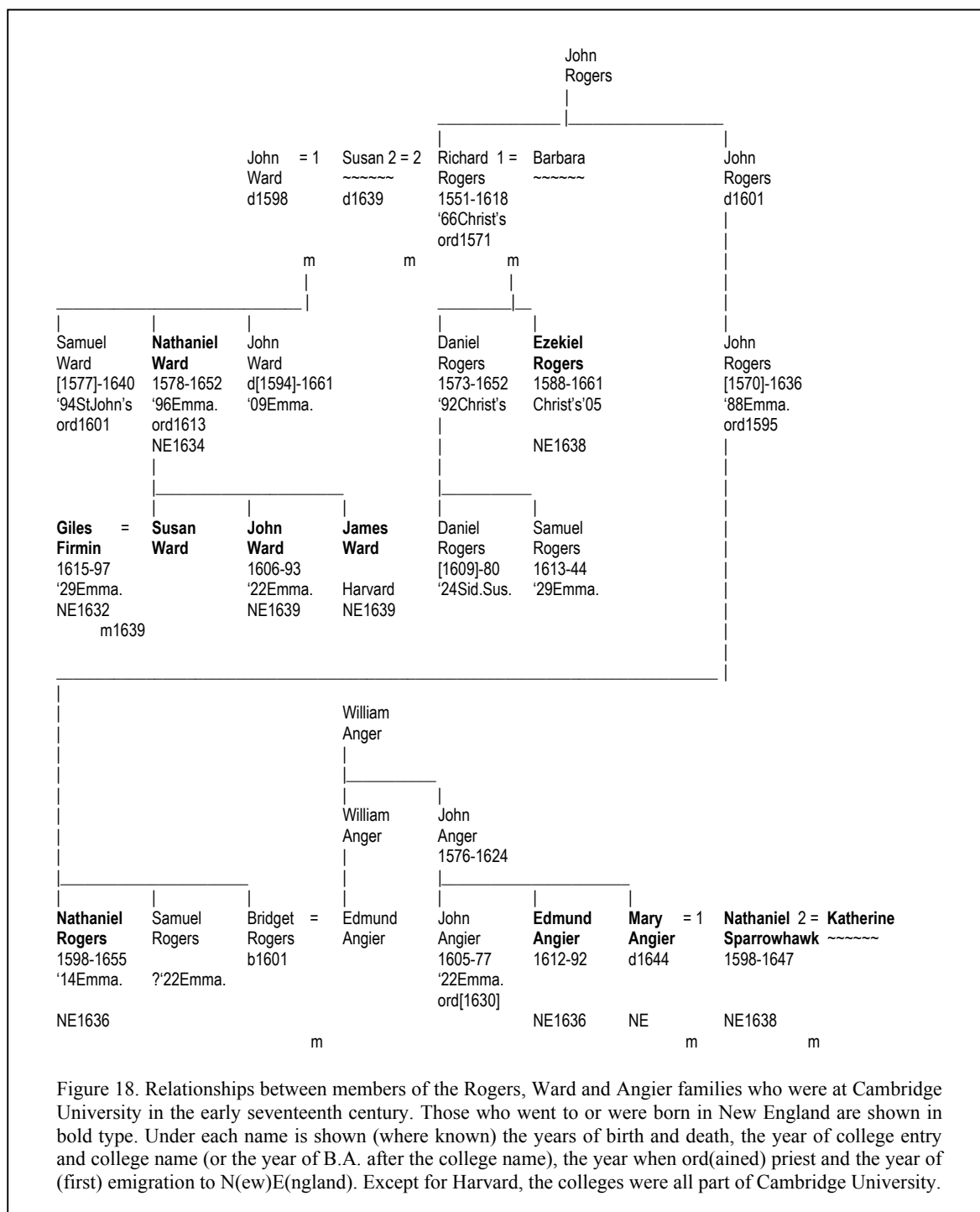


Figure 18. Relationships between members of the Rogers, Ward and Angier families who were at Cambridge University in the early seventeenth century. Those who went to or were born in New England are shown in bold type. Under each name is shown (where known) the years of birth and death, the year of college entry and college name (or the year of B.A. after the college name), the year when ord(ained) priest and the year of (first) emigration to N(ew)E(ngland). Except for Harvard, the colleges were all part of Cambridge University.

Edmund's cousin, John Angier, was born in Dedham, grew up under the influence of John Rogers and entered Emmanuel on the same day in 1622 as Samuel Rogers. Angier graduated in 1626 and lived in John Rogers' house for a while. He also stayed with John Cotton, then vicar of St Botolph's, Boston, and married a niece of Cotton's wife. The biography of Angier by his son-in-law Oliver Heywood which was published in London in 1685 described how whilst at Boston

he contracted an intimate friendship with those three great divines, Dr Tuckney, Dr Hill, and Dr Winter; Mr Anthony Tuckney was Fellow of Immanuel, and so continued a good while, till he was called to be vicar of Boston [after Cotton].

He was a serious, settled good man before he went to Boston, afterwards Master of Immanuel, and after that of St Johns in Cambridg. And for Mr Thomas Hill, Dr Preston, when Mr Hill was Batchelour in Arts, intending to make him Fellow, sent him to Mr Cotton for some time, and when he returned thence, chose him Fellow, designing his settled seriousness in religion, before his election; for which he thought Mr Cottons family might be a likely means, and so it proved: afterwards Dr Hill was Master of Trinity-Colledge in Cambridg, and Dr Winter Master of Trinity-Colledge near Dublin in Ireland; all famous lights in the Church of God; Mr Angier surviving them all.

Angier kept a diary for much of his life and Heywood added extracts from it to his biography. A long account of how he resolved to be a model student ends with the words ‘Written with my own hand, April 6, 1625. John Angier. Perused with comfort, May 1, 1655’. Later on he recorded other recollections of his early life:

July 19, 1657. I found a paper in my study of May 9, 1626. A bill for physick when I was in a feaver in Cambridg about 31 years since, so long hath God lengthened out my life. My going to New England was very forward, Mr Newman earnestly invited me; I received letters from Bristol, April 2, 1630, that I was expected there to take shipping for N.E. this April, and had much kindness offered me, yet the Lord over-ruled it.

Angier settled at Denton in Lancashire in 1632 and remained there until his death in 1677. In 1638 he preached a series of sermons that were published in London in 1647. In them he dealt with the correct approach to worship - not arriving late for the service nor leaving early, not praying during the lessons, psalms or sermon, kneeling or standing but not sitting to pray, not whispering nor sleeping during the service, not being drunk, wearing newly-washed clothes - and so on for over 600 pages. Like many of his contemporaries Angier had a great talent for prolixity - his dying speeches occupy 18 pages of Heywood’s account. Samuel Newman and Angier’s brother Edmund and their sister Mary, who married Nathaniel Sparrowhawk, all went to New England.⁴⁰ The Dr Samuel Winter that Heywood referred to entered Emmanuel as a sizar in January 1623, but he did not graduate until 1632. He moved to Ireland in 1650 and was appointed Provost of Trinity College, Dublin by Oliver Cromwell in 1652, but was dismissed in 1660 and died in Rutland in 1666. His sermons on infant baptism were published in Dublin in 1656 and a biography of him by his brother-in-law J. Weaver in London in 1671. One of William’s other contemporaries was Thomas Holbech. He entered Emmanuel in 1622, graduated in 1626, was appointed Master of the college in 1675 and was the University’s Vice-Chancellor in 1677-78.⁴¹

John Winthrop, the future governor of Massachusetts Bay, had links with both Cambridge and the Mildmays. Winthrop’s widowed grandmother Agnes Winthrop married a brother and his aunt Alice Winthrop a nephew of Sir Walter Mildmay. John Winthrop entered Trinity College in 1603 but left soon afterwards to marry the first of his four wives (figure 20).⁴² His eldest son John went to Trinity College, Dublin in 1622 and his son Forth to Emmanuel College in 1626, but like their father neither of them graduated. Forth wrote to his father via ‘Hobson the Cambridge carrier’ on May 1, 1627, though whether ‘Hobson’s choice’ of mount was appreciated was not recorded. Thomas Hobson was involved in the reorganization of the water supply to Cambridge and water from Hobson’s Brook still flows in gutters at the sides of streets near Emmanuel and through the college ponds.⁴³ Winthrop’s sister Lucy was the second wife of Emmanuel Downing, who had entered Trinity Hall in 1602. Lucy, Emmanuel and their son George went to New England in 1638. George attended the infant Harvard College but returned to England via Barbados in 1644 and was the British envoy-extraordinary to the Netherlands from 1663 to 1664. He developed Downing Street, Westminster at the end of his life and 10 Downing Street has been the official London residence of the British prime minister since the early eighteenth century. George’s grandson, another George Downing, founded Downing College, Cambridge.⁴⁴

William’s contemporaries at other colleges included Roger Williams and John Milton. Williams entered Pembroke Hall (now Pembroke College) in 1623 and graduated in 1627. He became chaplain to Sir William Masham of Essex in the winter of 1628-29 and unsuccessfully attempted to marry a niece of Sir William’s mother-in-law Lady Joan Barrington. He then married the daughter of a Nottinghamshire minister who was a maid in the Masham household before moving to New England in 1630. Milton entered Christ’s College in 1625 and graduated in 1629. Though now best known for *Paradise lost*, his two poems on the death of Hobson in January 1631 have been described as his only poems ‘which won contemporary popularity’. If William remained in Cambridge for a while after his graduation, he may have met one of Emmanuel’s best known students, John Harvard, who entered the college in 1627 at the age of 20 and graduated in 1632. His father was a butcher of Southwark in south London who died of plague in 1625.⁴⁵

Preston died in July 1628. John Davenport collaborated with Richard Sibbes, Master of St Catharine’s College, Cambridge and a member of the Feoffes for Impropriations, in editing four volumes of his sermons – *The new covenant* and *The saints daily exercise* in 1629, *The breast-plate of faith and love* in 1630 and *The saints qualifications* in 1633. Preston was succeeded as Master of Emmanuel by William Sancroft, rector of Stanford-le-Hope in Essex and a former fellow of the college. Both Nathaniel Ward and Thomas Hooker were

involved in encouraging him to take the post. Emmanuel had promised in 1603 to conform to church requirements in its worship, but its Puritan ways returned. Those that William Leverich probably experienced were described in a report that was drawn up in 1636 in preparation for a metropolitanical visitation by the Archbishop of Canterbury, William Laud, which never took place, but Emmanuel was not the only college to receive an unfavorable report at that time:

In Emanuell Coll[ege], their chapell is not consecrate. At surplice prayers they sing nothing but certain riming psalms of their owne appointment, instead of the hymnes betweene lessons. And lessons they read not after the order appointed in the calendar, but after another continued course of their owne. All service is there done and performed (psalmes and hymnes an[d] all, if they read any) by the minister alone. The students are not brought up, nor accustomed to answere any verse at all. Before prayers begin, the boyes come in, and sitt downe, and put on and talke aloud of what they list. Their seates are placed round about and above the communion table. When they preach or common place, they omit all service after the first or 2nd lesson at the furthest. Many of their schollers live and lodge in the towne houses, and from thence they come through the street, with surplices upon them to chapell: and in the night time they have opportunity to goe abroad, and be where they please. The cause hereof is, for that they admit many more into their coll[ege] then it is able to hold. On Sundayes they use no Letanie.⁴⁶

During the turbulent years of the English Civil War in the early 1640s the English parliament made a series of ordinances forbidding many of the features of English churches that had existed since medieval times. Stone altars, communion rails, raised chancels, crucifixes, crosses, pictures of the persons of the Trinity, the Virgin Mary and other images of saints and angels, superstitious inscriptions, candlesticks, copes and surplices, roods or roodlofts, organs and many other things were all forbidden. William Dowsing was appointed by the Earl of Manchester in December 1643 to remove these objects from churches and chapels in the eastern counties. His journal shows that he visited 273 churches and chapels in Cambridgeshire and the eastern and southern parts of Suffolk in 1643-44, but the entry for Emmanuel College stated that ‘there is nothing to be done’.⁴⁷

The execution of Charles I in 1649 was followed by the Commonwealth under Oliver Cromwell, who had entered Sidney Sussex College in 1616 but had left in the following year without taking a degree. Two years after the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, William Sancroft’s nephew, William Sancroft the younger, who had entered Emmanuel in 1633 and was a fellow from 1642 to 1651, was appointed master of the college. He was made Archbishop of Canterbury in 1678 and the college’s new east-west orientated chapel designed by Sir Christopher Wren was consecrated in the same year.

The pulpit from which William would have heard many a sermon was moved from the old chapel to the early fourteenth-century church of St Mary & St Michael, Trumpington on the edge of Cambridge and is still in regular use (figure 19). William may indeed have read the words with which Geoffrey Chaucer had at the end of the fourteenth century begun the Reeve’s Tale:

At Trompyntun, not fer from Cambryege,
Ther gooth a brook, & over that a bryge,
Up on the which brook ther stonte a mylle;
And thys is verry soth that I you telle.⁴⁸



Figure 19. The Elizabethan pulpit from the old chapel, Emmanuel College, in the church of St Mary & St Michael, Trumpington, Cambridgeshire in September 2004.

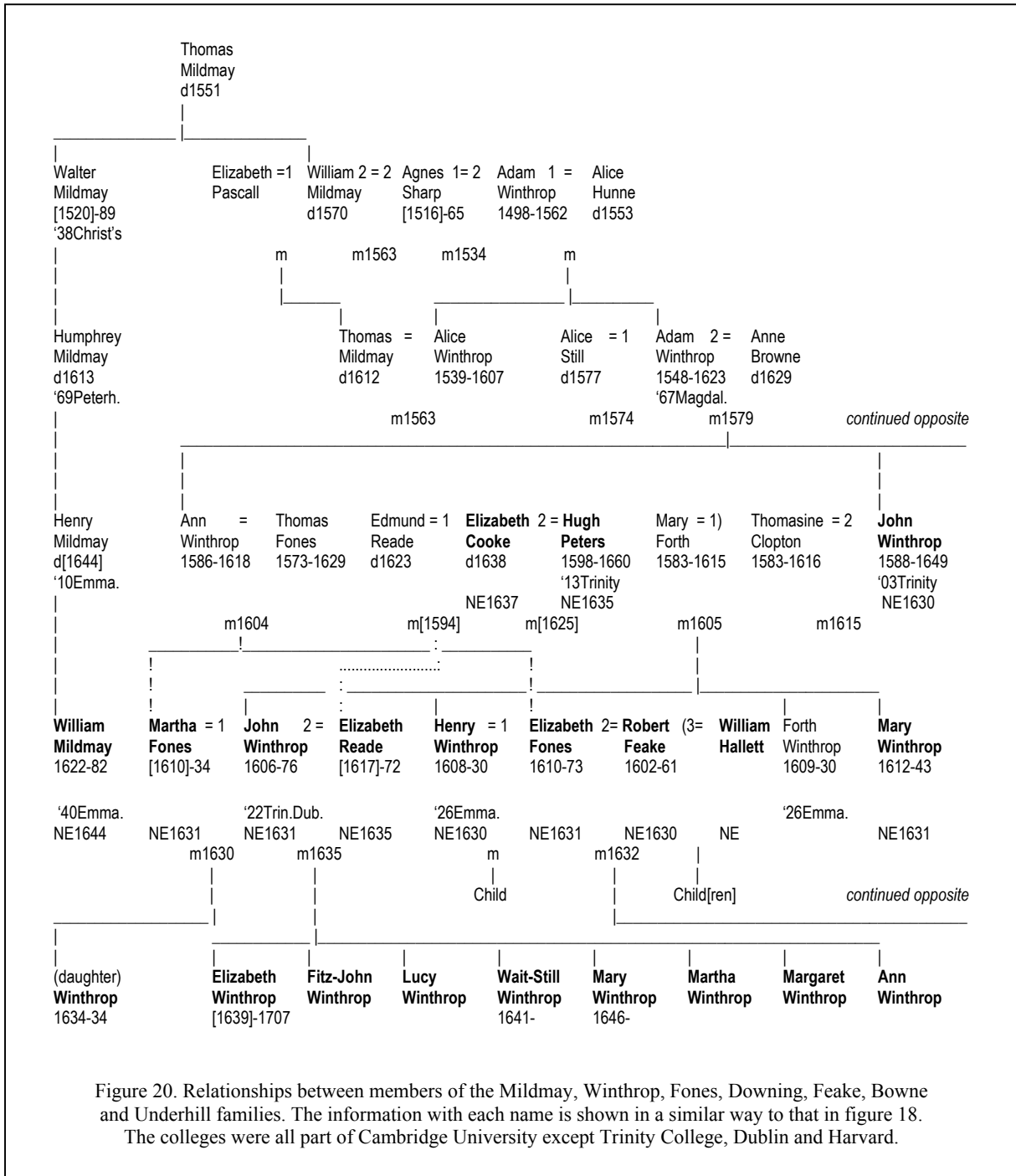
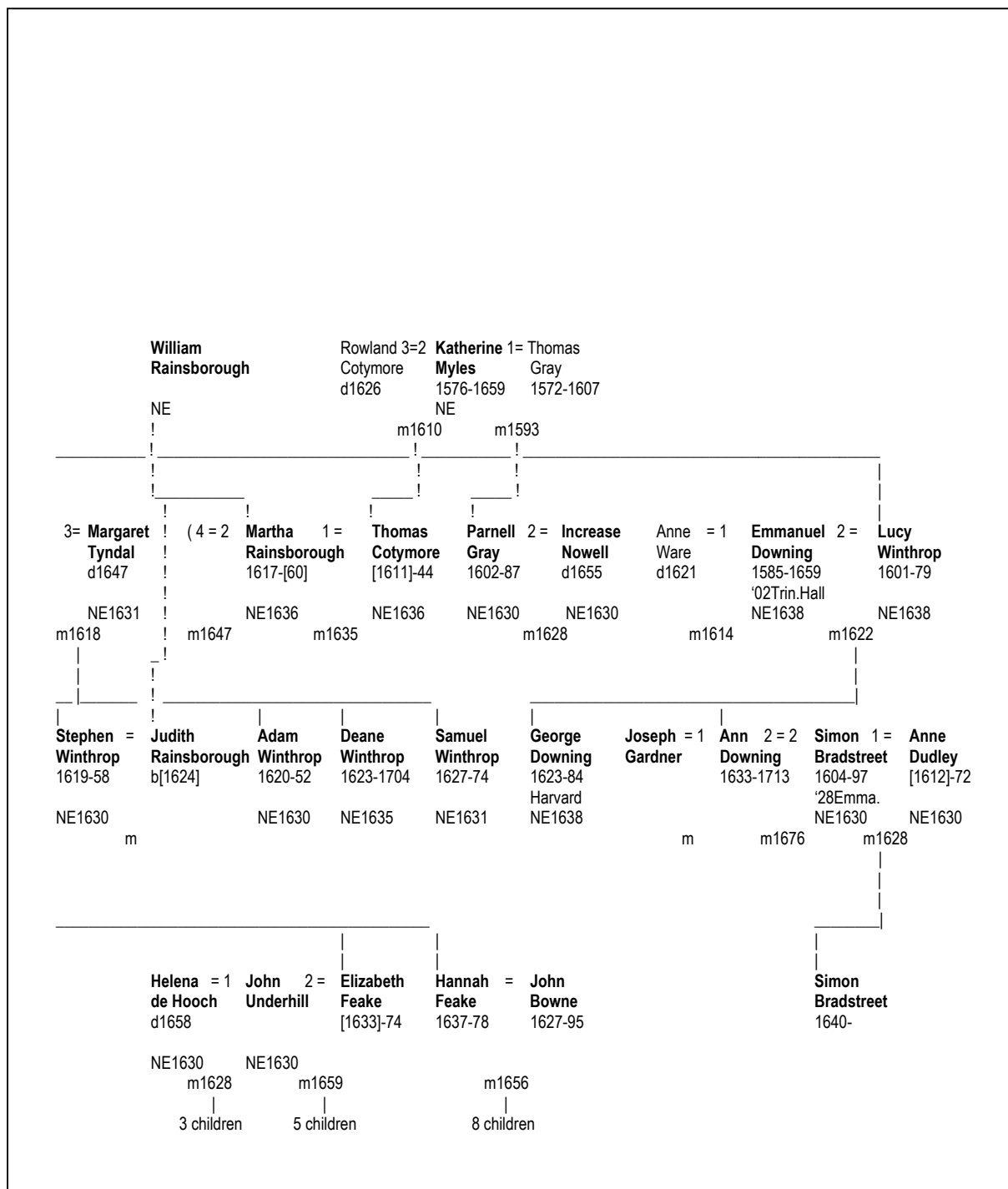


Figure 20. Relationships between members of the Mildmay, Winthrop, Fones, Downing, Feake, Bowne and Underhill families. The information with each name is shown in a similar way to that in figure 18. The colleges were all part of Cambridge University except Trinity College, Dublin and Harvard.



3 - Great Bowden

With this ring I thee wed.
The booke of common prayer, 1629¹

William was ordained deacon at Peterborough Cathedral on Sunday, December 24, 1626 and priest there on Thursday, November 1, 1627 by Thomas Dove, the bishop from 1601 to 1630 and the same bishop who ordained Thomas Shepard in 1627. Canon 34 of 1604 specified that the minimum age for ordination as a deacon was 23 and as a priest 24, but this requirement was not always followed in practice. If as suggested in chapter 1 William was born in 1606, he would have been ordained as deacon at the age of 20 and as priest at 21. Ordination would have involved his subscription to the three articles in accordance with canon 36 in the same way that he had when taking his degree. Most ministers did the same, but John Angier had difficulty with this and John Cotton interceded with his friend Lewis Bayley, the Bishop of Bangor in Wales, to arrange Angier's ordination without subscription.²

Canon 31 specified that ordinations should normally take place on the Sundays following the Ember Weeks - the weeks next after the first Sunday in Lent, Whit Sunday, Holy Cross Day (September 14) and St Lucia's Day (December 13) - and canon 32 that ordination as deacon and priest should not take place on the same day. However, Peterborough held many ordinations throughout the year and ministers were sometimes ordained deacon and priest on the same or consecutive days. William's contemporary Robert Hocknell was ordained deacon there on June 12, 1625 and priest on September 23, 1627, and his contemporary Henry Bacon deacon on December 23 and priest on December 24.³

It is likely that William's ordination took place in connection with some form of ministerial employment, such as a domestic chaplaincy, a lectureship, or a curacy, about which information may one day be discovered, but his first identified ministerial appointment was as the curate of the parish of Bowden Magna or Great Bowden in Leicestershire. In the court papers referred to later in this chapter he wrote that he 'was upon the 7th daie of October 1628 admitted (by the authority of Sir John Lambe, Knight, Commissarie and Official of the Archdeaconry of Leycester) to bee curate, or to exercise the office of a curate in the parish of Great Bowden'. He succeeded Adam Blakeman, who had been curate there since at least April 1625 when he signed the parish register at the end of the records of baptisms, marriages and burials for the previous twelve months. Adam was baptized at Gnosall in Staffordshire in 1596 and was the son of John and Thomasine Blakeman. John was probably the 'Mr John Blakeman, scholemaster' who was buried there in 1626. Adam matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford in May 1617 and graduated nine months later.⁴

Henry VIII had granted the rectory of Great Bowden to Christ Church in 1546 when he re-founded Cardinal College, which had been established by Cardinal Wolsey in 1525. The Dean of Christ Church at the start of 1628 was the Richard Corbett who thirteen years earlier had satirized Emmanuel College during James I's visit to Cambridge. Corbett may thus have heard about William, but he was nominated as Bishop of Oxford on July 30 and installed in November. Great Bowden was a large parish with the two independent chapelries of St Mary in Arden and Market Harborough (figure 21).⁵

The exterior of the thirteenth and fourteenth-century church of St Peter & St Paul, Great Bowden still looks much as it did when John Nichols pictured it in *The history and antiquities of the County of Leicester* in 1798 and it has probably not changed much since William was there (figures 22 & 23). The stained glass with eight sets of arms of local families described in 1622 is no longer there, but the tower contains six bells, three of which have the dates 1599, 1621 and 1624. The bells of 1621 and 1624 are both inscribed IHS NAZARENVS REX IVDEORVM : FILI DEI MISERERE MEI - Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews : O Son of God, have mercy on me.⁶ There are many gravestones in the surrounding churchyard, the earliest of which date from the eighteenth century. The state of the rectory in the sixteenth century was described in a report in the Christ Church archives that also refers to St Mary in Arden, Market Harborough and Little Bowden, a parish in Northamptonshire and the Diocese of Peterborough:

The south side of the quere [choir] of Muche Bowdon is decayed and lacks a wall plate for one of the principal beams to rest on. On the north and south sides the lead should be amended against the middle pillars. [House, backside and 4 yardlands of glebe]. The malthouse, kylhouse [?abattoir], kitchen and backhouse are decayed and should be repaired.... The two bays of the dwelling house are much decayed and ready to fall down. There are 3 churches at M[uch] B[owdon]. One at Harborough is but a chapel of easement and the repairs of the chancel are met by the inhabitants there. [The] church called Our Lady Church stands in a field by Lytle Bowdon. The third is M[uch] B[owdon] church. The repairs of the chancels of M[uch] B[owdon] church and the church of Our Lady are met by the parson. The inhabitants of Harborough bury at the church of Our Lady, but all other sacraments are administered at Harborough.⁷

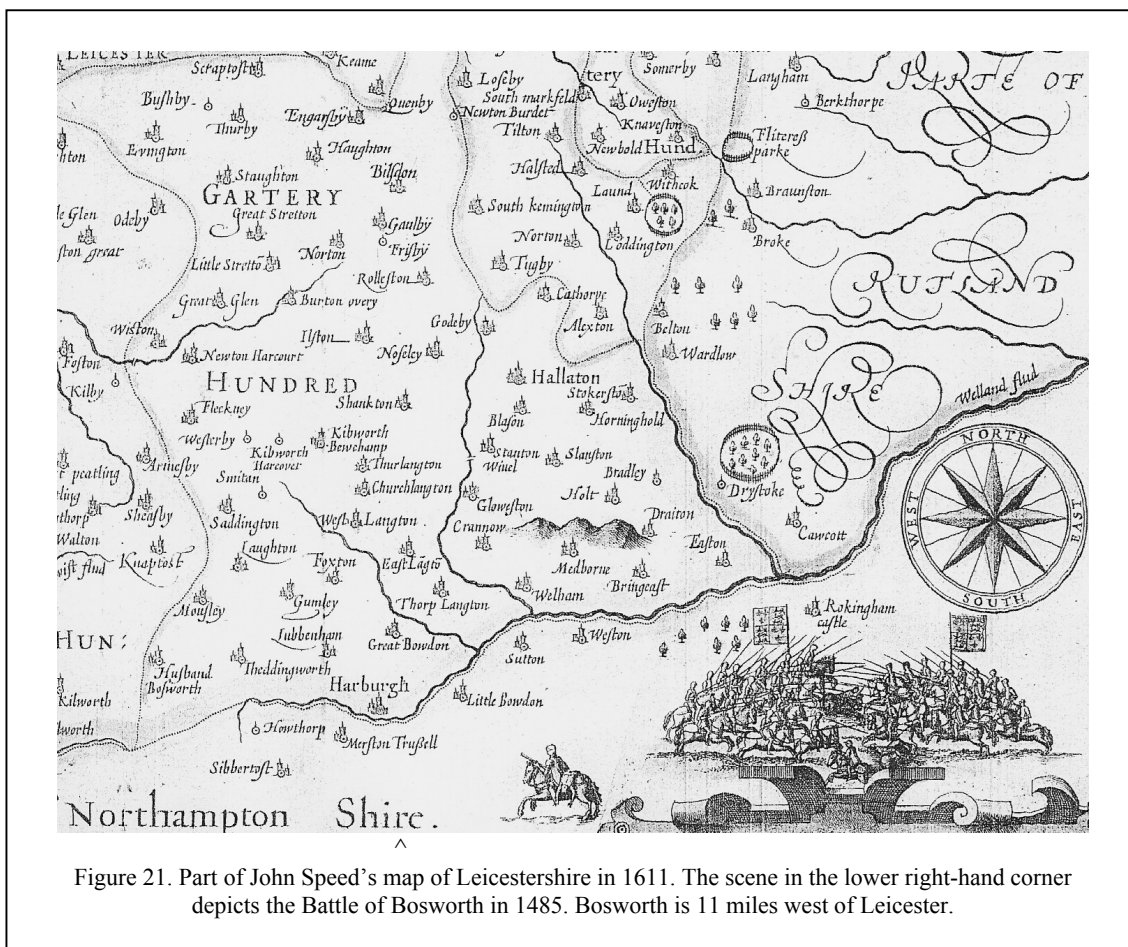


Figure 21. Part of John Speed's map of Leicestershire in 1611. The scene in the lower right-hand corner depicts the Battle of Bosworth in 1485. Bosworth is 11 miles west of Leicester.

The house referred to in this report may have been a forerunner of the rectory house that stands next to the church of St Peter & St Paul, but was probably not the place where the curate lived. The royal grant of the Great Bowden rectory to Christ Church in 1546 specified that ten shillings a year should be given to the poor of the parish and that the vicar should receive £13 6s 8d a year, but a vicar was not appointed. A sixteenth-century report recorded that the stipends of the curates of Great Bowden, Market Harborough and Little Bowden were ten, eight and seven pounds a year respectively and went on to say that 'honest and mete prests' for the three cures could not be obtained for the present stipends 'because ev[er]y thinge [such] as meate, drynke & clothinge is so dere'.⁸ The curacies of St Mary in Arden and Market Harborough were united by the Bishop of Lincoln in 1613 because 'the curates of St Marie have so small a salary that no sufficient scholar will take the living, and the ministers for want of suitable maintenance have adopted disorderly courses, celebrating unlawful marriages by day and night'. The Great Bowden rectory was leased out so that the tenant paid the stipend of the curate there. This was ten pounds a year in 1613, but had risen to twenty pounds a year by 1626 when this brief note was made - 'Adam Blackman, curate, Dean and Chapter of Ch[rist] Ch[urch] Oxford, owners of parsonage impropriate, Thos Shaveley, armiger, farmer, worth p[er] ann[um] 300*li*, the stipend of the curate is 20*li* paid by Mr Shaveley'.⁹

Market Harborough as the name implies was a market town. In 1622 it had a weekly market 'upon the Tuesday, and hath a famous faire upon the ninth day of October, S. Dionse, for horses, young colts and all manner of cattell'. It still has its market within sight of the church of St Dionysius with its early fourteenth-century steeple, 'one of the finest in England', and a fair in October. Next to the church is the timber-framed grammar school, which was built in 1614 and was last used as a school in 1892 (figures 24 & 25). The school was founded by Robert Smith or Smyth, a native of Market Harborough, in 1607. He was a member of the Merchant Taylors' Company of the City of London when on June 3, 1617 the City Chamberlain, Cornelius Fish, acknowledged receiving £350 from him and agreed to provide each year 1½ dozen wheat loaves a week to the poor at an annual cost of £3 18s, bibles for the chapel, six bibles for poor scholars at the breaking up of the school at Easter, visitation fees to the Dean and Chapter of Christ Church, a fee to the clerk and £10 to the schoolmaster 'for teaching 15 poor scholars free, being children of honest godly poor'. It is possible that Smith was related to the Chamberlain, as Cornelius Fishe married a Jane Smyth at St Stephen, Walbrook in the City of London on April 26, 1607.¹⁰



Figure 22. The church of St Peter & St Paul, Great Bowden, Leicestershire and the seventeenth-century rectory house in 1798. The lettering at the foot of the figure is the inscription on the brass of William Wolstont, who died in 1403.



Figure 23. The church of St Peter & St Paul, Great Bowden, Leicestershire seen from the south-east in March 2004. The east window dates from the nineteenth century.



Figure 24. The market at Market Harborough, Leicestershire in March 2004 with the church of St Dionysius in the background.



Figure 25. The former Grammar School, Market Harborough, Leicestershire in March 2004. The wooden strips on the outside of the upper part are not part of the original structure and the bell-turret was added in 1868.

The advowson to the rectory of Little Bowden was owned by Arthur Mowsse, citizen and fishmonger of the City of London, in 1626 when he appointed his son Richard as rector. The house that was built in 1627 for Richard to live in has been altered and is now a private house.¹¹

William would have had a natural degree of uncertainty about the future in taking up his new post, but he may also have wondered how his particular religious beliefs would be received in his new parish and diocese. Charles Chauncy was presented by his college to the vicarage of Ware, a Hertfordshire parish about 27 miles south of Cambridge, at about the same time and he shared his private concerns with John Cotton in a letter dated March 15, 1628. He wrote that the ‘people have wanted instruction for many years (such I mean as might build them up in the faith and make them wise unto salvation) besides, the places round about me are a barren wilderness, and so must undergo much opposition’ and continued

I have already sustained *aliqua gravamina conscientiae*,^a to go thus far in regard to the government and discipline of our church, and am likely to undergo more in the book of articles, which we are bound to read publicly and to yield our assent unto; the article concerning the ordination of bishops and ministers doth somewhat trouble me, as also the ceremonies which we are bound unto, which though I forbear myself, yet I know not how to avoid but that my curate must use if I will stand here. I pray afford your wisest advice herein. *Hæc sub sigillo*.^{b 12}

a some burdens of conscience.

b These things under seal, i.e. for your eyes only.

Canon 70 specified that the entries in the parish register should be made in the minister’s own hand and be signed by him and the churchwardens at the end of the year. William and the churchwardens signed the Great Bowden register after the baptism, marriage and burial entries for March 1629. In the twelve months April 1628 to March 1629 there were 20 baptisms, 3 marriages and 15 burials at Great Bowden and 23 baptisms, 5 marriages and 26 burials at Market Harborough. The Great Bowden entries are all in the same handwriting, which was probably William’s own, whereas different styles of handwriting were used for the previous and subsequent entries. However, if William took up his curacy in October 1628 and remained in the parish after March 1629 it is likely that the entries in the register were copied from some other record that was not kept. The Great Bowden ‘bishop’s transcript’ for 1628-29 was signed by William and the churchwardens, and like others in the archdeaconry was sent to the archdeacon, but the entries are not in his handwriting.¹³

One of the marriages in 1629 was of William himself to Ellen Johnson on November 10, though perhaps the part of the ceremony when the ring was given and received may have been omitted. William and Ellen may well have received some advice from friends and relatives as they began their new life together and the 693 pages of William Gouge’s *Of domesticall duties* first published in London in 1623 provided a source of Puritan guidance. Ellen had been baptised at Great Bowden on August 26, 1605 and was the daughter of John Johnson and Sara Fyshe, who had been married there on August 6, 1604. It has not been possible to link together the several families of Johnsons whose baptisms, marriages and burials are contained in the Great Bowden parish register (table 4 and figure 26).¹⁴

Table 4. Summary of the Johnson baptisms at Great Bowden in Leicestershire in 1562-1633.

<i>Parents</i>	<i>Dates</i>	<i>Children</i>
-	1562	Myles
William	1569-74	William & Robert
Robert	1595-1612	Margaret, Ellyen, John, William, Mary, Marie & John
John & Sara	1605-06	Ellen & William
Joseph	1615	Mary
John	1616-23	Fish, John & John
Miles	1622	Robert
William & Elizabeth	1624-30	Robert, Mary & William

Ellen Johnson’s parents had a son William who was baptised at Great Bowden on February 6, 1607. They may also have been the parents of Fish baptised on June 30, 1616, John baptised on June 23, 1618 and another John baptised on August 2, 1621, but only their father’s name was recorded. The gap of nine years between the two groups of baptisms may have been because Sara had died and John had remarried, or that a different John was the father, but the use of Fish as a first name in 1616 suggests that the parents were the same. Ellen Johnson’s mother’s parents were John and Margaret Fyshe. Their thirteen children were all baptised at Great Bowden in the period 1578 to 1602. John was buried at Great Bowden on February 19, 1623 and probate of his will was obtained on March 9. Margaret was buried at Great Bowden on April 28, 1630 and probate of her will was obtained on July 23 (figure 27).¹⁵

John and Margaret Fyshe’s eldest son Augustine and his wife Christian had five children, who were all baptised at Great Bowden. Their eldest son William emigrated to New England. John and Margaret’s third son Thomas obtained a licence to marry Mary Sprigge in the nearby parish of Lubbenham in 1609 and their eldest son Craddock was baptised there in 1612. (Craddock may have been Margaret’s maiden name.) Thomas and Mary then moved to East Farndon in Northamptonshire where their sons Ambrose, Jonathon and twins John and Nathaniel were baptised. Thomas signed the East Farndon parish register as one of the churchwardens in October 1616. Thomas and Mary returned to Great Bowden where their last two children

were baptised in 1622 and 1625. Jonathan, John and Nathaniel emigrated to Lynn in Massachusetts Bay in about 1635 and went to Sandwich in New Plymouth in 1637 at about the same time as William and Ellen. John and Margaret's fourth son Ambrose went to Christ's College, Cambridge, where he graduated in 1609. He was ordained deacon in the Diocese of Peterborough on December 18, 1614 and priest in the Diocese of London in March 1617. He was vicar of Raunds in Northamptonshire from 1619 to 1623 and rector of Carlton-Curlieu in Leicestershire, a parish seven miles north-west of Great Bowden, from 1627.¹⁶

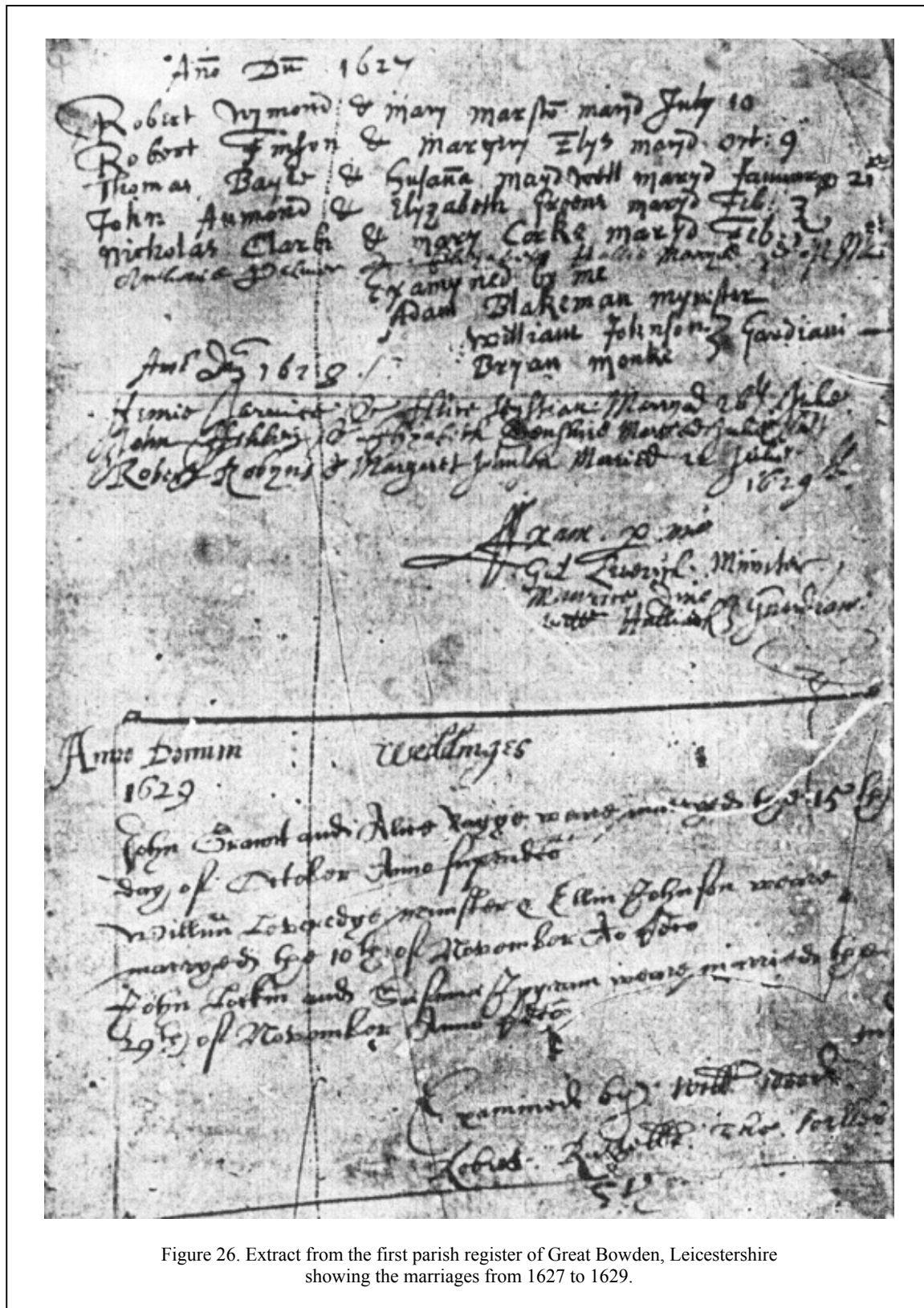


Figure 26. Extract from the first parish register of Great Bowden, Leicestershire showing the marriages from 1627 to 1629.

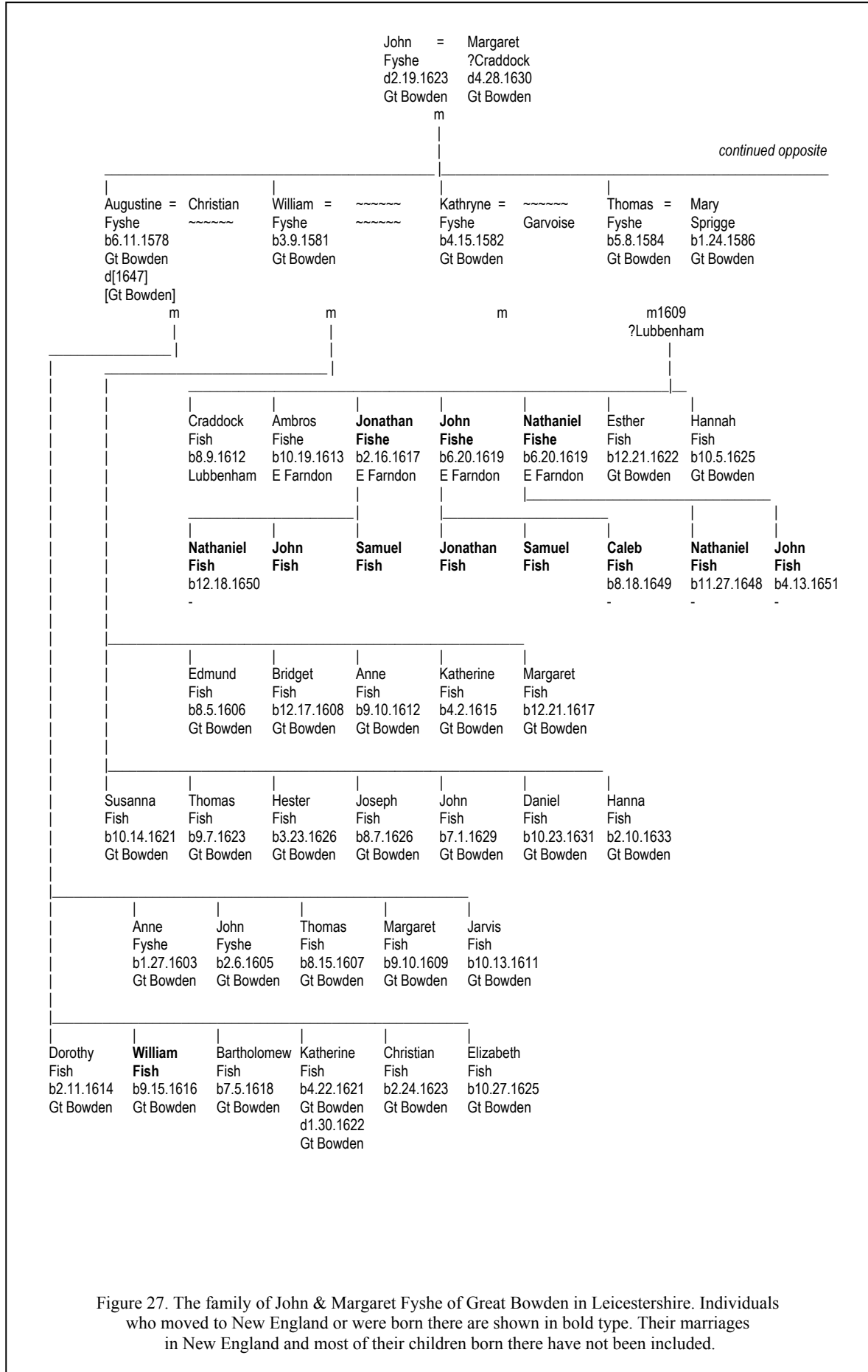
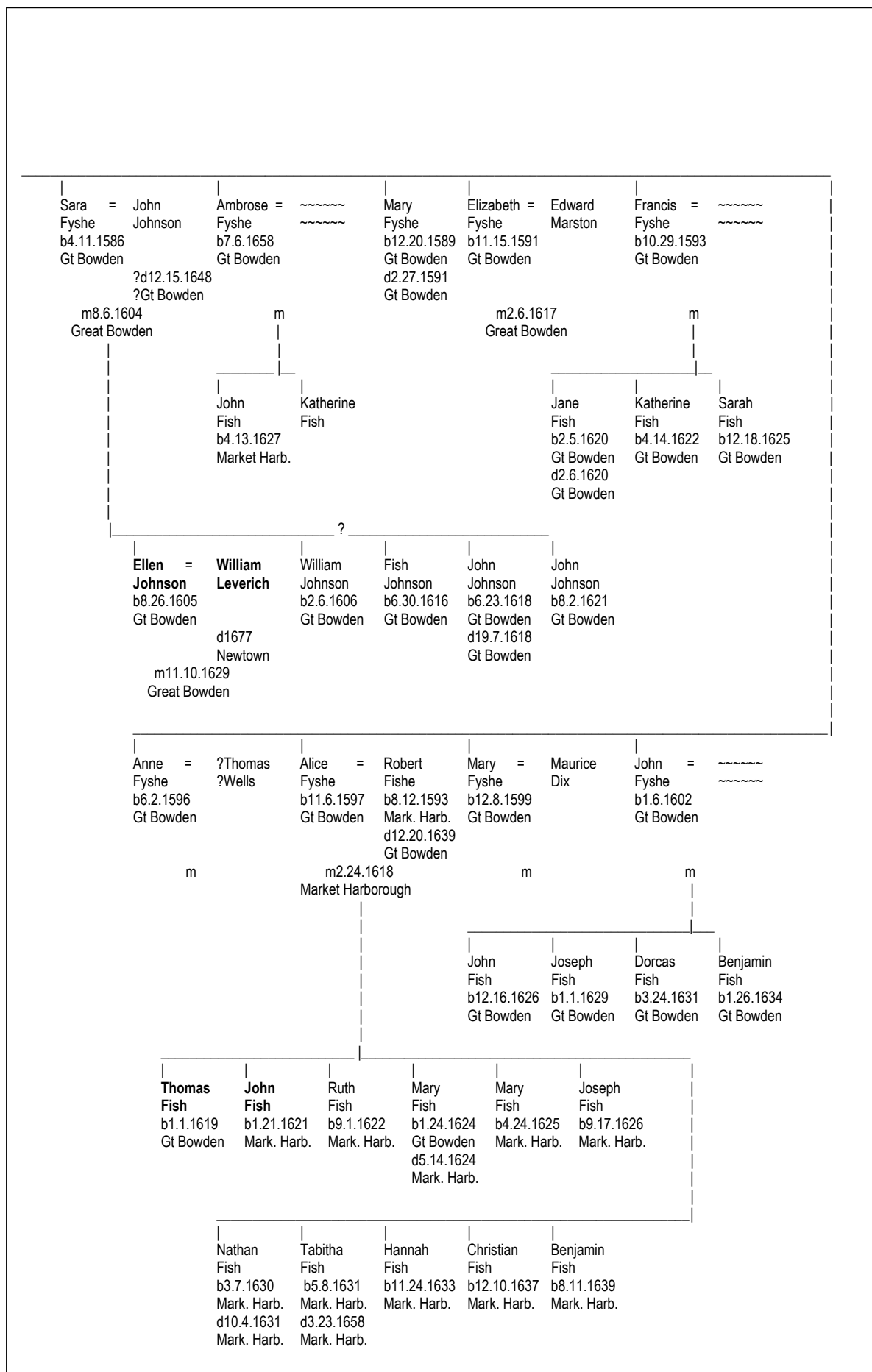


Figure 27. The family of John & Margaret Fyshe of Great Bowden in Leicestershire. Individuals who moved to New England or were born there are shown in bold type. Their marriages in New England and most of their children born there have not been included.



John and Margaret's sixth daughter Alice married Robert Fische at Market Harborough in 1618. Robert was the third son of Thomas Fische, who was probably a brother, cousin or other relative of John Fyshe. Alice and Robert Fische's eleven children were baptised at either Great Bowden or Market Harborough. Their eldest sons Thomas and John emigrated to New England, where Thomas lived at Portsmouth, Rhode Island and John at Mystic, Connecticut. Thus at least five cousins of Ellen Leverich followed her and William to New England, where they were the ancestors of many generations of American Fishes. Other descendants of John and Margaret Fyshe continued to live in Great Bowden for several generations and the church contains a memorial tablet to Augustine Fish's wife Henrietta, who died in 1703. The Cornelius Fische who was the Chamberlain of the City of London in 1617 may also have been a relative.¹⁷

Thomas Hooker visited Leicestershire in 1629 and preached at Great Bowden whilst he was there. People travelled from Wilby in Northamptonshire to hear him there and this appears to have attracted the attention of the Peterborough diocesan authorities, including John Lambe.¹⁸ Lambe had graduated from St John's College, Cambridge in 1587. He began his career in the Peterborough diocesan courts in 1590 and was registrar from 1603 to 1628 and chancellor of the diocese from 1615 to 1629. In 1617 he was appointed Commissary of the Archdeacon of Leicester with the support of John Williams, who was appointed Bishop of Lincoln in 1621 and Archbishop of York in 1641. Lambe, however, gave evidence against Williams in 1628, arguing that he was not taking sufficiently strong action against Puritanism. The Court of the Archdeacon of Leicester sat both as a correction court to hear prosecutions involving church discipline and moral matters, and as an instance court to hear disputes between two parties. Adam Blakeman had remained in or near Great Bowden after William's arrival as his son James was baptized there in December 1628. Correction court action was taken against Blakeman in June 1629, but it is possible that it was meant to be against William who was involved by September. The actions probably resulted from visitations made by the archdeacon at the Annunciation in March 1629 and may have been heard at Market Harborough.¹⁹

Lambe was involved in the cause or case against William. The surviving court papers consist of the allegation against him, his reply to each of the twelve articles in the allegation, the statements by four witnesses, their replies to the interrogatories or questions posed by the defense and a statement of the costs in the cause (Appendix A). The witnesses were Anthony Halford aged about 45, Richard Wilkinson aged about 80, Richard Kestin and Edward Parsons, both aged about 60. Their statements and their replies to the defense's questions were made in January 1630 - January 11 for Halford and Wilkinson, Kestin, who may have been absent from a previous hearing as a result of gout, on January 12 and Parsons on January 22 - and when questioned they were first asked if they understood what was meant by perjury.

The first article of the allegation stated that William had been at Great Bowden since April 1628. He replied that he was admitted on October 7 and all the witnesses referred to him having been there for a year or twelve months. The second article stated that those who offended against ecclesiastical or statute law or who did not observe the ceremonies of the Church of England were required to be punished and this was not disputed. The third article charged William with having omitted to catechize the young people of the parish for half an hour before the service of Evening Prayer on Sundays and holy days. William replied that catechizing had been omitted when he first came to the parish but that he had since carried out this work. All the witnesses confirmed that catechizing had been omitted. The fourth article stated that William had omitted to read divine service and public prayers on Wednesdays, Fridays and Saturdays and this was confirmed by all the witnesses. William argued that most ministers omitted the services, but that he was willing to hold them if they were required. The fifth article stated that William had omitted various parts from the services of the Book of Common Prayer, namely the appointed First and Second Lessons, the Litany, the Ten Commandments, the Epistle and the Gospel. The omission of parts of the service was confirmed by three of the witnesses, but William disputed this and reserved his defense 'because it is a criminal article [and] he does not believe himself to be lawfully bound to answer'.

The sixth and seventh articles both stated that William had omitted to wear a surplice, especially during the sacraments of baptism and holy communion. The witnesses confirmed this, but William argued that it had only happened once, when he forgot to put on a surplice because the parish clerk had not brought it to him. The eighth article alleged that William had omitted the use of the sign of the cross in baptism and the ring in marriage, but he denied this and the only witness to refer to this article stated that though he had heard William refer to the sign of the cross he had not actually seen him use it. The ninth article stated that William had preached against bowing or bending the knee when the name of Jesus was spoken. He replied that he doubted the lawfulness of the first part of the article and all the witnesses spoke well of him when questioned. The tenth and eleventh articles stated that action had previously been taken against William and that he had failed to do what was expected of him. William denied this, and questioning the witnesses added little more. The twelfth article referred to unstated rumors in the parish and when questioned two of the witnesses referred to recent changes. Kestin spoke of William as 'a person not given to drunkennes, whoredome or other vicious crime, but to be of good name, fame, life & conversation' and the other witnesses made similar statements.²⁰

No record of the outcome of the cause against William has been found, but two years later he was able to obtain a new appointment as rector of the parish of Great Livermere in the Diocese of Norwich. Not all clergymen faced proceedings in the church courts. Many conformed to and probably supported the doctrine and practice of the church, and some expressed their support in their sermons and writings. Giles Widdowes, the rector of St Martin, Oxford, gave the title *The schismatical Puritan* to his sermon published in 1630. In the preface addressed 'To the Puritan' he wrote that

It is your practise to run from the Church. I am sorry that so learned and so holy men, as you would seeme to be, doe want true Christian patience, to heare orthodox holy doctrine. But let me intreat you to understand me this one time. I hope it will be for your edifying. This is my prayer unto Almighty God through Jesus Christ. My businesse with you is the Puritan: whose name distinguish'd, whose effence rend'rd in the very property and whose severall kinds essentially differing, I give into your owne hands that you may see and learne true Reformation.

Concerning the name (Puritan) it is ambiguous and so it is fallacious. For some good men are called Puritans: and they are Puritans indeed. They are pure in heart, and so blessed that they shall see God, Mat. 5.8.^a And some evill men are called Puritans, who desire to seeme to be just and holy, but in their doctrine and discipline they are the underminers of our True Protestant Reformed Church. Are you angry because I tell you the truth. *Be angry but sin not*, and I will tell you the essentiall definition of this fallacious Puritan.²¹

a Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God.

William Laud, the Bishop of London from 1628 and Chancellor of Oxford University from 1630, was one of the bishops most active in pressurizing ministers to conform to the rules of the Church of England. He and Samuel Harsnett, Archbishop of York, were both involved in the preparation of the royal instructions to bishops issued at the end of 1629. They dealt with where bishops lived, their triennial visitations, the ordination of ministers, lecturers in their dioceses, private chaplains, attendance at church services and bishops' estates, and a printed version entitled *Instructions for the Clergie* was circulated in the Diocese of Lincoln in March 1630.²²

Chauncy's parish of Ware was in Laud's diocese and he was charged before the Court of High Commission in April with omitting the Athanasian Creed, the Lesson from the Old Testament, the Litany, the wearing of a surplice, the cross in baptism, and the exhortation in matrimonie 'With my body I thee worship', as well as making various speeches in the pulpit and elsewhere in praise of Puritans, in disparagement of the authority of the church and in anticipation of changes likely to ensue in church and state, as well as asserting that some families were preparing to go to New England. The court referred him to Laud and he submitted.²³

Thomas Shepard had been a lecturer in the town of Earls Colne in the same diocese since 1627 and recorded in later life an interview he had with Laud in December 1630:

I was inhibited from preaching in the diocess of London by Dr Laud, bishop of that diocess. As soon as I came in the morning, about eight of the clock, falling into a fit of rage, he asked me, What degree I had taken in the University? I answered him, I was a Master of Arts. He asked me, Of what College? I answered, Of Emanuel. He asked how long I had lived in his diocess? I answered, Three years and upwards. He asked, Who maintained me all this while, charging me to deal plainly with him, adding withal, that he had been more cheated and equivocated with by some of my malignant faction than ever was man by Jesuit. At the speaking of which words he looked as though blood would have gushed out of his face and did shake as if he had been haunted with an ague fit, to my apprehension, by reason of his extreme malice and secret venom. I desired him to excuse me. He fell then to threaten me, and withal to bitter railing, calling me all to naught, saying, You prating coxcomb! Do you think all the learning is in your brain? He pronounced his sentence thus: I charge you that you neither preach, read, marry, bury, or exercise any ministerial function in any part of my diocess, for if you do, and I hear of it, I will be upon your back and follow you wherever you go, in any part of the kingdom, and so everlastingly disenable you. I besought him not to deal so, in regard of a poor town, and here he stopt me in what I was going on to say. A poor town! You have made a company of seditious, factious Bedlams, and what you prate to me of a poor town? I prayed him to suffer me to catechise in the Sabbath days in the afternoon. He replied, Spare your breath; I will have no such fellows prate in my diocess. Get you gone, and now make your complaints to whom you will! So away I went, and blessed be God that I may go to him.²⁴

Nichols recorded in 1798 that the 'freeholders in Bowden and Harborough in 1630 were Augustine Fish, gent., Richard Kestian and William Johnson, gent.' - two of William's new relatives and one of the witnesses in the cause against him. When a visitation was held in 1634 by or on behalf of Laud, by then Archbishop of Canterbury, it was recorded that

Mr William Staveley [was] presented for that one chimney of the parsonage house is blowne downe with the wind and some of the windowes want glasing. Ordered to repair and certificate produced 16 July, 1635. W. Johnson [was] presented for railing in the church porch against the constable and churchwardens and townsmen and threatening the constable that he would have him by the eares.²⁵

Great Bowden received a new curate after William's departure, but there was little change in the financial arrangements. A letter of November 13, 1638 from William Cox, the curate at Market Harborough, that was probably sent to Lambe, complained that the curates had only had their usual stipends as a Mr Jackson was keeping the churchyard and Easter offerings that they were entitled to. Then a letter from William Jackson dated January 28, 1641 stated that Lambe had placed two curates of his own choice at Great and Little Bowden and that he was opposing the amalgamation of St Mary in Arden and Market Harborough with Great Bowden. An episcopal return of 1669 stated that there were about 200 Presbyterians in Great Bowden of the 'better sort' and named six ministers including 'Mr Kestyan, ejected out of the vicarage of Gumley'. However the '200 Presbyterians' was probably an exaggeration as a religious survey of Leicestershire in 1676 recorded '358 conformists [to the Church of England], no papists [and] 5 nonconformists' at Great Bowden.²⁶

The 'Mr Kestyan' in the return of 1669 was probably a son of the Richard Kestin of William's time in the parish, and the same person as the Richard Kestian who in his will proved in 1675 left the rent of his house at Great Bowden to the poor of the parish, except for one shilling yearly which was to be paid to the ringers for ringing on November 17 yearly in memory of Queen Elizabeth's accession. A John Parsons who may have been a descendant of the Edward Parsons in the cause against William left £1 4s a year to the poor of Great Bowden in his will of 1716. Payments from both Kestian's and Parson's bequests were still being made in the 1950s and the charities probably continue to the present time.²⁷

The church of St Mary in Arden that William knew was replaced in 1693-94 and this new building is now a roofless ruin surrounded by gravestones. Market Harborough has grown in size, but Great Bowden is still largely rural, though the enclosure of the open fields in the 1770s has changed the appearance of the countryside since William lived and worked in the parish. Its three square miles had a population of 954 when the census was taken in 2001.²⁸

4 - Great Livermere

And doe signe him with the signe of the crosse.
The booke of common prayer, 1629¹

William was awarded the M.A. degree at the July or major commencement at Cambridge in 1631 after making the same form of subscription that he had when taking his B.A. degree five years previously. Many of his contemporaries had taken their M.A. degree two years previously. William's delay may have been caused by the court action that he faced in Leicestershire, but his seeking of a higher degree was probably to secure the new appointment that was in prospect for him at Livermere Magna or Great Livermere in the county of Suffolk. John Ward, the rector of Great Livermere, had been buried there on February 2. He had entered Christ's College, Cambridge as a sizar in 1579, had graduated in 1582 and was appointed to Great Livermere in 1588. He does not appear to have been related to the Wards referred to in chapter 2. He was recorded as the rector of both Great Livermere and the adjacent parish of Little Livermere in a survey made in 1603 when it was stated that there were 89 communicants and 'no recusantes nor anye that refuseth to receyve the holie communion'.² William was presented to the rectory of Great Livermere and would have needed to make another subscription to the three articles of religion, but the surviving subscription records for the Diocese of Norwich do not start until 1637. He was then instituted to the rectory on July 29:

Will: Leverich cler. institutus fuit ad et in rectoriam de Livermere Magna in com. Suff. p[er] mortem Joannis Ward ult incumb. vacant[em] ad præ[entationem] Henrici Meautys de Hertford arm[iger].

William Leverich, clerk, was instituted to and in the rectory of Great Livermere in the county of Suffolk, vacant through the death of John Ward, the late incumbent, on the presentation of Henry Meauty of Hertford, esquire.

Henry Meautys of Hertford was the eldest brother of Thomas Meautys, the secretary of Sir Frances Bacon, 1st Viscount St Albans, Lord Chancellor of England during the reign of James I. The coat of arms and pedigree of the Meautys family were recorded during the heraldic visitation of Hertfordshire in 1634. Henry's daughter Elizabeth married John Claxton, the lord of the manor of Great Livermere, but it is not known why Henry rather than John presented William to Great Livermere.³

Great Livermere is located eight miles north of the market town of Bury St Edmunds, now the seat of the Diocese of St Edmundsbury & Ipswich established in 1914 (figure 28). The church of St Peter stands on slightly raised ground overlooking Livermere Park to the west with the ruins of the church of St Peter & St Paul, Little Livermere less than half a mile to the north. St Peter's church was built in the fourteenth century, but incorporates some earlier work, and is unusual in that the nave still has a thatched roof. Inside are several features that William would probably have known - the font, a fourteenth-century rood screen, the fourteenth-century wall paintings on the north wall of the nave and a choir stall that is inscribed 'W 1601 M'. The church also displays a nineteenth-century reproduction of two fifteenth-century brasses that were once there but are now lost (figures 29-31).⁴

William's entry to the living would have been an expensive one because as a new incumbent he was obliged to pay 'first fruits' and 'tenths' to the crown. These consisted of his entire profits in his first year and one-tenth of them in subsequent years, but the actual amount depended upon the valuation of the living in the *Valor ecclesiasticus* of 1535, when the rectory of Great Livermere was worth £15 8s 11½d. Any inflation that took place after then was ignored. The first fruits could be paid by instalments, but William appears to have paid them as a single amount.⁵ He would have had to ensure that he received his income from the parish, but he may not have undertaken this as thoroughly as his successor, Thomas Howlett. In 1639 Howlett took both the lord of the manor and the rector of Little Livermere to court to enforce his right to the tithes there.⁶

William recorded 9 baptisms, 1 marriage and 4 burials in 1631-32 in Great Livermere's first parish register (figure 32 and table 5). The baptism on Sunday, June 3, 1632 was of special importance as it was of his own daughter Hannah:

1632. Hannah Leverich daughter of William Leverich & Ellen his wife was baptised June the third.

The copies of the baptisms, marriages and burials sent from Great Livermere to the Archdeacon of Sudbury in 1632 and 1633 are in the handwriting of John Cooke, one of the churchwardens. William signed the 1632 return as 'G[ui]lielmus] Leverich Rector' together with John Cooke and William Noble as churchwardens. Hannah's baptism is the first one in the 1633 return, which was signed by only Cooke and Noble:

Hanna Leverich the daughter of Willm Leverich & Helen his wife was baptised June 3 1632.⁷

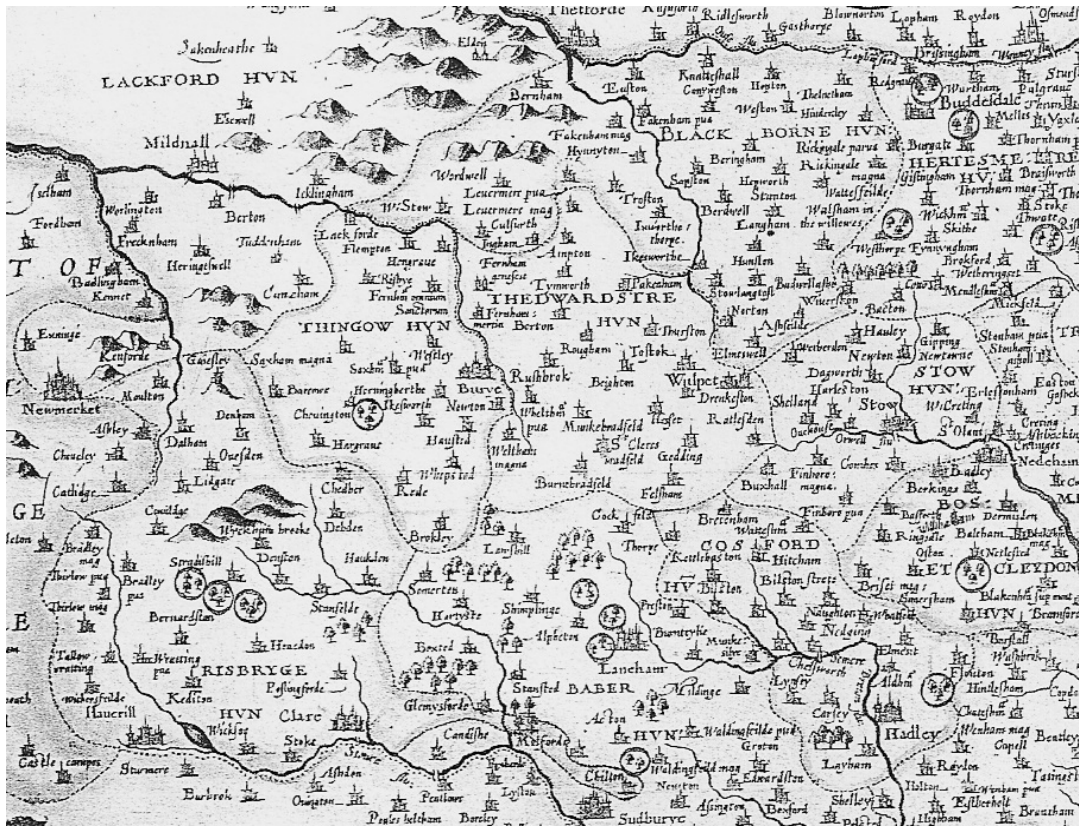


Figure 28. Part of John Speed's map of Suffolk in 1611.



Figure 29. The church of St Peter, Great Livermere, Suffolk in March 2006. The short top to the tower was built after the previous turret fell off in a storm in the 1870s.

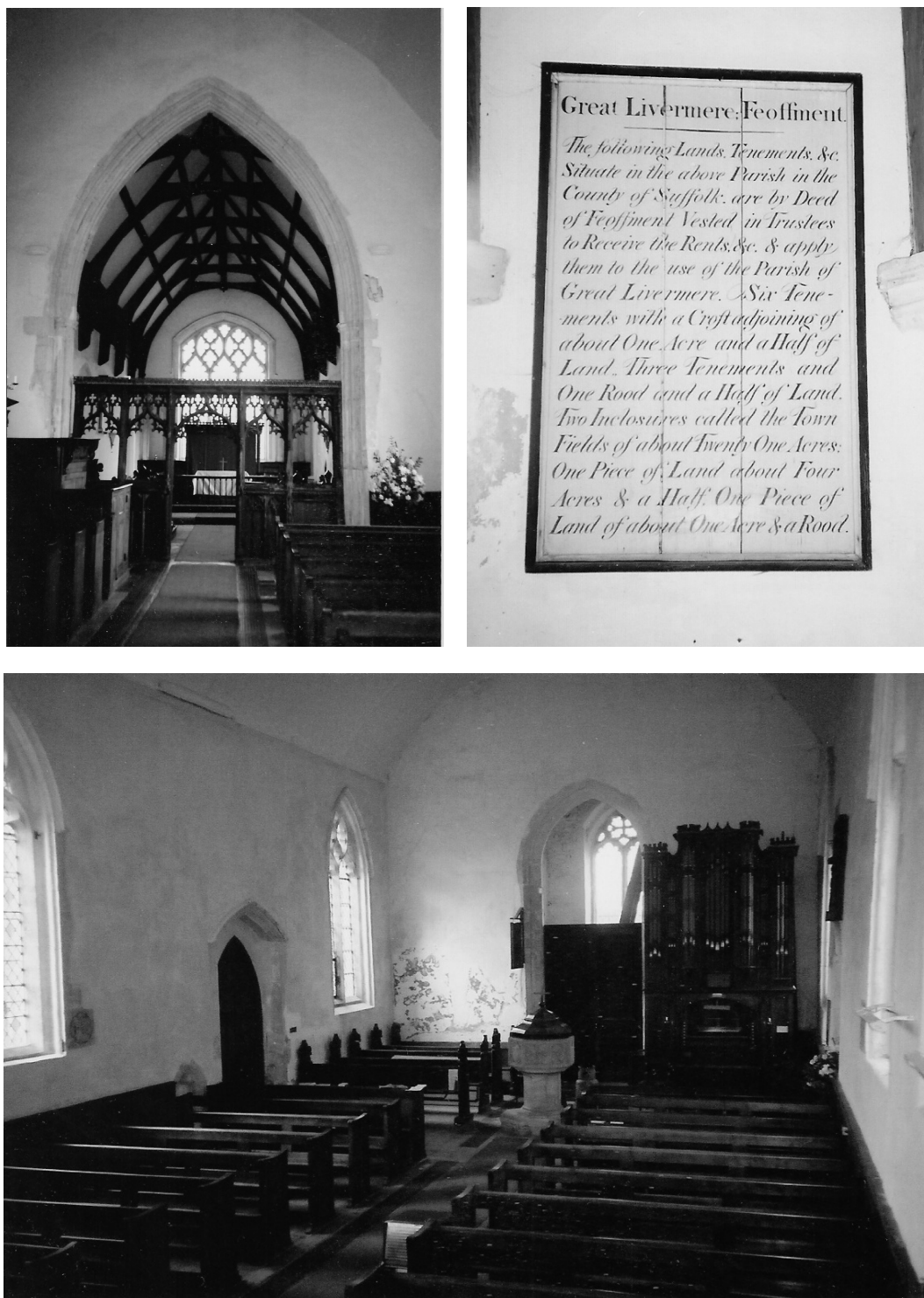


Figure 30. The interior of the church of St Peter, Great Livermere in March 2006. Top left: view of the chancel from the nave. Top right: details of the seventeenth-century parish charity in the porch. Bottom: view of the nave from the early eighteenth-century three-decker pulpit. The rood screen dates from the fourteenth century, the ladder to the tower from the seventeenth century and the benches from the late nineteenth century.

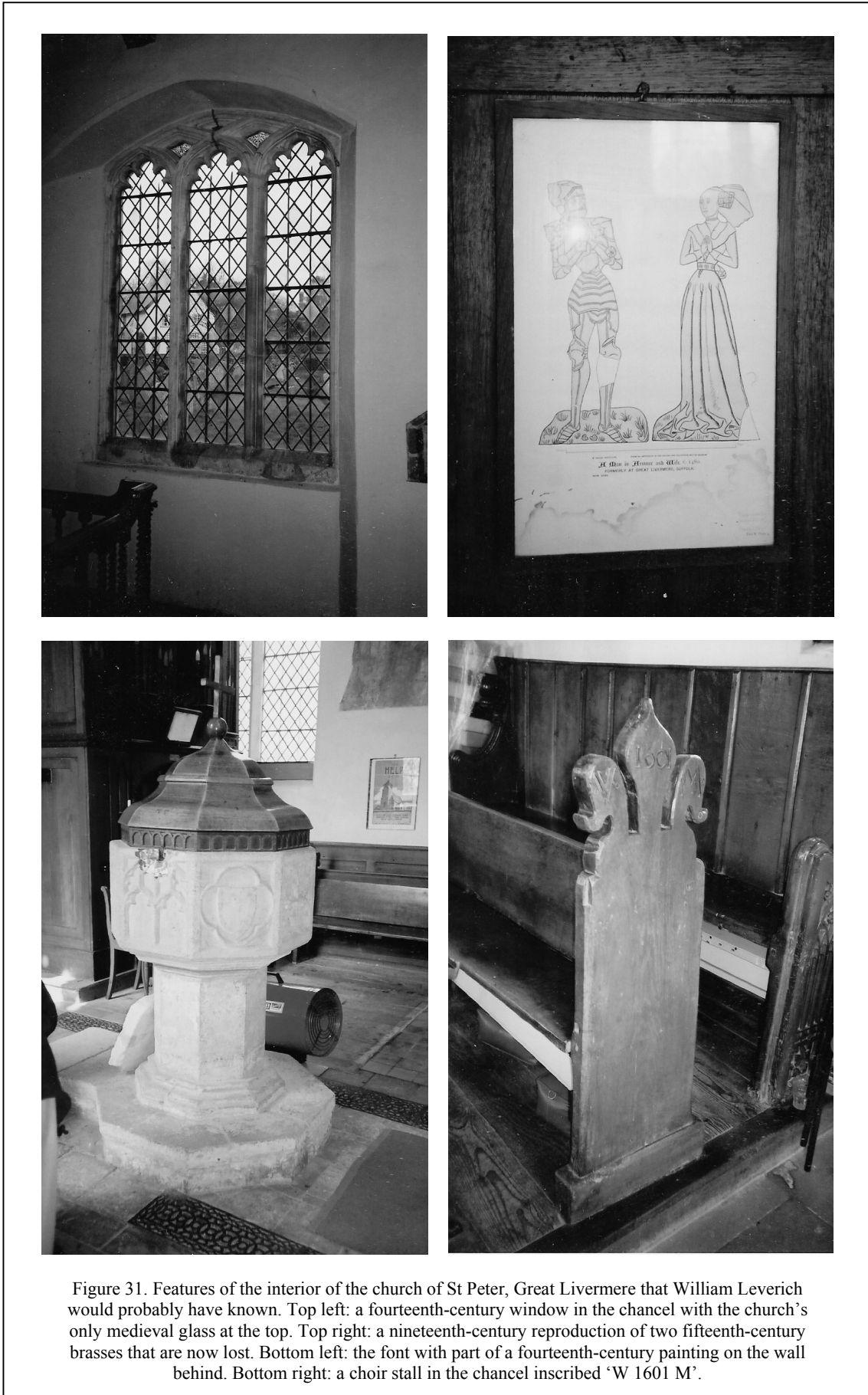


Figure 31. Features of the interior of the church of St Peter, Great Livermere that William Leverich would probably have known. Top left: a fourteenth-century window in the chancel with the church's only medieval glass at the top. Top right: a nineteenth-century reproduction of two fifteenth-century brasses that are now lost. Bottom left: the font with part of a fourteenth-century painting on the wall behind. Bottom right: a choir stall in the chancel inscribed 'W 1601 M'.

Thomas Carter the sonne of Thomas & Anne was baptizd January 6
 Stevena Garret the sonne of Steven & Agnes was baptizd May 7.
 1630 Peter Garret the sonne of John & Agnes was baptizd July 13.
 Barbary Gibbon daughter of John & Elizabeth was
 baptizd October 31.
 James Beevit the sonne of Thomas & Mary was
 baptizd December 14
 1631 John Child sonne of Bartholomew Child
 & Annus his wife was baptizd 26 Decr.
 1631 Martha the daughter of John Cooke & Anne
 his wife was baptizd December 28.
 1631 Margaret Sergeant daughter of Thomas Sergeant
 & Alice his wife was baptizd January 10.
 1631 William Cooke sonne of Robert Cooke & Margaret his
 wife was baptizd February 28. 1631.
 William Ward sonne of George Ward & Judith his wife
 was baptizd March 7. 1631.
 1631 Hannah Soocins daughter of William Soocins &
 Ellen his wife was baptizd Anno 1631.
 Grace Garret daughter of Stephen Garret and
 Anne his wife was baptizd June 24. 1631.
 1632 Elizabeth wife daughter of William Wase and Mary
 his wife was baptizd October 15.
 Elizabeth Gator daughter of Thomas Gator & Anne
 his wife was baptizd November 1. 1631.
 John Hill the sonne of William Hill & Elizabeth his
 wife was baptizd December 12. 1631.
 William Soocins
 John Soocins
 William Hill

Figure 32. Extract from the first parish register of Great Livermere showing the baptisms from 1630 to 1632.

Table 5. Summary of the baptisms, marriages and burials recorded by William Leverich in the parish register of Great Livermere in 1631-32.

Ministers	Baptisms	Marriages	Burials
A previous minister	1630 Dec 14	1630 May 9	1631 May 15
William Leverich	1631 Dec 26 Mon	1631 Sep 26 Mon	1631 Oct 19 Wed
	Dec 28 Wed		Dec 21 Wed
	1632 Jan 10 Tue		1632 Apr 28 Sat
	Feb 8 Wed		Aug 18 Sat
	Mar 10 Sat		
	Jun 3 Sun		
	Jun 24 Sun		
Oct 25 Thu			
Nov 1 Thu			
A subsequent minister	1632 Dec 9	1633 Jul 9	1633 Jan 24

It was customary for a baptism to take place soon after birth and before the mother returned to church for her churching, or the ‘thanksgiving of women after child-birth’. In view of the accusations against William at Great Bowden, it is possible that he did not follow the wording of the Book of Common Prayer when baptizing his own daughter:

Then shall the priest take the child in his hands, and aske the name: and naming the child, shal dip it in the water, so it be discretely and warily done, saying,

N[ame]. I baptize thee in the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.

Then shall the priest make a crosse upon the childs forehead, saying,

We receive this child into the congregation of Christs flocke, and doe signe him with the signe of the cross, in token that hereafter hee shall not be ashamed to confess the faith of Christ crucified, and manfully to fight under his banner, against sinne, the world, and the deveill, and to continue Christs faithfull souldier and servant until his lives end. Amen.⁸

George Herbert was ordained as priest in 1630 and before starting on a ministry that was cut short by his death in 1633 he set out his view of a pastor’s role in *A priest to the temple, or, The countrey parson*. The chapter headings alone testify to the wide view that he took of his responsibilities (document 1). William would have spent part of his time dealing with the needs of his poorer parishioners and was probably involved with the work of the parish’s charity, but its book of accounts does not begin until four years after he left the parish.⁹

- | | | | |
|--------|-----------------------------------|---------|---|
| I. | Of a pastor. | XX. | The parson in Gods stead. |
| II. | Their diversities. | XXI. | The parson catechizing. |
| III. | The parsons life. | XXII. | The parson in sacraments. |
| III. | The parsons knowledg. | XXIII. | The parson’s completenessse. |
| V. | The parsons accessary knowledges. | XXIV. | The parson arguing. |
| VI. | The parson praying. | XXV. | The parson punishing. |
| VII. | The parson preaching. | XXVI. | The parson’s eye. |
| VIII. | The parson on Sundays. | XXVII. | The parson in mirth. |
| IX. | The parson’s state of life. | XXVIII. | The parson in contempt. |
| X. | The parson in his house. | XXIX. | The parson with his church-wardens. |
| XI. | The parson’s courtesie. | XXX. | The parson’s consideration of Providence. |
| XII. | The parson’s charity. | XXXI. | The parson in liberty. |
| XIII. | The parson’s church. | XXXII. | The parson’s surveys. |
| XIV. | The parson in circuit. | XXXIII. | The parson’s library. |
| XV. | The parson comforting. | XXXIV. | The parson’s dexterity in applying of remedies. |
| XVI. | The parson as a father. | XXXV. | The parson’s condescending. |
| XVII. | The parson in journey. | XXXVI. | The parson blessing. |
| XVIII. | The parson in sentinell. | XXXVII. | Concerning detraction. |
| XIX. | The parson in reference. | | |

Document 1. The chapter headings of George Herbert’s *A priest to the temple, or, The countrey parson*, (1652).

There were opportunities for William to keep himself informed about both national and international events in the world outside Great Livermere. John Rous (Emmanuel College, 1598), the rector from 1625 to 1642 of Santon Downham, a parish about ten miles north of Great Livermere, recorded in his diary on August 24, 1629 the ‘newes of an island, 10 miles broad and 20 long, discovered by a captaine sent out by the Earle of Warwicke’ and on June 7, 1630 that

Some little while since, the company went to Newe England under Mr Wintrop. Mr Cotton, of Boston in Lincolnshire, went to their departure about Gravesend, and preached to them, as we heare, out of 2 Samuel, vii. 10^a. It is said, that he is prohibited for preaching any more in England then untill June 24 next now comming. I sawe a booke at Bury at a bookeseller’s containing a declaration of their intent who be gone to Newe England, set out by themselves, and purposed for satisfaction to the King and state (as I conceive), because of some scandalous misconceivings that runne abroade.

a Moreover I will appoint a place for my people Israel, and will plant them, that they may dwell in a place of their own, and move no more; neither shall the children of wickedness afflict them any more, as before time.

The island that Rous referred to was Providence Island in the Caribbean Sea. Cotton's sermon was published in London in 1630 with the title *Gods promise to his plantation*. The 'booke at Bury' was probably *The humble request of His Majesties loyall subjects, the governor and Company late gone for New-England*, which was also published in London in 1630. William may have attended the Monday lectures or sermons that were held on market days at Bury St Edmunds. Rous recorded going to the lecture given on February 13, 1632 by Zachary Catlin, the vicar of Thurston from 1609:

Upon Shrovetuesday, February 13, Mr Catlin, preaching at Bury, gave out before his sermon that it was good the ministers of the combination wold meete to consulte of the making of the combination, that those ministers that wold doe good might be put in seasonably for it. I learned since that a newe-come minister was put in first in the combination, to beginne on Plough Moonday [January 6], but as it seemed would not goe before the graver preachers, and therefore lefte the day unprovided; but Mr Catlin, by entreaty, preached at that time, *ex improviso*, and after wold have bene freed of this his owne time, but could not (thus he said before the sermon), and in his sermon said thus much *obiter*, which I heard: 'We are blamed for our churches, but it is certaine that these courtes extracte more from us then will repayer our churches, adorne them, and keepe them so.'

On Tuisday the next day, being February 14, Shrove Tuisday, Mr Garie, of Becham, preached at Methwold, where I heard him. He preached in his cloake, read prayers so, without a surplis (as I remember). In reading whereof, he stayed for Mr Pecke and some others, to mutter eche other verse of the Psalmes; and omitting a first lesson, he read a second lesson, wherein he mouthed it Je-sus, with a lowe congie; and in his sermon upon Matthew, iii. 10,^a among those whom he made liable to God's fearfull judgment, against whom the axe is threatned, he named adulterers, oppressors, atheists, those that bowed not at the name of Jesus, and (I thinke also) those that were covered at divine service, with others; in rehearsing of those not bowing, he produced Philip. ii. 10,^b how well convening let it be scanned; but *O tempora, qui pastores?*^c

- a And now also the axe is laid unto the root of the trees: therefore every tree which bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down and cast into the fire.
- b That at the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, of *things* in heaven, and *things* in earth, and *things* under the earth.
- c Oh times, who (are) the shepherds?

William might have been the 'newe-come minister' referred to by Rous, or he may already have become one of the combination of ministers who gave the Monday morning lectures. Bury St Edmunds had both a combination lecture and one given by a minister employed specially for the purpose.¹⁰

The entries in the Great Livermere register suggest that William left the parish between November 1 and December 9, 1632. His successor was instituted on April 24, 1633. By then William and Ellen would have set out on the journey that was to take them across the Atlantic during the second half of 1633, but what made them leave Great Livermere? A possible link with William's past may have arisen in July 1632 when a John Lambe was instituted as rector of Fornham St Martin, a parish between Great Livermere and Bury St Edmunds, for he may have been a relative of the John Lambe who William had faced in the court of the Archdeacon of Leicester in 1629. John Lambe of Fornham was a deacon with a B.A. degree at the time of his institution and was probably the John Lambe who entered Trinity College, Cambridge in 1625 and graduated B.A. in 1629 and M.A. in 1633. He was probably deprived of his living in the 1640s as he petitioned parliament for restitution in June 1660.¹¹

There was also a new Bishop of Norwich in 1632. Francis White, who had been bishop there since 1629, was appointed Bishop of Ely and he was succeeded by Richard Corbett, who moved from Oxford. It is recorded of Corbett that he was 'strongly opposed to the Puritans, and frequently admonished his clergy for Puritan practices', but he was much less active in this than his successor in 1635. He may have had as much an eye for the ladies as the ministers in his diocese, for Rous recorded some verses which he received in April 1633:

D. C. [Dean Corbett] to the Gentlewomen of the New Dresse

Ladies that weare blacke cypres^a vailles,^b
 Turned lately to white linnen railles,^c
 And to your girdle^d weare your bandes,^e
 And shewe your armes, in steade of handes;
 As, fittest dresse, to weare a sheete?
 'Twas once a bande: 'tis now a cloake;
 An acorne one day proves an oake,
 Weare but your linnen to your feete,
 And then your band will prove a sheete,
 By which devise and wise excesse
 You doe a penance in a dresse:
 And none shall knowe by what they see,
 Which Ladies censur'd, which goe free,

But the 'Ladies and Gentlewomen's Answer' contained the lines

We weare our linnen to our feete,
Yet need not make our band our sheete:
Your Clergie weare as long as we,
Yet that implies conformity.¹²

- | | | | |
|---|---|---|--|
| a | a thin transparent black stuff | c | a woman's upper garment |
| b | a part of female dress by which the face and part of the shape is concealed | d | any thing drawn round the waist, and tied or buckled |
| | | e | something worn about the neck |

Corbett issued a set of articles in preparation for his triennial visitation in 1633. They were almost identical to those issued by his predecessors, John Overall and Samuel Harsnett, in 1619 and 1627, and the headings alone show the wide range of matters that were to be inquired into (document 2). It is difficult to judge what actually happened when a visitation took place, but William may well have feared the prospect.

Articles concerning religion and doctrine

- | | |
|---------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Hereticall opinions | 4. Impugners of the Kings supremacie |
| 2. Absence from church | 5. Popish recusants |
| 3. Unlawfull conventicles | |

Articles concerning publick prayer and administration of the sacraments

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Depraving the Book of Common Prayer, and ceremonies | 6. Parents of children admitted godfathers |
| 2. Perswading any minister to alter the form of Common Prayer | 7. Private baptism |
| 3. Observation of the forme of baptism, and crosse | 8. Baptizing of Papists children |
| 4. Deferring of baptism | 9. Receiving of the Lords Supper thrice a yeare |
| 5. Children refused to be baptized, or dying without baptism | 10. Kneeling at the Communion |
| | 11. Notorious offenders admitted to the Communion |
| | 12. Debarring others without cause |

Articles concerning the church, the ornaments thereof, and the churches possessions

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Books and ornaments in the church. Abusing of the Communion table | 6. Churches vacant |
| 2. Things appertaining to churches. Register books | 7. Concealing of church goods |
| 3. Reparations of churches and parsonage-houses. Keeping clean of churches | 8. Erecting up seats and pewes |
| 4. [Presenting want of reparations] | 9. Defacing of seemly ornaments |
| 5. Fencing and keeping the churchyard | 10. Burying of popish recusants |
| | 11. Alienation of tithes and profits of the church |
| | 12. A terrier of gleablands and other possessions of the church |

Articles concerning ministers and preachers of Gods holy word

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Degrees of ministers | 12. Ministers to call for relief of the poore and almes-deeds |
| 2. Observation of the form and time of Common Prayer, and sacraments | 13. Symonie |
| 3. Continuall wearing of the surplice | 14. Demising of benefices |
| 4. Observation of rites | 15. Conferring with recusants |
| 5. Preachers without license. Reading homilies when there is no sermon | 16. Observing of Rogation-Week |
| 6. Preaching of false doctrine and new opinions | 17. Preaching, &c. in private houses |
| 7. Names of strange preachers to be taken | 18. Curates not licensed and laymen doing offices of a minister |
| 8. Opposition of preachers in their sermons | 19. Lecturers and preachers to read service |
| 9. Praying for his majestie, &c. | 20. Conversation of the minister. Ministers forsaking their calling |
| 10. Non-residence of the minister | 21. Ministers revealing private confessions |
| 11. Catechizing | |

Document 2. Headings of the visitation articles issued by Richard Corbett, Bishop of Norwich, in 1633.

Articles concerning matrimony

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. Marriage within Leviticall degrees | 4. Marriage without banes and license |
| 2. Private marriage and without consent of parents | 5. Persons married out of their parishes |
| 3. Married persons living apart | 6. Recusants marriage |
| | 7. Bigamy |

Articles concerning churchwardens

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
| 1. Election of churchwardens | 3. Churchwardens diligent in the church. |
| 2. Churchwardens due accompt | A book for strange preachers |

Articles concerning the parishioners

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Profaning the Lords Day | 7. Opening of shops upon holidiaies |
| 2. Impugning the rites and government of the Church | 8. Keeping holy of the 27 of March, and the 5 of November |
| 3. Reverend behaviour at divine service | 9. Adultery, fornication, incest, &c. |
| 4. Leaving their own churches to go to others | 10. Commutation of penance |
| 5. Exception against the minister. Churching of women | 11. Persons dying since the 20 of Febr. 1632 |
| 6. Disgracing of ministers | 12. Administring of goods without authoritie |
| | 13. Excommunicate persons |

Articles concerning schoolmasters, physicians and chirugians, and parish clerks

- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| 1. Schoolmasters not licensed. Dutie of all schoolmasters | 2. Physicians not licensed |
| | 3. Parish-clerks |

Articles concerning ecclesiasticall offices

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| 1. Excessive fees | 4. Abuses in apparitors and sumners |
| 2. Tables of fees in courts | 5. Abuses in ecclesiasticall offices |
| 3. Speeding of acts without a notarie | 6. Sincerity and impartialitie in the inquisitors |

Document 2 continued.

Corbett approved the appointment of George Burdett, William's ministerial successor at Dover, New Hampshire, to the post of lecturer at Great Yarmouth on the Norfolk coast on January 1, 1633, but he was soon having to deal with a dispute between Burdett and Matthew Brookes, the vicar there. Burdett had graduated from Trinity College, Dublin in 1623 and was admitted to Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge in 1624. He was probably a lecturer at Brightwell in Suffolk and Saffron Walden and Havering in Essex before his appointment to Great Yarmouth. Corbett resolved the dispute between Burdett and Brookes by deciding on March 19, 1633 that each of them should read prayers before his sermon, that all fees should go to Brookes, that Burdett should preach on 'scarlet days' and that Brookes should preach the annual fishing sermon. Corbett reserved his judgment on whether Burdett should assist Brookes with the communions 'which are great and often' and on whether Burdett might have power to appoint a substitute during the 40 days of absence that he was allowed each year, and sought the opinion of Laud, bishop of the neighbouring Diocese of London, on these two points.¹³

Burdett was charged before the Court of High Commission on February 18, 1634 with schism, blasphemy and raising new doctrines in his sermons. Part of the case against him was that he had set an ill example by not receiving Holy Communion at Easter, that he had been admonished by his bishop on July 12 to conform to the Church of England and in particular to bow at the blessed name of Jesus and that he had not done so, but in a prayer before the sermon had prayed 'Lord God, thou art a spirit, and wilt be worshipped with spiritual worship; thou regardest not the bending of the knee nor the bowing of the body, nor any other hypocritical service.' The case against him and counter claims he made against Brookes and Thomas Cheshire continued during 1634 and he was suspended on February 5, 1635. A record of these High Commission proceedings has been preserved, but unfortunately, as Patrick Collinson, has commented 'Suffolk is one of those worlds we have lost, together with all record of its civil administration, many important ecclesiastical sources, especially those relating to the two archdeaconries, and all but a few materials of a more intimate character: that is to say, letters and diaries'. It is thus not possible to tell whether any action like that which

William had faced in the court of the Archdeacon of Leicester was taken against him in the Archdeacon of Sudbury's court.¹⁴

The widespread pressure on ministers to conform to the rules of the Church of England did not begin until Laud became Archbishop of Canterbury on the death of the previous archbishop on August 4, 1633, but William would have heard about him as the diocese of London extended to within twenty miles of Great Livermere. William's move to New England probably resulted from the combination of circumstances. He may have continued to experience religious difficulties in England. He may have been attracted to the opportunities for a new life abroad. He may have encountered problems in his personal life, or he may have been recruited. Whatever the circumstances, he would have been in London in August 1633 in time to set out across the Atlantic.

The Netherlands provided an alternative home for non-conforming ministers, but the churches there of the Company of Merchant Adventurers were placed under the control of the Bishop of London in October 1633. Several of those who subsequently went to New England were informally considered for posts in the English Reformed Church in Amsterdam - Hugh Peters in 1629, Thomas Hooker in 1631, Thomas Weld in 1632 and John Davenport in 1634 - but none of them fitted either the church's doctrine or its place within the Dutch Reformed Church. William on the other hand was to spend twenty-seven years in America before he may have visited the Netherlands.¹⁵

There is no record of William Dowsing or any of his assistants visiting Great Livermere during their church and chapel surveys in 1643 or 1644, but such a visit probably took place. The church shows signs of damage, some of which may have occurred at that time. The chancel arch shows where the rood was once fixed, the only medieval glass is at the very top of a window and the font is damaged on one side (figures 30 top left and 31 top & bottom left). Twenty-nine inhabitants of Great Livermere were named when the hearth tax, a tax based on the number of fireplaces in a house, was collected in 1674. They included the rector of Little Livermere, a very appropriately named 'Mr Priest cler[k]', and William Sakings, whose gravestone outside the south porch of the church is inscribed 'Here lieth y^e body of William Sakings; he died y^e 28th of March 1689; he was forkner [falconer] to King Charles y^e 1st, King Charles y^e 2^d, King James y^e 2^d. Aged 78 years' (figure 33).¹⁶

The Rev. Herbert James was rector of Great Livermere from 1865 to 1909 and lived in the Georgian rectory located 160 yards south of the church. His son M. R. James was Provost of King's College, Cambridge and then of Eton College in Berkshire. He catalogued the manuscripts of many Cambridge colleges, including those of Emmanuel, but he is better known as the author of ghost stories that contain echoes of the Livermeres and other parts of Suffolk, and readers of *Ghosts & scholars* magazine and members of the Ghost Story Society commemorated his life with a plaque unveiled in the church in September 1998.¹⁷

Little Livermere is a classic deserted medieval village, whose former main street and the sites of some of its houses can only be identified from the air, and the remains of its church are now amongst a group of farm buildings. Great Livermere is also still a rural parish and the former rectory is occupied by the head gamekeeper of the adjacent estate. The parish's 2½ square miles had a population of 220 when the census was taken in 2001.¹⁸

William, Ellen and perhaps Hannah as well probably made their way to London after leaving Great Livermere. They would then have taken the Long Ferry down the River Thames to Gravesend, where they embarked for New England. The Long Ferry was established by royal charter in 1401 after the destruction of Gravesend by the French in 1379. The fare was then set at two pence and remained the same until 1737 when it was increased to six pence (figure 34). Rebecca and John Rolfe had probably made the same journey along the Thames seventeen years earlier on their way back to America, but she died at Gravesend and was buried there on March 21, 1617. She is much better known as the Amerindian princess Pocahontas who may have



Figure 33. The gravestone of William Sakings of Great Livermere in February 2001.

saved the life of John Smith of Virginia in 1608. William may well have seen their pictures in Smith's *General historie of Virginia* published in 1624.¹⁹

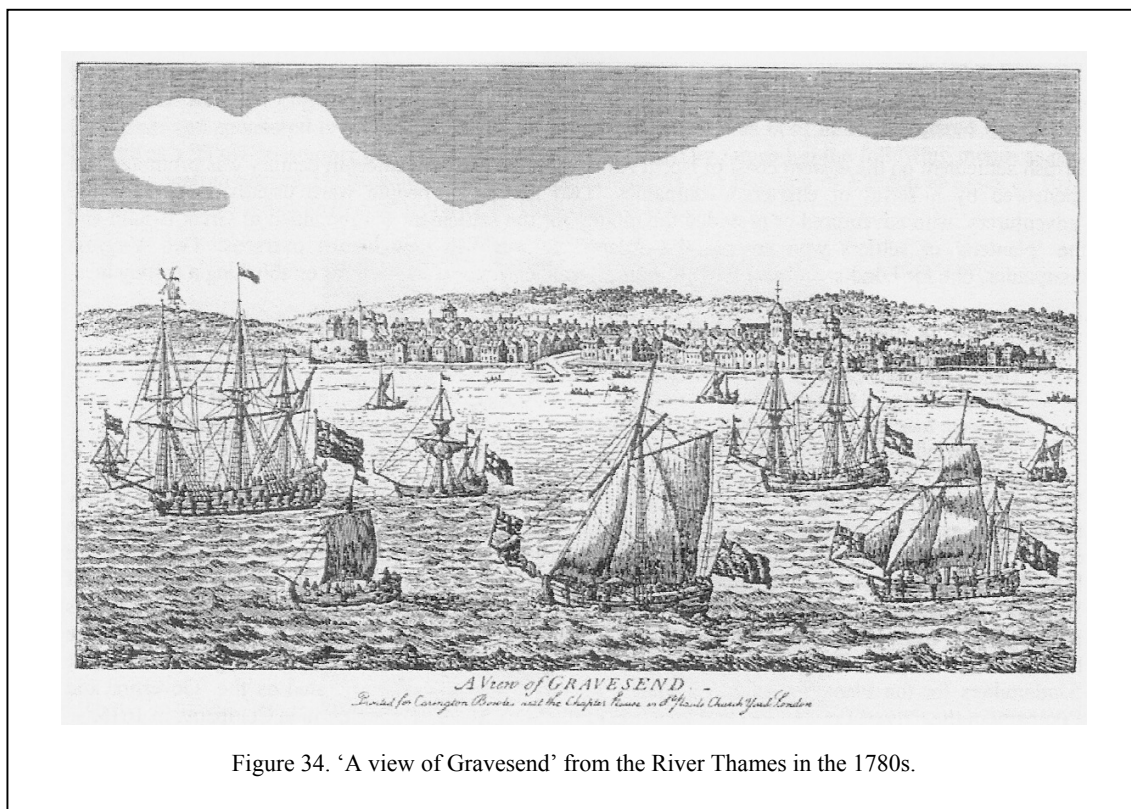


Figure 34. 'A view of Gravesend' from the River Thames in the 1780s.

New England

*Religion stands on tip-toe in our land,
Readie to passe to the American strand.*
George Herbert, 1633¹

British settlement on the eastern coast of North America in the early seventeenth century was promoted and sponsored by a series of chartered companies. Two groups of people were usually involved - the 'adventurers' who adventured or provided the money for the settlement but remained in Great Britain and the 'planters' or settlers who crossed the Atlantic to establish new homes overseas. Two Virginia companies, one for London and one for Plymouth, were incorporated in 1606 for establishing a colony in

that part of America, commonly called Virginia, and other parts and territories in America, either appertaining unto us, or which are not now actually possessed by any Christian prince or people, situate, lying and being all along the sea coasts, between four and thirty degrees of northerly latitude from the equinoctial line, and five and forty degrees of the same latitude, and in the main land between the same four and thirty and five and forty degrees, and the islands thereunto adjacent, or within one hundred miles of the coast thereof.

The London company might settle as far north as 41°, the latitude of New York, and the Plymouth company as far south as 38°, the latitude of the Potomac, but neither was to settle within a hundred miles of the other.² The London company was in practice separated from the Plymouth company when it was named 'The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London for the first colony of Virginia', or Virginia Company, in a new charter in 1609. A third charter in 1612 extended the company's territory at sea from 100 miles to 300 leagues, thus including the Sommers Islands or Bermuda within the boundaries of Virginia. The company then sold its interests in Bermuda in 1612 to a group called the 'Undertakers for the Plantation of the Sommers Islands', who were incorporated as the 'Governor and Company of the City of London for the Plantation of the Somer Islands', or Bermuda Company, in 1615. The Plymouth company's area of interest was named New England in John Smith's *A description of New England*, which was published in London in 1616. The company was replaced by the 'Council established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon for Planting, Ruling, Ordering and Governing of New-England, in America', or Council for New England, in 1620.³

All these grants involved the royal prerogative. It had been confirmed in Calvin's Case in 1608 that when the king acted for places outside his realm he acted through his Privy Council rather than through Parliament.⁴

Robert Rich, 2nd Earl of Warwick, was a member of the Virginia Company, the Bermuda Company and the Council for New England. He was active in many other colonial ventures in North America and the Caribbean and sponsored privateering against foreign shipping. He was born in 1587, entered Emmanuel College as a fellow-commoner on June 4, 1603 and was knighted by James I in the following month as part of the coronation honors. He became a member of parliament for the Borough of Malden in Essex in 1610 and succeeded his father as Earl of Warwick in 1619 (figure 35).⁵

The *Mayflower* Pilgrims emigrated under a patent which Warwick and other members of the Virginia Company granted to John Peirce and his associates on February 2, 1620. About two-fifths of the settlers were from Leiden in the Netherlands, including some of those from Scrooby in Nottinghamshire who had established the English church there in 1608, but their pastor John Robinson remained in Leiden from where he wrote letters of advice until his death in 1625.⁶



Figure 35. Robert Rich, 2nd Earl of Warwick, in the 1640s.

The Pilgrims arrived at Cape Cod on the New England coast on November 10, 1620. Before landing on the following day they endeavored to deal with dissatisfaction amongst themselves by making the Mayflower Compact, an agreement that was recorded in *A relation or journall of the beginning and proceedings of the English plantation settled at Plimoth* when it was published in London in 1622:

In the name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord King James, by the grace of God of Great Britaine, France and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, &c. Having under-taken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honour of our King and Countrey, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly & mutually in the presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine our selves together into a civill body politike, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by vertue hereof to enact, constitute and frame such just and equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions, offices from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the generall good of the Colony: unto which we promise all due submission and obedience.⁷

This Compact formed the basis for the town which was established in the following weeks at Plymouth under John Carver and his successor William Bradford. This town is here referred to as Plymouth and the colony that it became part of as New Plymouth. The history of New Plymouth that Bradford compiled towards the end of his life was used by Nathaniel Morton to compile his *New Englands memoriall*, which was published in Cambridge, Mass. in 1669, and by Thomas Prince and Thomas Hutchinson in the eighteenth century. The manuscript disappeared during the War of Independence, but a reference to a manuscript history of Plymouth in Samuel Wilberforce's *A history of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America* in 1844 led to its identification in the library of Fulham Palace, the official residence of the Bishop of London, in 1855 and its return to the United States in 1897.⁸ Most of the surviving information about the early years of the settlement was written by Bradford and he concluded his account of the settlers' arrival with the words

What could now sustaine them but the spirite of God and his grace? May not and ought not the children of these fathers rightly say: Our faithers were English men which came over this great ocean, and were ready to perish in this willdernes, but they cried unto the Lord, and he heard their voyce, and looked on their adversitie, etc.^a Let them therefore praise the Lord, because he is good, and his mercies endure for ever. Yea, let them which have been redeemed of the Lord, shew how he hath delivered them from the hand of the oppressour. When they wandered in the deserte [and] willdernes out of the way, and found no citie to dwell in, both hungrie and thirstie, their sowle was overwhelmed in them. Let them confess before the Lord his loving kindnes, and his wonderfull works before the sons of men^b.

a Deuteronomy 26: 7. And when we cried unto the Lord God of our fathers, the Lord heard our voice, and looked on our affliction, and our labour, and our oppression.

b Psalms 107: 1-8. O give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good: for his mercy endureth for ever..... Oh that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men!

'Perish in this willdernes' is exactly what happened to many of the settlers, as nearly half of the *Mayflower's* passengers died during the first six months and others only survived because of the care that they received from the '6 or 7 sound persons'. Bradford particularly referred to William Brewster and Myles Standish 'unto whom my selfe and many others were much beholden in our low and sick condition'. There were births and marriages as well. The first birth was of a son to Susanna White, whose husband died in February 1621, and the first marriage was in May when she married Edward Winslow, whose own wife had died two months previously. New Plymouth was in the area assigned to the Council for New England and not in that of the Virginia Company, but the settlers' position was regularized when the Council granted Peirce and his associates a patent which was signed by Warwick and four other members of the Council on June 1, and a new patent was granted to Bradford and his associates on January 13, 1630.⁹

The British charters, patents and settlers make it easy to forget that people were already living in New England. European visitors and settlers had a devastating effect on the lives and culture of the Amerindians, who were weakened by diseases introduced from Europe. There was a major epidemic in Massachusetts in 1616-19 and this was followed by smallpox in the 1630s. When Bradford described a visit to some Amerindians in 1621 he wrote that

the people [were] not many, being dead and abundantly wasted in the late great mortalitie which fell in all these parts aboute three years before the coming of the English, wherin thousands of them dyed; they not being able to burie one another, their sculs and bones were found in many places lying still above the ground, where their houses and dwellings had been; a very sad spectacle to behould.¹⁰

Amerindian possessions provided opportunities for theft. Bradford wrote rather briefly about the Amerindian corn stores that the settlers removed when they arrived at Cape Cod in 1620, but the fuller account in *A relation or journall* also referred to the removal of 'sundry of the pretiest things' from the embalmed body of a child and 'some of the best things' from some temporarily unoccupied houses. Both

accounts, however, referred to the intention to give the Amerindians ‘full satisfaction’ for the items taken. The Amerindians and the land that they cultivated helped the settlers to establish themselves. Indeed they may have been essential for the success of the British colonization whilst the new arrivals resettled the land, but unfortunately no-one made a pictorial record like the drawings that John White made in Virginia in 1585 (figure 36).¹¹

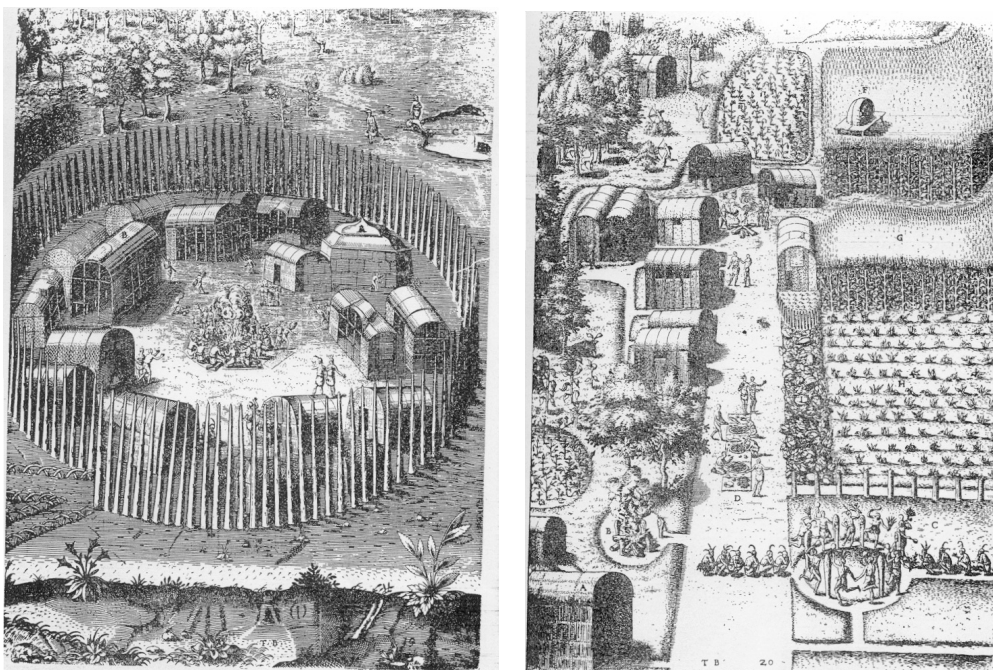


Figure 36. Engravings published in Frankfurt in 1590 of John White’s drawings of Amerindian villages in Virginia. They show the cultivation of corn, pumpkins, sunflowers and tobacco.

A relation or journall also described an agreement made between the settlers and Massasoit, an Amerindian sachem, in March 1621. The agreement was an unequal one, as it required Massasoit to surrender ‘any of his [that] did hurt to any of ours’, but not the surrender to him of any of the settlers that offended the Amerindians:

1. That neyther he [Massasoit] nor any of his should injure or doe hurt to any of our people [the British settlers].
2. And if any of his did hurt to any of ours, he should send the offender, that we might punish him.
3. That if any of our tooles were taken away when our people were at worke, he should cause them to be restored, and if ours did any harme to any of his, wee would doe the like to them.
4. If any did unjustly warre against him, we would ayde him; if any did warre against us, he should ayde us.
5. He should send to his neighbour confederates, to certifie them of this, that they might not wrong us, but might be likewise comprised in the conditions of peace.
6. That when their men came to us, they should leave their bowes and arrowes behind them, as wee should doe our peeces when we came to them.

Lastly, That doing thus, King James would esteeme of him as his friend and alie.

The agreement probably became more unequal still in later years. Bradford left out from his version of the agreement the requirement that the settlers should leave their arms at home when they visited the Amerindians and Morton interpreted the final provision as meaning that Massasoit ‘acknowledged himself content to become the subject of our Sovereign Lord the King aforesaid, his heirs and successors, and gave unto them all the lands adjacent, to them and their heirs for ever’. There were, however, conflicts between the settlers and Amerindians, conflicts which led Robinson to write to Bradford in December 1623

Concerning the killing of those poor Indians, of which we heard at first by reporte, and since by more certaine relation. Oh! How happy a thing had it been, if you had converted some before you had killed any. Besides, wher bloud is onc[e] begune to be shed, it is seldome stanchd of a long time after.¹²

William Hilton left London for New Plymouth in the *Fortune* in July and his glowing account of life in the colony was taken to England when the ship set sail again in December. The *Fortune* was captured by a French ship and did not reach London until February 1622. His account was included in the second edition of John Smith's *New England's trials*, which was published later that year, and Winslow provided his own description in *Good newes from New England*, which was published two years later. These accounts and others based on them kept those back in England informed about how the settlers were faring in their new world. The town of Plymouth was well-established when Isaack de Rasieres included a description of it in a letter that he wrote to Samuel Blommaert in about 1628:

New Plymouth lies on the slope of a hill stretching east towards the sea-coast, with a broad street about a cannon shot of 800 feet long, leading down the hill; with a [street] crossing in the middle, northwards to the rivulet and southwards to the land. The houses are constructed of hewn planks, with the gardens also enclosed behind and at the sides with hewn planks, so that their houses and court-yards are arranged in very good order, with a stockade against a sudden attack; and at the ends of the streets there are three wooden gates. In the centre, on the cross street, stands the governor's house, before which is a square stockade upon which four patereros are mounted, so as to enfilade the streets. Upon the hill they have a large square house, with a flat roof, made of thick sawn plank, stayed with oak beams, upon the top of which they have six cannon, which shoot iron balls of four and five pounds, and command the surrounding country. The lower part they use for their church, where they preach on Sundays and the usual holidays. They assemble by beat of drum, each with his musket or firelock, in front of the captain's door; they have their cloaks on, and place themselves in order, three abreast, and are led by a sergeant without beat of drum. Behind comes the governor, in a long robe; beside him, on the right hand, comes the preacher with his cloak on, and on the left hand the captain with his side-arms, and cloak on, and with a small cane in his hand; and so they march in good order, and each sets his arms down near him. Thus they are constantly on their guard night and day.¹³

The Council for New England also made several grants of land in the northern part of New England. A patent was issued on August 10, 1622 to Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason of 'all that part of the maine land in New England lying upon the sea coast betwixt the rivers of Merimack & Sagadahock and to the furthest heads of the said rivers and soe forwards up into the land westward untill threescore miles be finished.....which.....the said Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. John Mason.....intend to name the Province of Maine'. William Hilton's brother Edward established a settlement on the Piscataqua River that became known as Dover and on November 7, 1629 Mason was granted 'all that part of the main land in New-England, lying upon the sea coast, beginning from the middle part of Merrimack River, and from thence to proceed northwards along the sea coast to Piscataqua River.....which.....the said Captain John Mason.....intends to name New-Hampshire'. Ten days later Gorges and Mason obtained another patent for 'all those lands & countrys.....betwixt the lines of west and northwest conceiv'd to pass or lead upwards from the rivers of Sagadahok & Merrimak in the country of New England'. This patent created the Laconia Company, which established a settlement at Strawberry Banke on the south side of the Piscataqua valley.¹⁴ Then Edward Hilton was granted 'all that part of the River Pascataquack called or known by the name of Wecanacohunt or Hilton's Point with the south side of the said river up to the fall of the river and three miles into the maine land' in a patent signed by Warwick on behalf of the Council for New England on March 12, 1630. The delivery of the patent was witnessed by William Hilton, Thomas Wiggin and others on July 7, 1631, but Edward later sold his interest in the area to some Bristol men.¹⁵

An unincorporated Dorchester Company was set up with a patent which the Council for New England granted to Sir Walter Erle in 1623 and it established a settlement on the New England coast near Cape Ann but later moved it to Naumkeag. The Company was superceded by the New England Company on the basis of another patent that Warwick signed on behalf of the council in 1628 and its settlement was established under John Endecott at Naumkeag. This Company was in turn replaced by the 'Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in Newe-England', or Massachusetts Bay Company, which was incorporated by royal charter on March 4, 1629. Those named in the charter included John Humfrey, John Endecott, Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, Richard Bellingham, William Vassall, Theophilus Eaton and William Pynchon, and John Davenport was a subscriber to the Company though not named in its charter.¹⁶

Endecott was made governor of Naumkeag, which was renamed Salem. He and his fellow settlers would have had little experience of church organization and worship outside the framework of the Church of England, whereas Bradford and some of the other New Plymouth residents had been managing their own religious affairs for over twenty years in the Netherlands and New England. Endecott sought help from New Plymouth and Bradford sent Samuel Fuller, who provided advice on both medical and religious matters. Endecott wrote to Bradford on May 11 that he acknowledged himself 'much bound to you for your kind love and care in sending Mr Fuller among us, and rejoyce much that I am by him satisfied touching your judgments of the outward forme of Gods worshipe'. Then on August 6 the Salem settlers made a covenant to establish their church:

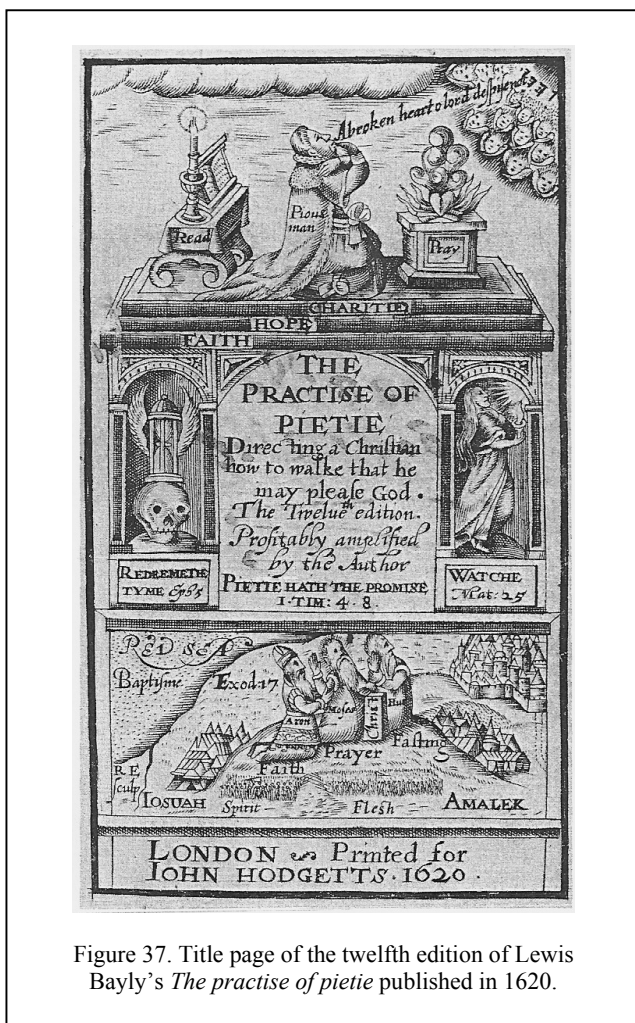


Figure 37. Title page of the twelfth edition of Lewis Bayly's *The practise of pietie* published in 1620.

In a letter to Endecott on April 17 the Company recorded its misgivings about Ralph Smith, another minister that it was transporting to New England:

Mr Raph Smith, a minister, hath desired passage in our [shipp], which was graunted him before wee understood of his difference of judgment in some things from our ministers. But his provisions [for] his voyage being shipt before notice was taken therof, through many occasions wherewith those intrusted with this business have bin employed, and forasmuch as from hence it is feared there may growe some distraccion amongst yow if there should bee any syding, though wee have a very good opinion of his honesty, we shall not, hope, offend in charitie to feare the worst that may grow from their different judgments. Wee have therefore thought fitt to give yow this order, that unless hee wilbe conformable to our government, yow suffer him not to remain within the limitts of [our] graunt.

It also ordered that

to the end [that] the Saboth may bee celebrated in a religious manner, we appoint, that all that inhabite the plantacon, both for the generall and particuler imployments, may surceace their labour every Satterday throughout the yeare at 3 of the clock in the afternoone, and that they spend the rest of that day in catichising and preparacon for the Saboth, as the ministers shall direct.

Smith had graduated from Christ's College, Cambridge in 1614. He lived at Nantasket for a short while after his arrival in New England and then became the minister at Plymouth. The church there had been without a minister for most of the previous nine years, when many of the services had been taken by Brewster, though Robinson had advised that he should not administer the sacraments.¹⁹

Higginson compiled a journal of his voyage to New England. He sailed from Gravesend on April 25, 1629 and his ship gradually made its way around the south coast of England before land was lost sight of on May 13. Land was sighted again on June 19 and the ship reached Salem on June 29, a journey time of 65 days, including 36 days without sight of land. His daughter Mary died from smallpox during the voyage, but at the end he recorded how

We constantly served God morning and evening by reading and expounding a chapter, singing and prayer. And the Sabbath was solemnly kept, by adding to the former, preaching twice and catechising. And in our great need we kept two solemn fasts, and found a gracious effect. Let all that love and use fasting and praying, take notice that it is preavailable by sea, as by land, wheresover it is faithfully performed.

Higginson's journal was not printed until 1846, but three editions of his *New-Englands plantation* were published in London in 1630. The second and third editions contained a letter sent from New England by Thomas Graves, an engineer there, with 'A catalogue of such needfull things as every planter doth or ought to provide to go to New-England, but William was probably not as fully equipped as this when he set out for New England (document 4).²⁰

The Company had directed that one of the ministers should go to the town that was being planted at Mishawum (afterwards Charlestown) and Bright went there, but he returned to England in 1630. Skelton and Higginson remained at Salem and their appointment as ministers was described by Charles Gott, a Salem settler, in a letter dated July 30, 1629 to Bradford:

The 20th of July, it pleased God to move the heart of our Governour to set it apart for a solemn day of humilliation for the choice of a pastor and teacher; the former part of the day being spent in praise and teaching; the latter part was spent

about the election, which was after this maner. The persons thought on (who had been ministers in England) were demanded concerning their callings. They acknowledged there was a two-fold calling, the one an inward calling, when the Lord moved the heart of a man to take that calling upon him, and fitted him with gifts for the same; the second (the outward calling), which was from the people, when a company of believers are joined together in covenant, to walk together in all the ways of God, every member (being men) are to have a free voice in the choice of their officers, &c. Now, we being persuaded that these two men were so qualified.....we saw no reason but we might freely give our voices for their election, after this trial. *Their choice was after this manner, every fit member wrote in a note his name whom the Lord moved him to think was fit for a pastor, and so likewise, whom they would have for teacher;* so the most voice was for Mr Skelton pastor and Mr Higginson to be teacher; and they accepting the choyce, Mr Higgison, with three or four more of the gravest members of the church laid their hands on Mr Skelton using prayers therewith. This being done, then there was imposition of hands on Mr Higginson.²¹

A catalogue of such needfull things as every planter doth or ought to provide to go to New-England; as namely for one man, which being doubled, may serve for as many as you please, viz.

Victuals for a whole yeere for a man, and so after the rate for more.

8 bushels of meale	1 paire of blankets	1 hammer	wooden platers
2 bushels of pease	1 coarse rug	1 shovell	dishes
2 bushels of otejmeale		1 spade	spoones
1 gallon of aquavitae	Armes	2 augurs	trenchers
1 gallon of oyle		4 chissels	
2 gallons of vinegar	1 armour compleat	2 percers, stocked	Spices
1 firkin of butter	1 long peece	1 gimblet	
	1 sword	1 hatchet	sugar
Apparell	1 belt	2 frowes	pepper
	1 bandilier	1 hand-bill	cloves
1 monmouth cap	20 pound of powder	1 grindstone	mace
3 falling bands	60 pound of lead	1 pickaxe	cinnamon
3 shirts	1 pistoll and goose shot	nayles of all sorts	nutmegs
1 wast-coat			fruit
1 suit of canvas	Tooles	Household impliments	
1 suit of frize			
1 suit of cloth	1 broad howe	1 iron pot	
3 paire of stockings	1 narrow howe	1 kettell	
4 paire of shooes	1 broad axe	1 frying pan	
2 paire of sheets	1 felling axe	1 gridiron	
7 ells of canvas to make	1 steele handsawe	2 skellets	
a bed and boulder	1 whipsawe	1 spit	

Also there are divers other things necessary to be taken over to this plantation, as bookes, nets, hookes and lines, cheese, bacon, line, goates, &c.

Document 4. Items that were recommended for a settler in New England in Francis Higginson's *New-Englands plantation* in 1630.

The Puritans in New England sought in this way to ordain a separate pastor and teacher in each local church, a practice which fitted their interpretation of the verse from the Epistle to the Ephesians quoted at the beginning of the Introduction. Congregational ordination continued, but in practice there were too few ministers for each congregation to have a pastor and a teacher and the Salem ministry soon had to change with the deaths of Higginson in 1630 and Skelton in 1634. Nevertheless, independent or congregational churches became firmly established in New England and they were for many years the only accepted pattern of church organization.

In July 1629 Isaac Johnson, a member of the Massachusetts Bay Company and a step-son of Laurence Chaderton's daughter Elizabeth, hosted a gathering of members of the Massachusetts Bay Company at Sempringham Castle, the Lincolnshire home of his brother-in-law, Theophilus Clinton, 4th Earl of Lincoln. Johnson had entered Emmanuel College in 1614. He was ordained deacon at Peterborough in 1620 and priest there in 1621 but he does not seem to have followed a ministerial career. John Cotton, Thomas Hooker, Roger Williams, Emmanuel Downing and John Winthrop all went to the Sempringham meeting. Winthrop's son, John Winthrop Jr, was in the Netherlands on his way back home from Venice and wrote to his father and 'Uncle Downing' to ask for 'a letter of credit from some merchant to some man in Flushing or Middelborough'. In their absence his aunt Lucy Downing sent him a bill of exchange.²²

Johnson, Winthrop and ten others met at Cambridge on August 26, 1629 and agreed to go to New England on condition that control of the Massachusetts Bay Company was transferred there. This was followed by special meetings of the Company's general court on August 28 and 29, which agreed to the transfer of 'the patten and the government of the plantation' to New England. This transfer of a chartered corporation and its governing body to the New World was unprecedented, but it gave the intending settlers the power to govern themselves rather than be controlled from England and was instrumental in promoting the success of the Company's settlements. Winthrop was elected governor and John Humfrey deputy-governor when the company met on October 20. However, Humfrey, whose third wife Susan was a sister of the 4th Earl of Lincoln, did not go to New England until 1634 and he was replaced as deputy-governor on March 23, 1630 by Thomas Dudley, whose eldest son, another Thomas, had graduated from Emmanuel College in 1627 (figure 38).²³

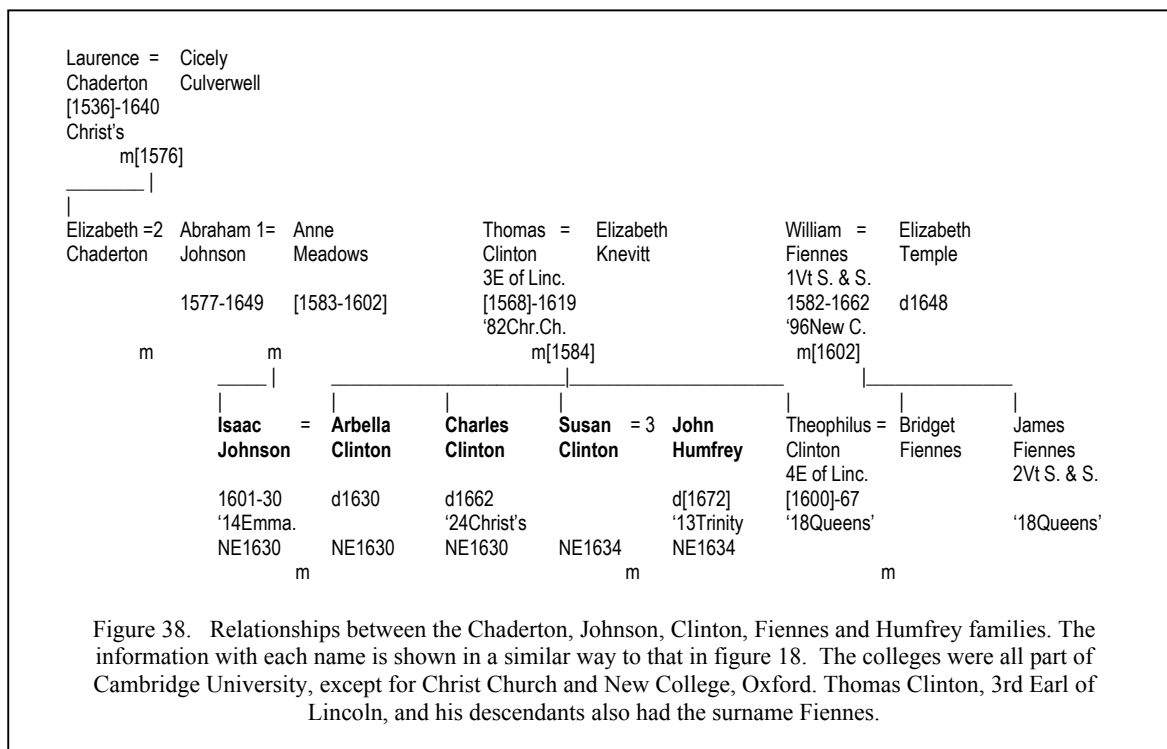


Figure 38. Relationships between the Chaderton, Johnson, Clinton, Fiennes and Humfrey families. The information with each name is shown in a similar way to that in figure 18. The colleges were all part of Cambridge University, except for Christ Church and New College, Oxford. Thomas Clinton, 3rd Earl of Lincoln, and his descendants also had the surname Fiennes.

After hearing the sermon from John Cotton that John Rous referred to in his diary, the main group of Massachusetts Bay settlers set sail at the end of March 1630, with Winthrop and Isaac and Arbella Johnson traveling in the *Arbella*. Winthrop was still influenced by the traditional church calendar when he began his journal on March 29 with the words 'Easter Monday' and continued

Riding at the Cowes, near the Isle of Wight, in the *Arbella*, a ship of three hundred and fifty tons, whereof Capt. Peter Milborne was master, being manned with fifty-two seamen, and twenty-eight pieces of ordnance, (the wind coming to the N. by W. the evening before), in the morning there came aboard us Mr Cradock, the late governour, and the masters of his two ships, Capt. John Lowe, master of the *Ambrose*, and Mr Nicholas Hurlston, master of the *Jewel*, and Mr Thomas Beecher, master of the *Talbot*....when, upon conference, it was agreed, that (in regard it was uncertain when the rest of the fleet would be ready) these four ships should consort together; the *Arbella* to be admiral, the *Talbot* vice-admiral, the *Ambrose* rear-admiral and the *Jewel* a captain; and accordingly articles of consortship were drawn between the said captains and masters; whereupon Mr Cradock took leave of us, and our captain gave him a farewell with four or five shot. About ten of the clock we weighed anchor and set sail with the wind at N.

Winthrop described the voyage in his journal and recorded the arrival of the *Arbella* at Salem on June 12. His journal or history has been a fundamental source for the early history of Massachusetts Bay since part of it was first published in 1790.²⁴ He did not, however, refer to his sermon, 'A Model of Christian Charity', which was preached at about the time of the voyage. He began with a statement that reflected the times in which he lived - 'God Almighty in his most holy and wise providence hath soe disposed of the condicion of mankinde, as in all times some must be rich, some poore, some highe and eminent in power and dignitie, others meane and in subjeccion' - and later on, using words that have echoed down the centuries, he spoke about the situation that he and the other settlers were facing:

Wee must delight in eache other, make others condicions our owne, rejoyce together, mourne together, labour and suffer together, allwayes haveing before our eyes our commission and community in the worke, our community as members of the same body, soe shall wee keepe the unities of the spirit in the bond of peace;^a the Lord will be our God and delight to dwell among us, as his owne people, and will commaund a blessing upon us in all our wayes, soe that wee shall see much more of his wisdome, power, goodnes and truthe then formerly wee have beene acquainted with. Wee shall finde that the God of Israell is among us, when tenn of us shall be able to resist a thousand of our enemies, when hee shall make us a prayse and glory, that men shall say of succeeding plantacions: the Lord make it like that of New England: for wee must consider that wee shall be as a City upon a Hill,^b the eyes of all people are upon us, soe that if wee shall deale falsely with our God in this worke wee have undertaken and soe cause him to withdrawe his present help from us, wee shall be made a story and a by-word through the world.²⁵

a Ephesians 4: 3. Endeavouring to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace.

b Matthew 5: 14. Ye are the salt of the earth. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid.

The arrival of the new settlers was soon publicized. Fuller wrote to Bradford from Massachusetts Bay on June 28 that 'here is a gentleman, one Mr Cottington [William Coddington], a Boston man, who told me that Mr Cotton's charge at [Sout]hampton was that they should take advice of them at Plymouth, and should do nothing to offend them'. Churches were formally established at Watertown and Charlestown on July 30. George Phillips had emigrated with the Winthrop fleet and he became the first minister at Watertown. The Charlestown covenant was made by Winthrop, Johnson, Dudley and by John Wilson who arrived after the main fleet and became their teacher:

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, & in obedience to His holy will & divine ordinaunce. Wee whose names are hereunder written, being by His most wise & good providence brought together into this part of America in the Bay of Masachusetts, & desirous to unite our selves into one congregation, or church, under the Lord Jesus Christ our head, in such sort as becometh all those whom He hath redeemed & sanctified to himselfe, do hereby solemnly and religiously (as in His most holy proesence) promise, & bind ourselves, to walke in all our wayes according to the rule of the Gospell, & in all sincere conformity to His holy ordinaunces, & in mutuall love, & respect each to other, so neere as God shall give us grace.

Fuller reported this when he wrote to Bradford on August 2:

There is come hither a ship (with cattle and more passengers) on Saturday last [July 31], which brings this news out of England; that the plague is sore, both in the city and country, and that the University of Cambridge is shut up by reason thereof; also, that there is like to be a great dearth in the land by reason of a dry season. The Earl of Pembroke is dead, and Bishop Laud is Chancellor of Oxford; and that five sundry ministers are to appear before the High Commission, amongst whom, Mr Cotton, of Boston, is one. The sad news here is, that many are sick, and many are dead, the Lord in mercy look upon them! Some are here entered into a church covenant, the first was four, namely, the Governour, Mr John Winthrop, Mr Johnson, Mr Dudley, and Mr Willson; since that, five more are joined unto them, and others it is like will add themselves to them daily. The Lord increase them, both in number and holiness, for his mercy's sake. I here but lose time and long to be at home. I can do them no good, for I want drugs, and things fitting to work with.²⁶

The Charlestown settlers and their church moved soon afterwards to establish the town of Boston. The first meeting of the Massachusetts Bay Company's General Court in New England was held on October 19 and by the end of the year the colonists were settled in various places around Boston Bay. Roger Williams arrived in Massachusetts Bay in February 1631, and when Wilson returned to England later in the year he was invited to fill the vacancy. However, he refused the offer because the Boston church had not separated from the Church of England and because he believed that magistrates should not punish those breaking the first four of the ten commandments. Instead he accepted an invitation to fill the vacancy at Salem caused by Higginson's death, but he left for Plymouth in the following year and joined Ralph Smith as teacher. The Massachusetts Bay churches recognized the Church of England as a true church, albeit one that needed further reform, but they had in practice separated from it, since they had repudiated its officers and rules, and parts of its doctrine and practices. However, the General Court confirmed the link between church and state when it decided on May 18, 1631 that 'noe man shalbe admitted to the freedome of this body polliticke but such as are members of some of the churches within the lymitts of the same', a requirement that paralleled the restriction of freemanship in some English cities and boroughs to members of a trade guild.²⁷

Winthrop had emigrated without his third wife Margaret. She and their children Adam and Anne followed him on the *Lyon* in 1631, but Anne died during the voyage. The other passengers on the *Lyon* included his son John Winthrop Jr, daughter-in-law Martha and John Eliot. Martha's sister Elizabeth (who was the widow of the younger Winthrop's brother Henry) may have traveled with them. Elizabeth married Robert Feake in 1632 and was the subject of Anya Seton's historical novel, *The Winthrop woman*, published in 1958. Eliot and Thomas Weld, who arrived in 1632, became teacher and pastor at Roxbury.²⁸

Not everyone thought highly of the new settlers' ways. Edward Howes wrote from London to Winthrop Jr on September 28 telling him of a conversation he had had with

a most egregious knave, whoe would give none of you a good word, but the governor he was a good man and kept a good table, but al the rest were heriticks and they would be more holy then all the world; they would be a peculiar people to God, but goe to the Divell, that one man with you, being at confession as he called it, said he believed his father and mother and auntestors went all to Hell and that your preachers in their publique prayers pray for the governor before they praye for our kinge and state, and that one of the Pascataweyans vowed that if he should heare your minister saye soe he would stabbe him in the place where he spake it..... that you are a people not worthie to live on Gods earth, that you never use the Lords Prayer, that your ministers marrie none, that fellowes which keepe hogges all the weeke preach on the Saboth, that every towne in your plantation is of a severall religion, that you count all men in England, yea all out of your church, and in the state of damnacion, but I beleive and knowe better things of you.²⁹

Wilson was appointed pastor of the Boston church when he returned from England in 1632. Thomas James arrived in 1632 and he became the minister at Charlestown. John Cotton, Thomas Hooker and Samuel Stone arrived in 1633. Winthrop wrote that Cotton (and his wife) was 'propounded to be admitted a member' of the church in Boston when 'the congregation met in their ordinary exercise' on Saturday evening, September 7. Then on 'the Lord's Day following' Cotton

exercised in the afternoon, and being to be admitted, he signified his desire and readiness to make his confession according to order, which he said might be sufficient in declaring his faith about baptism, (which he then desired for his child, born in their passage and therefore named Seaborn). He gave two reasons why he did not baptize it at sea, (not for want of fresh water, for he held sea water would have served). 1, because they had no settled congregation there; 2, because a minister hath no power to give the seals but in his own congregation. He desired his wife might also be admitted a member, and gave a modest testimony of her, but withal requested, that she might not be put to make open confession, etc., which he said was against the apostle's rule, and not fit for women's modesty, but that the elders might examine her in private. So she was asked if she did consent in the confession of faith made by her husband and if she did desire to be admitted, etc., whereto she answered affirmatively, and so both were admitted and their child baptized.³⁰

Cotton joined Wilson as teacher at Boston, whilst Hooker and Stone became pastor and teacher at Newtown (the future Cambridge). Many years later Cotton's grandson Cotton Mather wrote that New England had '*Cotton* for their *cloathing*, *Hooker* for their *fishing*, and *Stone* for their *building*'. Cotton and Hooker's motives for moving to New England were apparently questioned, for Cotton set out their reasons in a letter dated December 3, 1634 to an unknown minister in England:

1. God havinge shut a doore against both of us from ministringe to him and his people in our wonted congregations, and calling us by a remnant of our people, and by others of this countrey to minister to them there, and openinge a dore to us this way, who are we that we should strive against God and refuse to follow the concurrence of his ordinance and providence together, callinge us forth to minister here. If we may and ought to follow Gods callinge 3 hundred myles, why not 3 thousand? 2. Our Saviors warrant is in our case, that when we are distressed in our course in one country (*ne quid dicam gravius*)^a we should flee to another. To choose rather to bear witnes to the truth by imprisonment than by banishment, is indeede sometimes Gods way, but not in case men have ability of body and opportunity to remove, and no necessary engagement for to stay.³¹

a lest I say something more serious, or, to say the least.

The Earl of Warwick, William Fiennes, Robert Greville and others promoted the settlement of Providence Island, the island in the Caribbean that Rous had referred to in his diary on August 24, 1629. Their company was incorporated in 1630 as the 'Governor and Company of Adventurers of the City of Westminster for the Plantation of the Islands of Providence or Catalina, Henrietta or Andrea, and the adjacent islands lying upon the coast of America' or Providence Company. This was seen at the time as a more important colonial venture than that of Massachusetts Bay, but it ended abruptly when a Spanish force captured the islands in May 1641. Isla de Providencia and Isla Santa Andr ea are now part of the Republic of Colombia. William Fiennes had entered New College, Oxford in 1596 but did not graduate. He succeeded his father as 8th Baron Saye & Sele in 1613 and was made 1st Viscount Saye & Sele in 1624. His son and heir James transferred from Queens' College to Emmanuel College with John Preston in 1622 and he was an executor of Preston's will in 1628. Robert Greville succeeded to the title of his father's cousin, Fulke Greville, 1st Baron Brooke, when he died in 1628 (figures 39 & 40).³²

In March 1632 Warwick granted Lord Saye, Lord Brooke and others 'all that part of New-England, in America, which lies and extends itself from a river there called Narraganset River, the space of forty leagues upon a straight line near the sea shore towards the southwest, west and by south, or west, as the coast lieth towards Virginia.....and also all and singular the lands and hereditaments whatsoever, lying and being within the lands aforesaid.....which the said Robert, Earl of Warwick, now hath or had'. This provided for the

settlement of Connecticut, but the grant has usually been regarded as of uncertain status because of the lack of evidence that Warwick was entitled to make it.³³



Figure 39. William Fiennes, 1st Viscount Saye & Sele. Figure 40. Robert Greville, 2nd Baron Brooke.

The seal of the Massachusetts Bay Company showed an Amerindian saying ‘Come over and help us’ and the charter stated that government so that ‘our people, inhabitantes there, maie be soe religiously, peaceable and civilly governed, as their good life and orderlie conversacion maie wynn and incite the natives of [the] country to the knowledg and obedience of the onlie true God and Savior of Mankinde, and the Christian fayth’ was the ‘principall ende’ of the company (figure 41). In his farewell sermon to the Winthrop fleet in 1630 Cotton had urged the settlers to

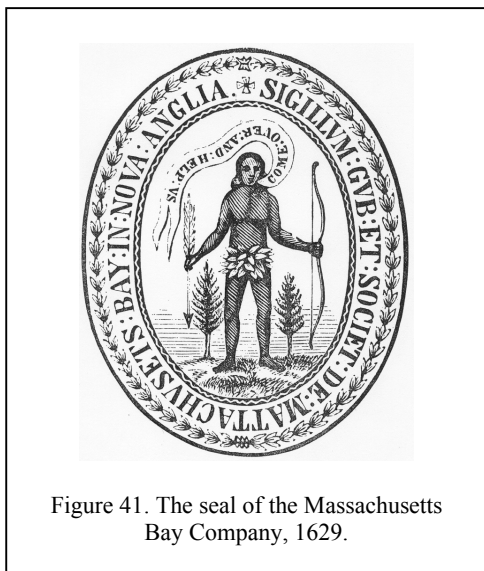


Figure 41. The seal of the Massachusetts Bay Company, 1629.

offend not the poore natives, but as you partake in their land, so make them partakers of your precious faith: as you reape their temporalls, so feede them with your spiritualls: winne them to the love of Christ, for whom Christ died. They never yet refused the Gospell, and therefore more hope they will now receive it. Who knoweth whether God, have reared this whole plantation for such an end.

Thomas Morton wrote in about 1633-34 that in a ‘short time’

the hand of God fell heavily upon them, with such a mortall stroake, that they died on heapes.... And by this meanes there is as yet but a small number of salvages in New England to that which hath beene in former time, and the place is made so much the more fitt for the English nation to inhabit in and erect in it temples to the glory of God. 2 Sam. 24^a.³⁴

a 2 Samuel 24: 15. So the Lord sent a pestilence upon Israel from the morning even to the time appointed: and there died of the people from Dan even to Beer-sheba seventy thousand men.

As the settlers became established they traded with the Amerindians, but Europe’s insatiable appetite for furs altered the pattern of Amerindian society. No longer hunting just for their own communities, the men needed to travel further and spend longer away from their homes, a process that was exacerbated as fur-bearing animals became rarer near the British settlements. Furthermore the goods the new settlers supplied changed the previous pattern of Amerindian self-sufficiency. The settlers looked in on themselves in order both to survive in their new homes and to establish their own religious beliefs at the centers of their

communities. The 'principall ende' of the Massachusetts Bay Company was to win them to 'the knowledg and obedience of the onlie true God', but to do so by example rather than active missionary work. Roger Williams was a rare voice when wrote to Winthrop from Plymouth that 'I am no elder in any church, no more nor so much as your worthy selfe, nor ever shall be if the Lord please to graunt my desires, that I may intend what I long after, the natives soules'.³⁵ Winthrop was probably the author of a document written before he emigrated that made a legal distinction between a natural right to the land that belonged to the Amerindians and a civil right that the British settlers claimed, though he is unlikely to have applied the same argument to the extensive royal forests and other uncultivated land in Great Britain:

That which is common to all is proper to none. This savage people ruleth over many lands without title or property, for they inclose no ground, neither have they cattell to maintayne it, but remove their dwellings as they have occasion, or as they can prevail against their neighbours. And why may not Christians have liberty to go and dwell amongst them in their waste lands and woods (leaving them such places as they have manured for their come) as lawfully as Abraham did among the Sodomites? For God hath given to the sons of men a twofould right to the earth; there is a naturall right, and a civil right. The first right was naturall when men held the earth in common, every man sowing and feeding where he pleased: then, as men and cattell increased, they appropriated some parcells of ground by enclosing and peculiar manurance, and this in tyme got them a civil right.³⁶

Cotton argued in his farewell sermon that

God makes room for a people 3 wayes: First, when he casts out the enemies of a people before them by lawfull warre with the inhabitants which God calls them unto..... Secondly, when hee gives a forreigne people favour in the eyes of any native people to come and sit downe with them either by way of purchase.....or else when they give it in courtesie..... Thirdly, when hee makes a country, though not altogether void of inhabitants, yet void in that place where they reside.³⁷

British jurisdiction over the land the settlers occupied was assumed, but when Williams moved back to Massachusetts Bay from Plymouth in 1633 he declared that royal grants were invalid unless the land was purchased from the Amerindians. Winthrop disagreed and stated in a letter to Endecott on January 3, 1634 that 'if God were not pleased with our inheriting these parts, why did he drive out the natives before us? And why dothe he still make roome for us, by deminishinge them as we increace? Why hathe he planted his churches heere? Why dothe he declare his favourable presence amonge us by makinge his ordinances effectuall to the savinge of many soules?' Then in March the Massachusetts Bay General Court ordered 'that noe person whatsoever shall buy any land of any Indean without leave from the Court'.³⁸

As a result of the settlements and the associated exploration, sufficient was known about New England in the early 1630s for William Wood to include a map of the coastline and settlements in his *New Englands prospect* published in London in 1634. He had traveled to New England in 1629 or 1630 and returned to England in 1633. He may subsequently have returned to New England and is thought by some to have been the William Wood who settled at Sandwich in New Plymouth at about the same time as William Leverich. Wood's map showed three British settlements in the north at Bristol, Pentuchett and Igowam, thirteen settlements around Massachusetts Bay and the settlements of New and Old Plymouth on the east and west coasts of the Cape Cod peninsula. Two Amerindian settlements are shown inland in the north on the Merimock River and three around Massachusetts Bay (figure 42). Wood was probably referring to Roger Williams when he wrote that 'one of the English preachers in a speciall intent of doing good to their soules hath spent much time in attaining to their language, wherein he is so good a proficient that he can speake to their understanding and they to his; much loving and respecting him for his love and counsell. It is hoped that he may be an instrument of good amongst them'.³⁹

Settlers required transport, and ships crossed and re-crossed the Atlantic, but the British government began to control their movements. Henry Dade, the Commissary for Suffolk, reported to the Archbishop of Canterbury on February 4, 1634 that 'two ships are to sail from Ipswich, with men and provision, for their abiding in New England, in each of which ships are appointed to go about six score passengers, whom he supposes are either indebted persons or persons discontented with the government of the Church of England'. He continued that about six hundred more were soon expected to go and that 'if suffered to go in such swarms, it will be a decrease of the king's people here, an increase of the adversaries to the episcopal state, and also will be an overthrow of trade, for as soon as any one purposes to brieke, he may fly into New England, and be accounted a religious man for leaving the kingdom, because he cannot endure the ceremonies of the church'. Dade particularly referred to Samuel Ward of Ipswich as one of the 'breeder of these persons.....who, by preaching against the contents of the Book of Common Prayer and set prayer, and of a fear of altering our religion, has caused this giddiness'.⁴⁰

The Privy Council responded on February 13 by ordering the bailiffs and officers of the customs at Ipswich to detain the ships there. Then on February 21 it ordered that 'divers shippes now in the River of Thames readie to sett sayle thither fraughted with passengers and provision' be detained whilst further

inquiries were made. The masters of the ten ships detained on the Thames were called before the Council on February 28 and they were required to enter into a bond

1. That all and everie persons aboard their shippes now bound for New England as aforesaid, that shall blasphemie or prophane the holly name of God be severely punished.
2. That they cause the prayers contayned in the Booke of Common Prayers established in the Church of England to be sayde daily at the usuall howers for morning and evening prayers, and that they cause all persons aboard their said shippes to be present at the same.
3. That they doe not receive aboard or transporte any person that hath not certificate from the officers of the port where he is imbarqued that he hath taken both the oaths of allegiance and supremacie.
4. That upon their retourne into this kingdome they certefie to the Board the names of all such persons as they shall transport, together with their proceedings in the execution of the aforesaid articles.⁴¹

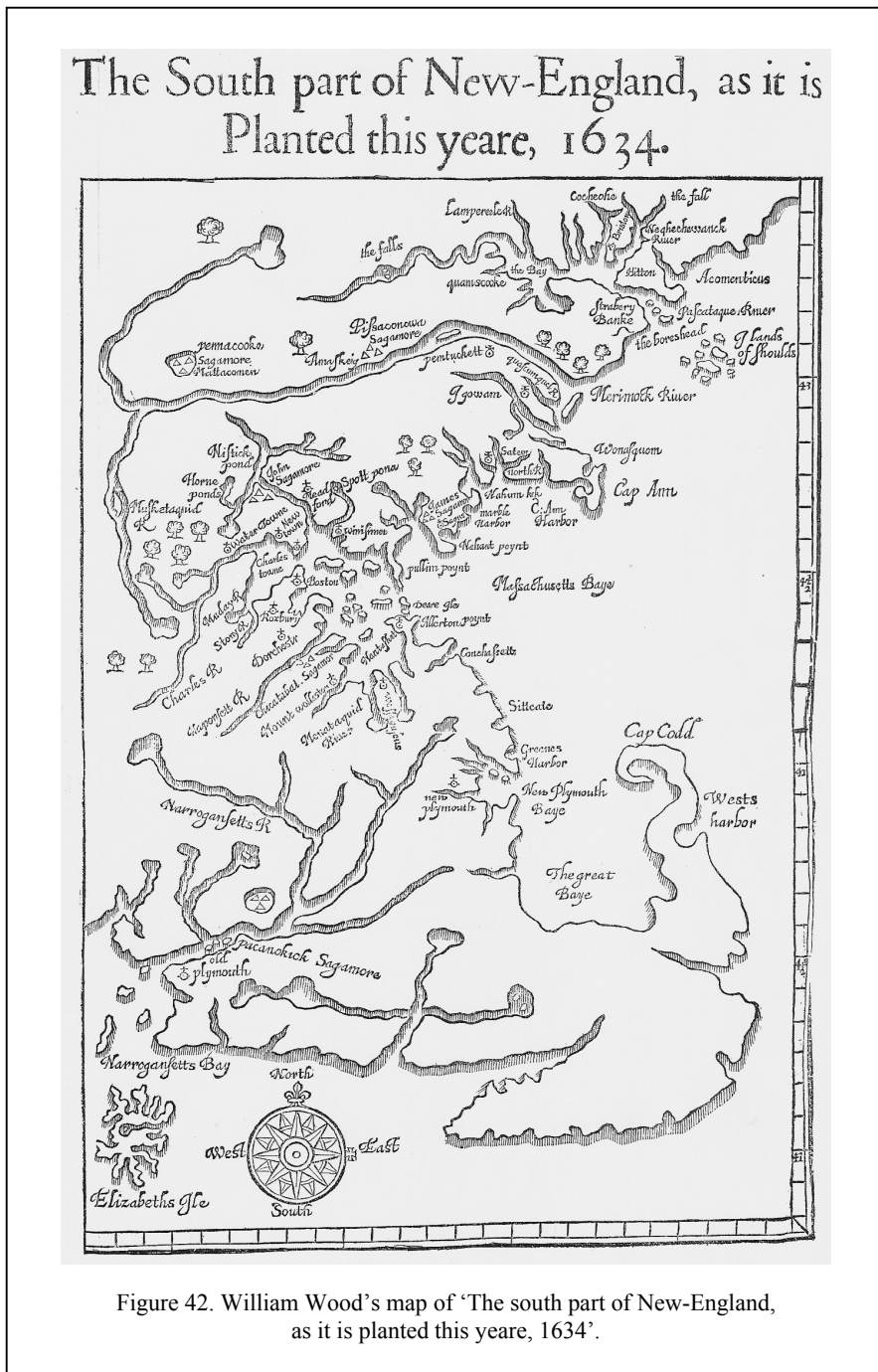


Figure 42. William Wood's map of 'The south part of New-England, as it is planted this year, 1634'.

This was followed by the appointment of a Commission for Regulating Plantations on April 28, and Bradford added a copy of the commission to his history of New Plymouth. A copy of the instructions which the Lords Commissioners issued on December 31 to the officers of the Port of London requiring them 'to returne to us every halfe yeare a particular and perfect list of the names and qualities of all those that have in the meane time imbarqued in that port.....for any of the plantations' in America was endorsed 'The Lords lettre to the ports about passengers goinge to Pl[an][tation]s' by Winthrop.⁴²

Whilst the new regulations on emigration were no doubt burdensome for both masters and passengers, they have ensured the survival of a number of passenger lists from the period. The ships detained on February 21 included the *Hercules* of Dover in Kent. This might be the same ship as the *Hercules* of Sandwich, a port twelve miles north of Dover, whose passenger list for March 1635 has been preserved in the Sandwich town records. The 22 'masters of families' all had certificates from the ministers or mayors of their home parishes and included one widow and the wife of someone who had emigrated previously. The other 20 masters had with them 10 wives, 45 children and other relatives, and 20 servants, and almost all of them were named. They included two shoemakers, one merchant and one carpenter from Sandwich itself. There may have been other passengers as well, as the list of names ends with the statement 'that all those that have noe certificats affixed that they had taken the oath of supremacy & alleageance tooke the said oathes before the Mayor of Sandwich'.⁴³ The journal that Richard Mather kept during his voyage to New England in 1635 provides a picture of events on board his ship. He joined the *James* at Bristol on May 23:

Going aboard the ship in Kings Road the 23d of May, we found things very unready, and all on heaps, many goods being not stowed, but lying on disordered heaps here and there in the ship. This day there came aboard the ship two of the searchers, and viewed a list of all our names, ministered the oath of allegiance to all of full age, viewed our certificates from the ministers of the parishes from whence we came, approved well thereof, and gave us tickets, that is, licences under their hands and seals to pass the seas, and cleared the ship, and so departed.

The ship left Bristol on June 4 but was not able to leave Milford Haven on the Welsh coast until June 22. The other passengers included Daniel Maude, and he and Mather conducted the 'daily duties' and Sunday 'exercises'. Conditions during the voyage were rather difficult at times as Mather recorded on July 4 and 5:

Saturday, a very strong wind, but not much for us. This day the sea was very rough, and we saw the truth of the Scripture, Psalm 107.^a Some were very seasick; but none could stand or go upon the deck, because of the tossing and tumbling of the ship. This day we lost sight of the *Angel Gabriel*, sailing slowly behind us, and we never saw her again any more. The second Sabbath from Milford Haven, and the seventh on ship. This day God was very gracious unto us, in giving a fair, calm, sunshiny day, that we might above, upon the deck, exercise ourselves in his worship. For if this day had been as the former for wind and rain, we could not have known how to have sanctified the Sabbath in any comfortable manner. I was exercised in the forenoon and Mr Maud in the afternoon.

a Psalms 107: 23-25 & 28-29. They that go down to the sea in ships, that do business in great waters; these see the works of the Lord, and his wonders in the deep. For he commandeth, and raiseth the stormy wind, which lifteth up the waves thereof..... Then they cry unto the Lord in their trouble, and he bringeth them out of their distresses. He maketh the storm a calm, so that the waves thereof are still.

Land was sighted on August 8, but Mather and the other passengers still had a hurricane to face. He vividly recorded that on August 15:

the Lord had not done with us, nor yet had let us see all his power and goodness, which he would have us to take knowledge of; and therefore, on Saturday morning, about break of day, the Lord sent forth a most terrible storm of rain and easterly wind, whereby we were in as much danger as, I think, ever people were. For we lost in that morning three great anchors and cables; of which cables one, having cost £50, never had been in any water before; two were broken by the violence of the waves, and the third cut by the seamen in extremity and distress, to save the ship and their and our lives. And when our cables and anchors were all lost, we had no outward means of deliverance but by loosing sail, if so be we might get to the sea from amongst the islands and rocks where we anchored. But the Lord let us see that our sails could not save us neither, no more than our cables and anchors. For, by the force of the wind and rain, the sails were rent in sunder and split in pieces, as if they had been but rotten rags, so that of the foresail and spritsail there was scarce left so much as a hand-breadth that was not rent in pieces and blown away into the sea. So that at this time all hope that we should be saved, in regard of any outward appearance, was utterly taken away; and the rather, because we seemed to drive with full force of wind and rain directly upon a mighty rock, standing out in sight above the water; so that we did but continually wait when we should hear and feel the doleful rushing and crashing of the ship upon the rock. In this extremity and appearance of death, as distress and distraction would suffer us, we cried unto the Lord, and he was pleased to have compassion and pity upon us; for by his over-ruling providence and his own immediate good hand, he guided the ship past the rock, assuaged the violence of the sea and of the wind and rain, and gave us a little respite to fit the ship with other sails, and sent us a fresh gale of wind at [blank], by which we went on that day in our course south-west and by west towards Cape Ann.

Boston was reached on the following day after a voyage of 73 days, including 46 days without sight of land. Mather later recorded that ‘this journey, by the goodness of our God, was very prosperous unto us’, one reason being that ‘it was comfortable to us, by means of the fellowship of divers godly Christians in the ship, and by means of our constant serving God morning and evening every day, the daily duties being performed one day by Mr Maud, another by myself, and the Sabbath’s exercises divided, (for the most part), equally betwixt us too’. William Leverich’s voyage to New England in 1633 was a little shorter than those of Higginson and Mather, but apart from the hurricane it is likely to have followed a similar pattern.⁴⁴

The main promoters of the British settlement of New England were laymen, but about eighty ministers moved there in the period from 1629 to 1640. They and later emigrants were described by Mather’s grandson Cotton Mather in 1702 as his ‘First Classis’ - ‘such as were in the *actual exercise* of their ministry when they left England’, but by Richard Waterhouse in 1975 as the ‘reluctant emigrants’.⁴⁵ They are listed by year of arrival in table 6 as in the first such table published in 1847. The table has been widely drawn. Isaac Johnson might have become a minister in New England if he had not died soon after his arrival there in 1630. Daniel Maude and John Eliot had been schoolmasters in England rather than ministers. John Harvard was described as ‘clarke’ in his mother’s will, but no record of his ordination or any ministry in England has been found. Most of the ministers who went to New England were discouraged from practicing their religious beliefs in England in ways that they thought appropriate, but few went directly they were suspended or otherwise prevented from ministering. Shepard went to New England in 1635 after an unsuccessful attempt to cross the Atlantic a year earlier and writing with hindsight in his autobiography he listed eight reasons for his move:

Table 6. Ministerial emigrants to New England from 1629 to 1640. Modern town names have generally been used.

Cn = Connecticut, LI = Long Island, MB = Massachusetts Bay, Me = Maine, NH = New Hampshire, NHn = New Haven Colony, NP = New Plymouth, RI = Rhode Island or Providence Plantations.

Name	Year of birth	College & university	Year of matric.	Year of grad.	Diocese of ordination	Year of ordin.
Francis Bright	1603	New Inn Hall, Oxford	1625	1625		
Francis Higginson	1586	Jesus College, Cambridge	1602	1610	York	1614
Samuel Skelton	1593	Clare College, Cambridge		1611		
Ralph Smith	1590	Christ’s College, Cambridge	1610	1614		
John Maverick	1578	Exeter College, Oxford	1595	1599	Exeter	1597
George Phillips	1593	Gonville & Caius Coll., Camb.	1610	1614		
John Warham	1595	St Mary Hall, Oxford	-	1614	Exeter	1619
Roger Williams	1603	Pembroke College, Cambridge	1623	1627		
John Wilson	1588	King’s College, Cambridge	1605	1610		
John Eliot	1604	Jesus College, Cambridge	1619	1622		
Stephen Bachiler	1561	St John’s College, Oxford	[1581]	1586		
Thomas James	1595	Emmanuel College, Cambridge	1611	1615	Peterborough	1617
Thomas Weld	1595	Trinity College, Cambridge	1611	1613	Peterborough	1618
John Cotton	1585	Trinity College, Cambridge	1598	1603	Lincoln	1610
Thomas Hooker	1586	Emmanuel College, Cambridge	1604	1608		
William Leverich	[1606]	Emmanuel College, Cambridge	1622	1626	Peterborough	1626
Samuel Stone	1602	Emmanuel College, Cambridge	1620	1624	Peterborough	1626
John Lothrop	1584	Christ Church, Oxford	1602	-		
		Queens’ College, Cambridge	-	1606	Lincoln	1607
James Noyes	1608	Brasenose College, Oxford	-	-		
John Sherman	1613	St Catharine’s College, Camb.	1631	-		
Zechariah Symmes	1599	Emmanuel College, Cambridge	1617	1621		
Nathaniel Ward	1578	Emmanuel College, Cambridge	1596	1600		
John Woodbridge	1613		-	-		
Joseph Avery	1600	Queen’s College, Oxford	1615	1618		
Peter Bulkeley	1583	St John’s College, Cambridge	-	1605	Ely	1608
George Burdett	1602	Trinity College, Dublin	-	1624		
Henry Flint	[1615]	Jesus College, Cambridge	1631	1635		
Peter Hobart	1604	Magdalene College, Cambridge	-	1626	Norwich	1627
Thomas Jenner	1605	Christ’s College, Cambridge	1624	-		
John Jones	1593	Queens’ College, Cambridge	1608	1613	Peterborough	1613
Richard Mather	1596	Brasenose College, Oxford	1618	-	Chester	1619
Daniel Maude	1586	Emmanuel College, Cambridge	1603	1607		
Samuel Newman	1602	Magdalene College, Cambridge	1620	1620		
John Norton	1606	Peterhouse, Cambridge	1620	1624		
Thomas Parker	1595	Trinity College, Dublin	-	1617		
Hugh Peters	1599	Trinity College, Cambridge	1613	1618	London	1623
John Rayner	1600	Magdalene College, Cambridge	1622	1626		
Thomas Shepard	1605	Emmanuel College, Cambridge	1620	1624	Peterborough	1627
William Walton		Emmanuel College, Cambridge	1618	1622		

Table 6 continued.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Year of birth</i>	<i>College & university</i>	<i>Year of matric.</i>	<i>Year of grad.</i>	<i>Diocese of ordination</i>	<i>Year of ordin.</i>
Timothy Dalton	1588	St John's College, Cambridge	1610	1614	Peterborough	1614
Francis Doughty						
Ralph Partridge	1579	Trinity College, Cambridge	1595	1600		
Nathaniel Rogers	1598	Emmanuel College, Cambridge	1614	1618	Peterborough	1619
John Wheelwright	1594	Sidney Sussex College, Camb.	-	1615	Peterborough	1619
Samuel Whiting	1597	Emmanuel College, Cambridge	1613	1617	Peterborough	1621
John Allen	1597	Gonville & Caius Coll., Camb.	1612	1616	Peterborough	1619
Thomas Carter	1608	St John's College, Cambridge	1626	1630		
Charles Chauncy	1589	Trinity College, Cambridge	1610	1614		
Thomas Cobbett	1608	Trinity College, Oxford	1627	1628		
John Davenport	1597	Merton College, Oxford	-	-		
Nathaniel Eaton	1609	Trinity College, Cambridge	1630	-		
Samuel Eaton	1597	Magdalene College, Cambridge	1621	1625	Peterborough	1625
John Fiske	1608	Peterhouse, Cambridge	1625	1629		
John Harvard	1607	Emmanuel College, Cambridge	1627	1632		
William Hooke	1601	Trinity College, Oxford	1620	1620		
Peter Prudden	1600	Emmanuel College, Cambridge	1620	-		
Henry Smith	1588	?Magdalene College, Cambridge	1618	1622	Peterborough	1623
William Tompson	1598	Brasenose College, Oxford	1620	1622		
John Youngs	1598	Emmanuel College, Cambridge	1620	1623		
Thomas Allen	1608	Gonville & Caius Coll., Camb.	1624	1628	Norwich	1634
Adam Blakeman	1596	Christ Church, Oxford	1617	1618		
Edmund Brown	1606	Emmanuel College, Cambridge	1624	-		
Richard Denton	1603	St Catharine's College, Camb.	1621	1624	Peterborough	1623
Ephraim Huit		St John's College, Cambridge	1611	-		
Hanserd Knollys	1598	St Catharine's College, Camb.	1629	-	Peterborough	1629
Marmaduke Matthews	1605	All Souls' College, Oxford	1624	1625		
John Mayo	1598	Magdalen Hall, Oxford	1615	-		
John Miller	1604	Gonville & Caius Coll., Camb.	1624	1628		1626
George Moxon	1602	Sidney Sussex College, Camb.	1607	1624		
Robert Peck	1580	St Catharine's College, Camb.	-	1599	Norwich	1605
John Phillips	1582	Emmanuel College, Cambridge	1600	1604	Peterborough	1609
Ezekiel Rogers	1590	Christ's College, Cambridge	-	1605		
Jonathan Burr	1604	Corpus Christi College, Camb.	1620	1624		
John Knowles	1606	Magdalene College, Cambridge	1620	1624	Peterborough	1627
Edward Norris						
John Ward	1606	Emmanuel College, Cambridge	1622	1627		
Thomas Waterhouse	1600	Emmanuel College, Cambridge	1631	1635		
Henry Whitfield	1591	New College, Oxford	1610	-		
William Worcester	1595	St John's College, Cambridge	1620	-	Peterborough	1622
Richard Blinman	1608	New Inn Hall, Oxford	1635	1636		
Henry Dunster	1609	Magdalene College, Cambridge	-	1631		
Thomas Larkham	1602	Trinity College, Cambridge	1619	1622	London	1624
Abraham Pierson	1611	Trinity College, Cambridge	1629	1632	York	1632

Important though Cambridge University in general and Emmanuel College in particular were in the settlement of New England, it is important to recognize that most ministerial members of the university and college remained in England. Many of the students who entered Emmanuel in the same year as William became ministers, but he and John Ward were the only ones to go to New England. Other members of the College followed Puritan practices in an increasingly hostile environment in England, where they were often deprived of their livings or lectureships. The ministers who went to New England were united in rejecting some of the beliefs and practices of the Church of England, but in little else. They were experts in practicing dissent, but in New England they found themselves in the majority and thus leaders of their churches. Consequently they frequently disagreed with one another and moved from place to place, though rarely as often as William Leverich.

<i>Years and places of residence in America</i>	<i>Year of return</i>	<i>Year of death</i>
1636 Watertown MB 1639 Hampton NH 1636 Boston MB Taunton 1642 Newtown LI Flushing LI 1636 Duxbury NP 1636 Ipswich MB 1636 Braintree MB 1637 Exeter NH 1643 Wells Me 1647 Hampton NH 1662 Salisbury NH 1636 Lynn MB	1655	1661 1658 1655 1679 1679
1637 Dedham MB 1637 Dedham MB 1642 Woburn MB 1637 Plymouth NP 1641 Scituate NP 1654 Newtown MB 1637 Lynn MB 1655 Ipswich MB 1637 Boston MB 1638 New Haven NHn 1668 Boston MB 1637 Cambridge MB 1637 New Haven NHn 1637 Salem MB 1644 Wenham MB 1655 Chelmsford MB 1637 1637 Taunton NP 1644 New Haven NHn 1637 New Haven NHn 1640 Milford NHn 1637 Watertown MB 1641 Wethersfield Cn 1637 York Me 1639 Braintree MB 1637 Southold LI	1639 1640 1656	1671 1684 1672 1685 1670 1674 1665 1677 1638 1678 1656 1648 1666
1638 Watertown MB 1640 Charlestown MB 1638 Stratford NHn 1638 Plymouth NP 1640 Sudbury MB 1638 Stamford Cn Hempstead LI 1638 Windsor Cn 1638 Dover NH 1638 Yarmouth NP 1644 Hull MB 1650 Malden MB 1638 Barnstable NP 1646 Eastham NP 1655 Boston MB 1673 Barnstable NP 1638 Roxbury MB 1639 Rowley MB 1647 Yarmouth NP 1662 Groton MB 1638 1638 Hingham MB 1638 Dedham MB 1638 Rowley MB	1651 1659 1641 1654 1653 1641 1641	1673 1665 1678 1663 1644 1691 1683 1676 1663 1687 1656 1663 1660
1639 Dorchester MB 1639 Watertown MB 1639 1639 Haverhill MB 1639 Dorchester MB 1639 Guilford NHn 1639 Salisbury MB	1651 1642 1650	1641 1685 1693 1680 1657 1662
1640 Marshfield NP 1642 Gloucester NP 1650 New London Cn 1657 New Haven NHn 1640 Newtown MB 1654 Scituate NP 1640 Dover NH 1640 Southampton LI 1647 Branford NHn 1666 Newark NJ	1659 1642	1687 1659 1669 1678

5 - Dover and Boston

A godly minister.

John Winthrop Sr's description of William Leverich when he arrived in New England in 1633.¹

The Thomas Wiggin who had witnessed the delivery of the Hilton patent in 1631 returned to England in 1632. Whilst there he supported the Massachusetts Bay settlers against some of their detractors, writing to Emmanuel Downing on August 31 a letter that was endorsed by the Secretary of State, Sir John Coke, and to Coke himself on November 19, and the Council for New England granted him a patent on November 26. Wiggin was also making other preparations whilst he was in London. On July 11, 1633 he obtained a licence from the Bishop of London for his marriage to Catherine Whiteing at St Margaret, New Fish Street, in the City of London, but they were both described as of the parish of St Matthew, Friday Street.² John Winthrop Jr lived at Boston when he arrived in New England in 1631, but then moved twenty-five miles further north along the Massachusetts coast in 1633 to establish a new plantation at Agawam (which was renamed Ipswich). His friend Edward Howes wrote to him from London on March 25 reporting that there 'are honest men about to buye out the Bristoll mens plantation in Pascataque, and doe purpose to plant there 500 good people before Michelmas next. C[aptain] Wiggin is the cheife agent therein'. The 'honest men' who made the purchase for £1,250 included Lord Saye and Lord Brooke. Lord Saye would probably have known about William because his eldest son James Fiennes entered Emmanuel College in the same year as William. It is thus very likely that William was recruited by either Wiggin or Lord Saye in 1632 or 1633. The arrival of Wiggin and William at Salem on board the *James* on October 10, 1633 was recorded by John Winthrop Sr:

The same day, Mr. Grant in the ship *James*, arrived at Salem, having been but eight weeks between Gravesend and Salem. He brought Capt. Wiggin and about thirty, with one Mr. Leveridge, a godly minister, to Pascataquack, (which the Lord Say and the Lord Brook had purchased of the Bristol men), and about thirty for Virginia, and about twenty for this place, and some sixty cattle.³

There were at least four ships with the name *James* in 1635. A *James* of London with William Cooper as master left Southampton on about April 6. Winthrop recorded the arrival of a *James* with Mr Graves as master on June 3 and stated that he 'had come every year for these seven years'.⁴ The *James* that brought Richard Mather and Daniel Maude left Bristol on June 4 and there are passenger records from June 19 and July 13 for a *James* of London with John May as master.⁵ 1633 was an unhealthy year for William to have arrived in New England. Bradford wrote that in Plymouth 'in June, July, August and the cheefe heat of sommer'

it pleased the Lord to visite them this year with an infectious fevoure, of which many fell very sicke, and upward of 20 persons dyed, men and women, besides children, and sundry of them of their anciente friends which had lived in Holand..... and towards winter it pleased the Lord the sicknes ceased. This disease also swept away many of the Indeans from all the places near adjoining.

In November Winthrop recorded 'a great mortality among the Indians.....the disease was the small pox' and then on December 5 that 'this infectious disease spread to Pascataquack, where all the Indians (except one or two) died'.⁶ However, William Hilton sent an undated letter to Winthrop Jr in which he declared 'These are to sertefyffie you that after a short yet sumthing a teadeous jorny it pleased the Lord that I arrived at my habetatyon on the Saterdag after my departure from you. I praise the Lord I am in good health with Mr. Leveridge and the rest of our good frends with us' and added as a postscript 'Ser Mr Leveridge desigreth to be remembred to you though unknowne'.⁷ Winthrop appears to have wanted William as the minister at Ipswich, but his father sent a discouraging letter to him at Passanmuckett on October 24:

Concerninge Mr Leveredge, I knowe [not] how you can seeme to desire him without offence to the lords who have sent him over, though he may be free, neither doe I see how you are able at present to maintaine him and his familie but that you must waite till the springe: yet what lyes within my power to helpe you herein I shalbe readye.⁸

This letter is the first indication that William's wife and daughter accompanied him across the Atlantic. Though Winthrop did not secure his services as minister at Ipswich, he was able to attract Nathaniel Ward from England in the following year. Winthrop remained at Ipswich until the autumn of 1634. He then visited England accompanied by John Wilson on his second visit. Whilst Winthrop was in England he made or renewed his acquaintance with Lords Saye and Brooke. He received their commission on July 7, 1635 for the settlement 'of the River Conecticut in New England and of the harbors and places adjoininge for the space of on whole yeare from the tyme of his arrival ther' and returned to New England in the *Abigail* to establish the settlement of Saybrook at the mouth of the river. Wilson returned in the same year.⁹

William settled at Piscataqua, which was called Bristol on Wood's map of 1634. The peninsula between the Fore River (to the east) and the Back River (to the west) was called Dover Neck and its tip Dover or Hilton Point. Dover Neck contained two parallel streets, High Street, and Low Street where the first meeting house was located.¹⁰ Jeremy Belknap was the minister of Dover from 1767 to 1786 and the first volume of his *The history of New-Hampshire* published in 1784 provides the earliest account of the few years that William spent at Piscataqua:

It appears from ancient records that Wiggen had a power of granting lands to the settlers; but, as trade was their principal object, they took up small lots, intending to build a compact town on Dover Neck, which lies between two branches of the river, and is a fine, dry and healthy situation; so high as to command all the neighbouring shores, and afford a very extensive and delightful prospect. On the most inviting part of this eminence they built a meeting-house, which was afterward surrounded with an entrenchment and flankarts, the remains of which are still visible. Wiggen also brought over William Leverich, a worthy and able Puritan minister; but his allowance from the adventurers proving too small for his support in a new country, where all the necessities of life were scarce and dear, he was obliged to remove to the southward; and settled at Sandwich in the colony of Plymouth. This proved an unhappy event to the people, who, being left destitute of regular instruction, were exposed to the intrusion of artful imposters.

Belknap took care to collect as much information as he could and sent out a questionnaire to 'ministers and other gentlemen of note' in New Hampshire in 1790 in preparation for the publication of the final volume of his history in 1792.¹¹ His reference to William's 'allowance from the adventurers' implies that William received an allowance or salary from Lords Saye and Brooke and the others who had financed the settlement. He may have had an agreement similar to those that the Massachusetts Bay Company made with Skelton, Bright and Higginson. It is possible, however, that William encountered the type of problem that Cotton Mather recounted in 1702:

There have been very fine settlements in the north-east regions, but what has become of them? I have heard that one of our ministers once preaching to a congregation there, urged them to approve themselves a *religious people* from this consideration, *that otherwise they should contradict the main end of planting this wilderness*; whereupon a well-known person, then in the Assembly, cry'd out, *Sir, you are mistaken, you think you are preaching to the people at the Bay; our main end was to catch fish*.¹²

Belknap's use of the term 'meeting-house', rather than 'church', is significant. A church to the Puritans was a gathering of people, not the building where they met for worship. The last use of 'church' for a building by the Massachusetts Bay Company was in London on October 16, 1629, when a reference was made to 'building convenient churches'. The first use of 'meeting-house' in Winthrop's journal was on March 19, 1632, when he referred to the meeting-house at Dorchester:

Mr Maverick, one of the ministers of Dorchester, in drying a little powder, (which took fire by the heat of the fire pan), fired a small barrel of two or three pounds, yet did no other harm but singed his clothes. It was in the new meeting-house, which was thatched, and the thatch only blacked a little.¹³

William's descendant, Susan Leverich, wrote on November 12, 1902 to Mr F. H. Way, another of his descendants, that she had 'a box made from the wood of the tree under which the Rev. Wm Leverich preached the first sermon ever delivered by an ordained preacher in the state of New Hampshire', but the location and authenticity of the box are unknown. It was recorded in 1850 that the first meeting-house in Dover 'stood near the spot where now stands the lower school house on Dover Neck, and a low mound of earth around it still marks the locality of the old 'intrenchments', though the wear of 217 years has lowered it a good deal and the plough of some vandal once cut off a portion'. George Wadleigh wrote in 1913 that it was the second meeting-house that was surrounded by intrenchments and he continued that 'of the location, as well as the materials of which the first meeting-house was constructed, we have no definite information'. John Scales added in 1923 that

We have made a careful examination of all the grounds around the second meeting-house and have reached the conclusion that the first meeting-house was located on the hill about six hundred feet west of the State road at the residence of the late Daniel Pinkham, a short distance north of Riverview Hall. It was on what was called Low Street. The parsonage was near it. It is a beautiful location; the western view takes in the territory of Back River and the upper Pascataqua; on the south is a grand view of Fore River and the lower Pascataqua.¹⁴

The site of the meeting-house on Dover Point Road was registered as a national monument May 27, 1983. There does not appear to be any archaeological or historical evidence for the appearance of Dover's first meeting-house, nor that of the first one at Boston, and figures 43 and 44 are imaginative reconstructions made nearly a century ago. About forty meeting-houses were built in New England between 1630 and 1642 and

four were replaced in what Marian Donnelly has described as the first period of construction, but little is known about them. The best known is that at Dedham, Massachusetts, where on November 11, 1637 four men were 'chosen to contrive the fabricke of a meetinghouse to be in length 36 foote & 20 foote in bredth'. The earliest surviving meeting house is at Hingham, Massachusetts and dates from 1681, but it has been considerably restored and extended.¹⁵

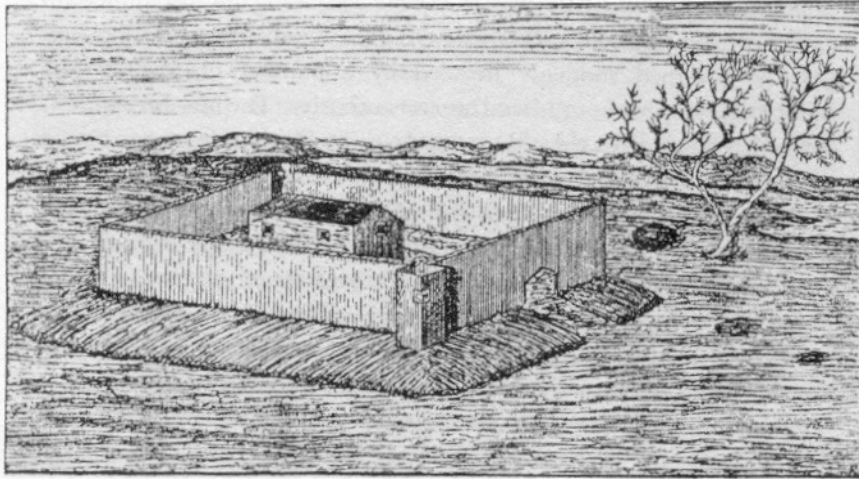


Figure 43. 'The old meeting house on Dover Neck', a drawing published in 1913.

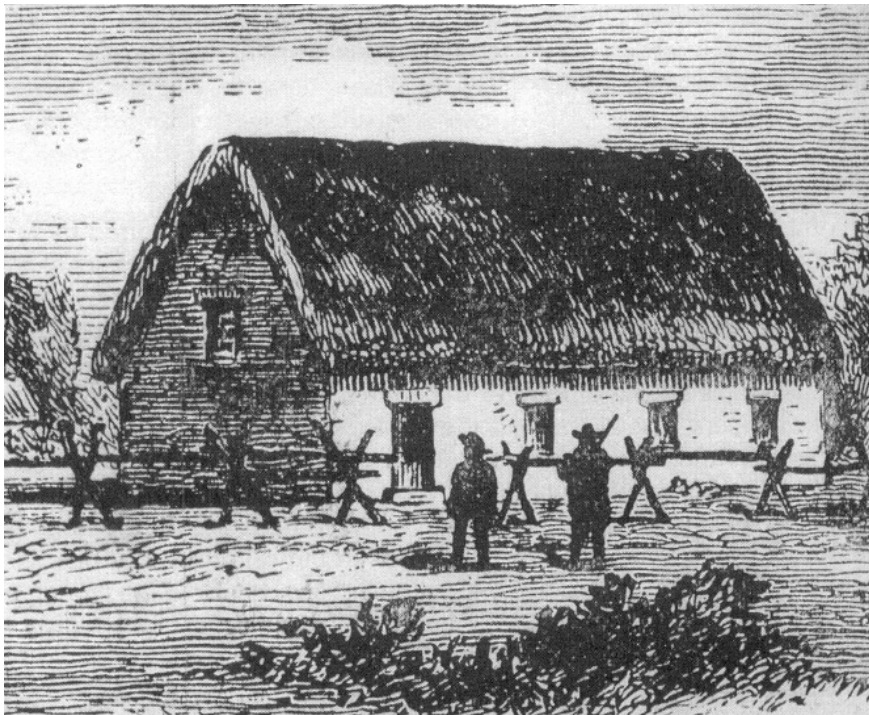


Figure 44. 'Boston's first meeting house, 1632', a drawing published in 1910.

On March 4, 1635 the Massachusetts Bay General Court ordered that no Indian corn or meal was to be transported out of its jurisdiction until the next harvest. There may, however, have been a shortage of food in Piscataqua as on May 6 the court allowed William to transport 'ten bushells of corne out of this jurisdicion, notwithstanding any former order to the contrary'. Then 'Willyam Leveridge of Puscattua' was one of four individuals who were admitted to the First Church in Boston on August 9.¹⁶ A week later the hurricane that Richard Mather had experienced struck the New England coast. Bradford described how

This year, the 14 or 15 of August (being Saturday) was shuch a mighty storme of wind and raine, as none living in these parts, either English or Indeans, ever saw, being like (for the time it continued) to those haurricanes and tuffons that writers make mention of in the Indeas. It began in the morning, a litle before day, and grue not by degrees, but came with violence in the begining, to the great amasmente of many. It blew downe sundry houses, and uncovered others; diverce vessells were lost at sea, and many more in extreme danger. It caused the sea to swell (to the southward of this place) above 20 foote, right up and downe, and made many of the Indeans to climbe into trees for their saftie; it tooke of the borded roofe of a house which belonged to this plantation at Manamet, and floted it to another place, the posts still standing in the ground; and if it had continued long without the shifting of the wind, it is like it would have drowned some parte of the cuntrie. It blew downe many hundered thowsands of trees, turning up the stronger by the roots, and breaking the hiegher pine trees of in the middle, and the tall yonge oaks and walnut trees of good biggnes were wound like a withe, very strange and fearfull to behould. It begane in the southeast, and parted toward the south and east, and vered sundry ways; but the greatest force of it here was from the former quarters. It continued not (in the extremitie) above 5 or 6 houers, but the violence begane to abate. The signes and marks of it will remaine this 100 years in these parts wher it was sores. The moone suffered a great eclipse the 2[nd] night after it.

One of the 'diverce vessells' lost at sea was transporting Joseph Avery and Anthony Thacher and their families from Ipswich to Marblehead, where Avery was due to become minister. Thacher and his wife survived, but their family (apart from their nephew Thomas who had traveled by land) and Avery and his wife and family drowned. Thacher wrote about the storm and Avery's death was featured many years later in the 'The swan song of Parson Avery' by the nineteenth-century poet, John Greenleaf Whittier.¹⁷

Roger Williams accepted the invitation of the Salem church to be its pastor when Samuel Skelton died in 1634, but the views that he expressed continued to cause disquiet in the Boston establishment. The Massachusetts Bay General Court decided on April 1 that male residents aged 20 and above should swear an oath and introduced a new form of freeman's oath on May 14. Then the court introduced a new form of residents' oath on March 4, 1635 and made this a requirement for men aged 16 and above. Williams opposed this requirement and was summoned to appear before the General Court on April 30 for teaching that 'a magistrate ought not to tender an oath to an unregenerate man' and for continuing to maintain that magistrates should not punish people for breaking the first four commandments. Winthrop recorded that at the General Court held on July 8

Mr Williams of Salem was summoned, and did appear. It was laid to his charge, that, being under question before the magistracy and churches for divers dangerous opinions, viz. 1, that the magistrate ought not to punish the breach of the first table [the first four commandments], otherwise than in such cases as did disturb the civil peace; 2, that he ought not to tender an oath to an unregenerate man; 3, that a man ought not to pray with such, though wife, child, etc.; 4, that a man ought not to give thanks after the sacrament nor after meat, etc.; and that the other churches were about to write to the church of Salem to admonish him of these errors; notwithstanding the church had since called him to [the] office of a teacher. Much debate was about these things. The said opinions were adjudged by all, magistrates and ministers, (who were desired to be present), to be erroneous, and very dangerous, and the calling of him to office, at that time, was judged a great contempt of authority. So, in fine, time was given to him and the church of Salem to consider of these things till the next general court, and then either to give satisfaction to the court, or else to expect the sentence; it being professedly declared by the ministers, (at the request of the court to give their advice), that he who should obstinately maintain such opinions, (whereby a church might run into heresy, apostacy or tyranny, and yet the civil magistrate could not intermeddle), were to be removed, and that the other churches ought to request the magistrates so to do.¹⁸

Williams refused to retract his beliefs and on October 8, two months after William's admission to the Boston church, he made his a final appearance before the court, which passed its sentence:

Whereas Mr Roger Williams, one of the elders of the church of Salem, hath broached & dyvulged dyvers newe & dangerous opinions, against the auctoritie of magistrates, as also writt letteres of defamacion, both of the magistrates & churches here, & that before any conviccion, & yet mainetaineth the same without retraccion, it is therefore ordered, that the said Mr Williams shall departe out of this jurisdiccion within sixe weekes nowe nexte ensuing, which if hee neglect to performe, it shalbe lawfull for the Governer & two of the magistrates to send him to some place out of this jurisdiccion, not to returne any more without licence from the court.¹⁹

John Underhill was subsequently sent to Salem 'to apprehend him, carry him aboard the ship (which then rode at Natascutt), but, when they came at his house, they found he had been gone three days before, but whither they could not learn'. Underhill had been a cadet in the guard of the Prince of Orange in the Netherlands and went to New England in the Winthrop fleet in order to organize the Massachusetts Bay militia. Williams had forestalled the colony's authorities and in early 1636 had moved 40 miles south-westwards to the west side of the Seekonk River, where he established the settlement of Providence, the foundation of Providence Plantations or Rhode Island. His many letters to both John Winthrops show that he remained in friendly contact with them and he wrote in 1670 that Winthrop Sr had 'many high and heavenly

and public ends' in directing him to Narragansett Bay and in 1677 that 'he personally and tenderly loved me to his last breath'.²⁰

William was succeeded as minister at Piscataqua by George Burdett, who had made arrangements to leave England whilst the High Commission proceedings against him were taking place in 1634. He was offered a post as minister in Providence Island but he did not accept and went to New England instead. He left his wife and children in England and a fishmonger Mr Questred lost the bond that he had entered into for Burdett's continued attendance before the Court of High Commission. Mrs Burdett petitioned the Great Yarmouth authorities for an annuity for the support of herself and her children as she was destitute and she was given an allowance of twenty marks a year. Burdett arrived in Boston in 1635 and wrote to Archbishop Laud in December justifying his actions, but his presence in Massachusetts Bay caused difficulties and he moved to Piscataqua. Winthrop recorded in his journal the contacts that Burdett had with Laud, but its mid-nineteenth century editor, James Savage, found this difficult to believe and wrote 'I marvel at the charge by Winthrop, that he [Burdett] had intelligence with the prelatical party at home'.²¹

A group left Watertown to establish a new settlement at Wethersfield in the Connecticut valley in 1635. However, their minister, George Phillips, remained in Watertown and a new church was established at Wethersfield. Thomas Hooker, Samuel Stone and their church left Newtown in the winter of 1635-36 to establish a second settlement in the Connecticut valley at Hartford to the north of Wethersfield and near the Dutch trading post of the Fort of Good Hope. Hooker continued as the church's pastor and Stone as its teacher. John Maverick died in February 1636 and John Warham moved soon afterwards with the Dorchester church to establish a third Connecticut settlement at Windsor to the north of Hartford. The three Connecticut towns were initially governed by a commission agreed between the Massachusetts Bay General Court and John Winthrop Jr and then by the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut from January 1639.²²

On March 3, 1636 the Massachusetts Bay General Court authorized the freemen in each town to 'dispose of their owne lands & woods', to 'make such orders as may concerne the well ordering of their owne townes' and to 'chuse their owne particular officers, as cunstables, surveyors for the highwayes, & the like'. They thus provided for each town to have similar officers to those in each English parish. The same meeting of the General Court also regulated the formation of new churches:

Forasmuch as it hath bene found by sad experience, that much trouble and disturbance hath happened both to the church & civill state by the officers & members of some churches, which have bene gathered within the limitts of this jurisdiction in a undue manner, & not with such publique approbacion as were meete, it is therefore ordered that all persons are to take notice that this court doeth not, nor will hereafter, approve of any such companyes of men as shall henceforthe joyne in any pretended way of church fellowship, without they shall first acquainte the magistrates, & the elders of the greater parte of the churches in this jurisdiction, with their intencions, & have their approbacion herein. And further, it is ordered, that noe person, being a member of any churche which shall hereafter be gathered without the approbacion of the magistrates, & the greater parte of the said churches, shalbe admitted to the freedome of this commonwealthe.

This restriction on the formation of new churches was an inevitable consequence of the Court's decision in 1631 that only church members could become freemen, but it delayed Richard Mather's attempt to form a new church at Dorchester. Thomas Shepard and his followers established a new church at Newtown, which was renamed Cambridge in 1638. He recorded many of the confessions that were made by those who sought church membership there from 1638 to 1645. They included those of Mary and Nathaniel Sparrowhawk in 1639 and the minister Henry Dunster in 1640. William may have made a similar confession when he was admitted to the Boston church in 1635.²³

The requirement of church membership before admission as a freeman posed a problem when John Humfrey, a freeman of the Massachusetts Bay Company in England, moved to New England in 1634, but he was accepted as a freeman in Massachusetts Bay on May 25, 1636 and did not join a church until January 1637. Lord Saye, Lord Brooke and other 'gentlemen' thought of moving to New England in 1636, but they wanted the colony to have a hereditary upper house. Cotton opposed this, but declared in his reply that

Democracy, I do not conceyve that ever God did ordeyne as a fitt government eyther for church or commonwealth. If the people be governors, who shall be governed? As for monarchy and aristocracy, they are both of them clearely approved and directed in scripture, yet so as referreth the soveraigntie to himselfe, and setteth up theocracy in both, as the best forme of government in the commonwealth, as well as in the church.

and he explained that

Mr Humfrey was chosen for an assistant (as I heare) before the colony came over hither, and, though he be not as yet joyned into church fellowship (by reason of the unsetlednes of the congregation where he liveth) yet the commonwealth doe still continue his magistracy to him, as knowing he waiteth for oppertunity of enjoying church-fellowship shortly.²⁴

The killing of John Stone in January 1634 strained relationships between the settlers and the Pequot Amerindians, but the murder of John Oldham and his companions on a ship near Block Island to the south of Rhode Island in July 1636 led to open warfare. An expedition led by Endecott with Underhill as one of the officers landed on Block Island, where they destroyed the homes and crops of the Amerindians. They then moved to Saybrook and the first phase of the Pequot War subsided during the winter of 1636-37. Underhill paid tribute to the advice that he had received from his wife before setting out on the campaign and his words provide a vivid picture of one contemporary husband and wife relationship:

My selfe received an arrow through my coate sleeve, a second against my helmet on the forehead, so as if God in his providence had not moved the heart of my wife to perswade mee to carrie it along with me which I was unwilling to doe, I had been slaine. Give me leave to observe two things from hence. First when the houre of death is not yet come, you see God useth weake meanes to keepe his purpose unviolated. Secondly, let no man despise advise and counsell of his wife though shee be a woman. It were strange to nature to thinke a man should be bound to fulfill the humour of a woman, what armes hee should carry, but you see God will have it so, that a woman should overcome a man: what with Dalilahs flattery, and with her mournfull teares they must and will have their desire, when the hand of God goes a long in the matter; and this is to accomplish his owne will. Therefore let the clamour bee quencht I daily heare in my eares, that New England men usurpe over their wives, and keepe them in servile subjection: the countrey is wronged in this matter, as in many things else: let this president satisfie the doubtfull, for that comes from the example of a rude souldier: if they bee so curteous to their wives, as to take their advice in warlike matters, how much more kind is the tender affectionate husband to honour his wife as the weaker vessel? Yet mistake not: I say not that they are bound to call their wives in counsell, though they are bound to take their private advice (so far as they see it make for their advantage and their good): instance Abraham.²⁵

Church admissions in Boston continued after William's admission and the departure of Roger Williams, George Burdett, Samuel Stone, Thomas Hooker and John Warham at the rate of two to nine a month until January 1637 when they ceased during the period of religious turmoil known as the Antinomian Controversy. This Controversy centered on the views expressed by Anne Hutchinson, who had arrived in Boston with her husband William and their ten children in 1634. It concerned the relative importance of faith and good deeds for a Christian's justification in the sight of God, but the involvement of a popular woman who acted as a teacher and claimed to be led by the spirit added an extra dimension to the dispute.²⁶

Hutchinson had been a follower of Cotton in England, and she was initially supported in Boston both by him and by her husband's ministerial brother-in-law, John Wheelwright. He had arrived in Boston in 1636, but a sermon which he preached on a fast day held on January 19, 1637 led to his conviction by the General Court on March 9 for 'contempt & sedition' and Winthrop recorded the ministers' acceptance of the Court's jurisdiction:

The ministers, being called to give advice about the authority of the Court in things concerning the churches, etc., did all agree of these two things: 1. That no member of the Court ought to be publicly questioned by a church for any speech in the Court, without the license of the Court. The reason was, because the Court may have sufficient reason that may excuse the sin, which yet may not be fit to acquaint the church with, being a secret of state. The second thing was, that in all such heresies or errors of any church members as are manifest and dangerous to the state, the Court may proceed without tarrying for the church, but if the opinions be doubtful, etc., they are first to refer them to the church, etc.²⁷

Hutchinson was supported by a petition dated March 9, which was signed by Underhill, by fifty-seven other members of the Boston church and by seventeen men from other towns. However, Underhill left Massachusetts Bay soon afterwards for the second and decisive phase of the Pequot War, a war that was supported in letters sent to Winthrop in May by John Higginson from Saybrook and Hooker from Hartford. Underhill and a company of soldiers went to Saybrook, where they were joined by a group of soldiers from Hartford under the command of Captain John Mason with Samuel Stone as their chaplain. The joint force sailed eastwards and landed at Narragansett Bay. They and their Amerindian allies then moved westwards overland to one of the Pequot forts on the Mystic River. Bradford described how

They approached the same with great silence, and surrounded it, both with English and Indeans, that they might not breake out; and so assualted them with great courage, shooting amongst them, and entered the forte with all speed; and those that first entered found sharp resistance from the enimie, who both shott at and grapled with them; others rane into their howses, and brought out fire, and sett them one fire, which soone tooke in their matts, and standing close together, with the wind, all was quickly on a flame, and therby more were burnt to death then was otherwise slain; it burnt their bowstrings, and made them unservisable. Those that scaped the fire were slaine with the sword; some hewed to peeces, others rune throw with their rapiers, so as they were quickly dispatchte, and very few escaped. It was conceived they thus destroyed about 400 at this time. It was a fearfull sight to see them thus frying in the fyer, and the streams of blood quenching the same, and horrible was the stinck and sente ther of; but the victory seemed a sweete sacrifice, and they gave the prays therof to God, who had wrought so wonderfully for them, thus to inclose their enimise in their hands, and give them so speedy a victory over so proud and insulting an enimie.²⁸

Philip Vincent was an English minister who was probably visiting New England at the time and his *A true relation of the late battell fought in New England, between the English and the salvages* was published in London in 1637. Though Underhill was militarily successful, his support for Hutchinson and Wheelwright was not welcomed. He was dismissed, and he and seventy-four other supporters of Hutchinson and Wheelwright were disarmed. Underhill returned to England, where he declined an offer of a post in Providence Island. His *Newes from America.....containing a true relation of their war-like proceedings these two yeares last past* was published in 1638. He included an illustration of the destruction of the fort at Mystic on May 26 that may give a true picture of the massacre of a largely unarmed group of Pequot men, women and children (figure 45).²⁹

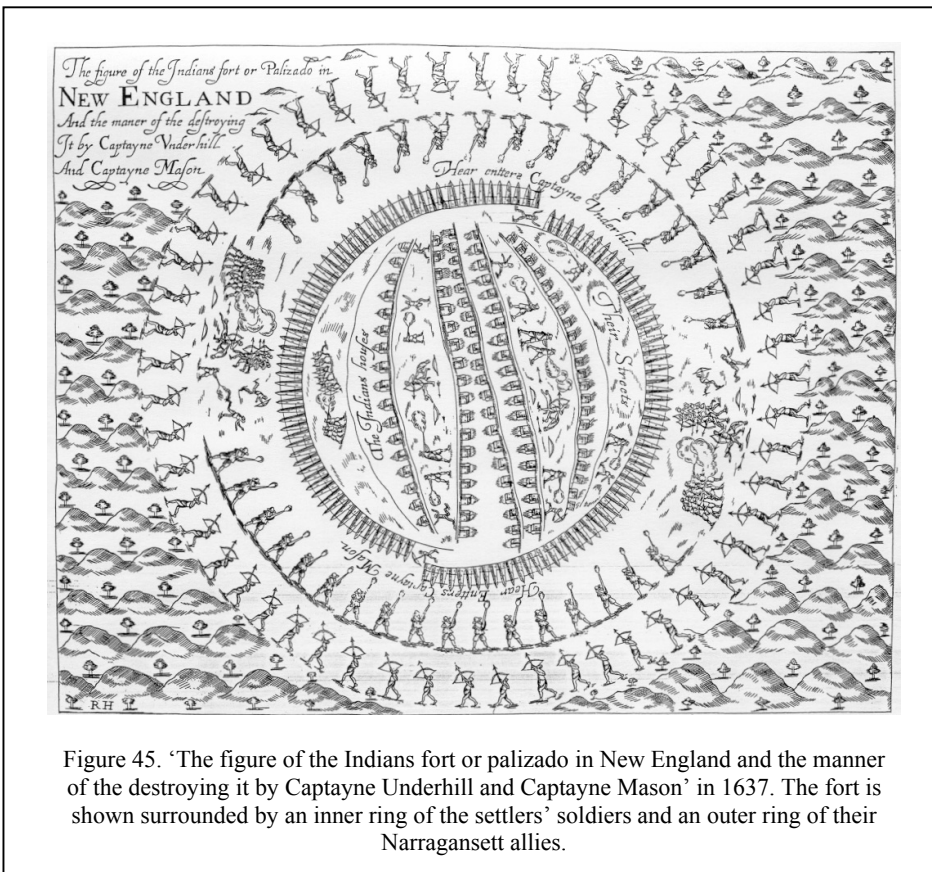


Figure 45. 'The figure of the Indians fort or palizado in New England and the manner of the destroying it by Captayne Underhill and Captayne Mason' in 1637. The fort is shown surrounded by an inner ring of the settlers' soldiers and an outer ring of their Narragansett allies.

There were also spoils of war to distribute. Roger Williams wrote to Winthrop in June:

I am bold (if I may not offend in it) to request the keeping and bringing up of one of the children. I have fixed mine eye on this litle one with the red about his neck, but I will not be peremptory in my choice, but will rest in your loving pleasure for him or any, etc.

Hugh Peters, who was then a minister at Salem, wrote to Winthrop in July:

Mr Endecot and my selfe salute you in the Lord Jesus, etc. Wee have heard of a dividence of women and children in the bay and would bee glad of a share, viz: a yong woman or girle and a boy if you thinke good: I wrote to you for some boyes for Bermudas, which I thinke is considerable.

and Winthrop reported to Bradford on July 28:

The prisoners were devided, some to those of the river [Connecticut], and the rest to us; of these we send the male children to Bermuda, by Mr William Peirce, and the women and maid children are disposed aboute in the townes. Ther have been now slaine and taken in all aboute 700. The rest are dispersed, and the Indeans in all quarters so terrified, as all their freinds are affraid to receive them.

In spite of the conflict, New Plymouth executed Arthur Peach and two of his companions for murdering some Amerindians, though 'some of the rude and ignorante sorte murmured that any English should be put to death for the Indeans'.³⁰

Hutchinson and Wheelwright were opposed by a formidable ministerial team - John Wilson, John Eliot, Thomas Weld, Thomas Hooker, Richard Mather, Hugh Peters, Thomas Shepard and John Davenport - that was also supported by John Cotton. Hutchinson strongly argued her case, but the Boston church establishment eventually prevailed and she and Wheelwright were banished from Massachusetts Bay by the General Court in November 1637. She spent the winter of 1637-38 as a prisoner at the Roxbury home of Weld's brother Joseph and was tried again by the Boston church in the spring before being excommunicated on March 22. She then left the colony with her husband, younger children and two elder sons to settle at Pocasset on Aquidneck island, the beginning of Portsmouth, Rhode Island. Wheelwright and some of his supporters moved northwards to the Piscataqua valley, where they purchased Amerindian land and established the settlement of Exeter (figure 46).³¹

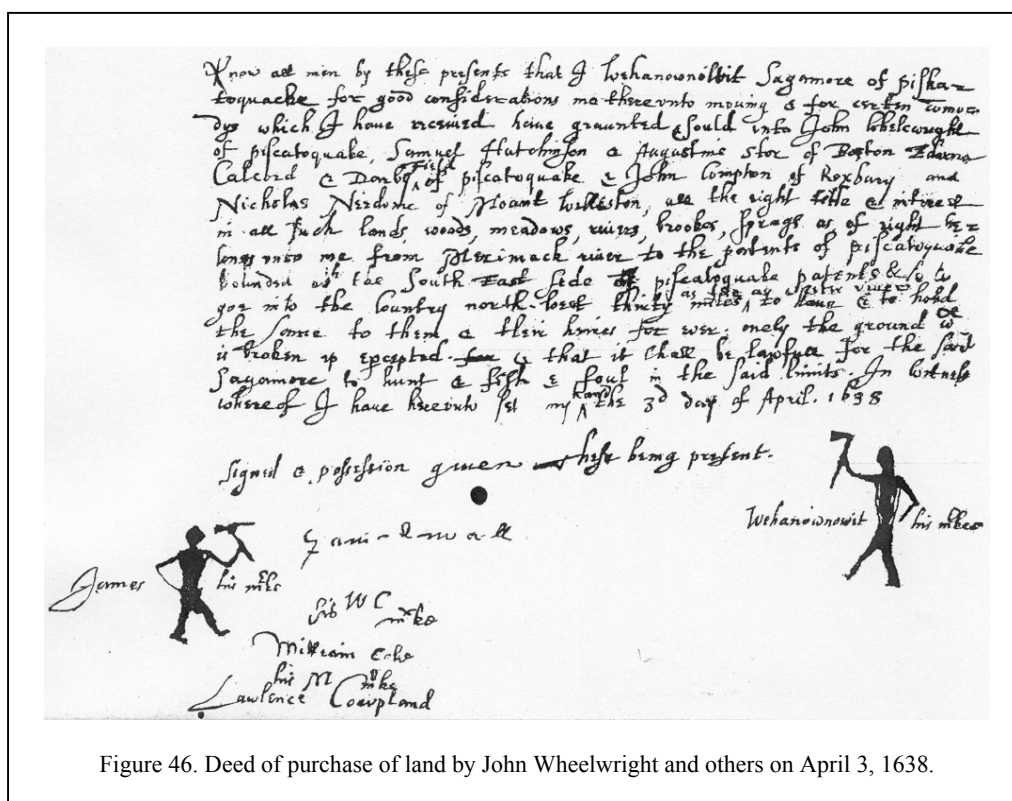


Figure 46. Deed of purchase of land by John Wheelwright and others on April 3, 1638.

Davenport had arrived in Boston in June 1637 with Theophilus Eaton and others who had lived in the parish of St Stephen, Coleman Street. The successful conclusion of the Pequot War from the British settlers' point of view made it easier for them to move west of Connecticut River. Davenport and Eaton were part of a group that left Boston by sea in March 1638 to establish a new settlement at the mouth of Quinnipiac River and they were joined by Peter Prudden. He had been considered as a possible minister in Providence Island in 1635, but had arrived in Boston soon after them with a group of settlers from Hertfordshire. Davenport attempted to attract Ezekiel Rogers, who had arrived in Boston in 1638, but was unsuccessful, and Rogers and his associates founded the settlement of Rowley to the north of Ipswich. Davenport and Prudden were, however, joined in 1639 by Thomas James, who had left Charlestown for Providence Plantations in 1637. Another minister, Henry Whitfield, sailed from England directly to Quinnipiac in 1639 on 'the first ship that ever cast anchor in this place' and settled at Menunkatuck (afterwards Guilford) to the east of the town. Davenport and James remained in Quinnipiac, which was renamed New Haven in 1640. Prudden was part of a group that established a settlement at Wepowaug (afterwards Milford) to the west of New Haven in that year. Adam Blakeman, William's predecessor at Great Bowden, arrived in New England in 1638 and became the minister at the new settlement of Stratford to the west of Milford in 1640. Cotton Mather wrote in 1702 that 'he was attended with a desirable company of the faithful, who said unto him, Entreat us not to leave you, or to return from following after you: for whither you go, we will go, and your God shall be our God'.³²

Most of the Massachusetts Bay ministers were made freemen soon after their arrival - Maverick, Phillips, Skelton and Warham in 1631, Eliot, James, Weld and Wilson in 1632, Cotton, Hooker and Stone in 1634, Burdett in 1635 and Peters in 1636 - but William was never made a freeman there. This and the lack of any evidence of his involvement in the Antinomian Controversy suggest that he did not remain in Boston for very long. Indeed his move thirty miles south to New Plymouth, where he was made a freeman in 1638, may have been to avoid the disputes in Boston. He thus became part of the Massachusetts Bay ministerial diaspora.³³

Burdett became governor of Piscataqua in 1637 and renamed it Dover, but his time there was as short-lived as that of William and their immediate successors. He continued his correspondence with Laud and in a letter dated November 29, 1638 claimed that Massachusetts Bay was attempting to obtain command of the river and harbor of Piscataqua. He recommended that this should be secured for the King's use and reported that the Massachusetts Bay magistrates had received from England copies of his previous letters to Laud. The correspondence and his general behavior led to his replacement and he returned to England soon afterwards.³⁴

Burdett was succeeded as governor by Underhill and as minister by Hanserd Knollys. Underhill had recently returned from England and had confessed his sins to the Boston church, which revoked its excommunication of him. Knollys had recently arrived in Boston, where he became unpopular because of suspected antinomianism. He was soon challenged in Dover by a new ministerial arrival, Thomas Larkham. Larkham wrote about a dispute with Knollys in a letter to Winthrop that contains the earliest reference to the Dover meeting-house:

After proceedinge, there was a church meetinge; I craved satisfaction, he insteede thereof sitts downe and begins a complaint, consistinge of many branches, which he read out of a paper, and so goes to a table and craves mine answere, and said he would write it. I som whatt amazed to see such wild doings, spake what the church disliked nott, and so we spent one whole day which was the fifth day of the weeke, puttinge of what was further to be done unto the Sabboth, intendinge after the eveninge exercise; but he gave fourth words that he would deale with one of our magistrates, and mee first of all, before any exercise should goe one, and indeede was ready in the meetinge house so to doe, in a marvelous stiffe way, had not the magistrates interposed.

Neither of them was able to fit into the Dover church and community. Knollys returned to England in 1641 and Larkham in the following year. Knollys subsequently became one of the leaders of the Particular Baptist movement in England and is the subject of many biographies. Underhill remained at Dover until 1642 and then went to Stamford in New Haven Colony. He was the subject of a poem by Whittier, who mistakenly referred to him going to 'Cocheco town', the modern Dover town center, rather than to the original settlement at Dover Point. Daniel Maude was the minister at Dover from 1643 until his death in 1655.³⁵

The Massachusetts Bay General Court approved the establishment of a new settlement at Winnacunnet to the north of the colony on September 6, 1638, when it accepted a petition by an elderly minister Stephen Bachiler and fifteen other settlers. One of the settlers was Richard Swain, the father of Francis, who was the first husband of William's future daughter-in-law Martha Cornish. Richard's eldest sons, William and Francis, had left London in the *Rebecca* in April 1635 and Richard followed them in the *Truelove* in September.³⁶ He was probably accompanied by his wife Basill and their children Nicholas, Grace and John, though they were not recorded in the passenger list. Richard's age was recorded as 34, an age that may be significant as he has been identified with the Richard who was baptized at Binfield in Berkshire on September 16, 1595, perhaps on the basis of William Swayne the Elder's will of October 11, 1609, which referred to 'Richard Swayne, seconde sonne of William my said sonne'. His recorded age, however, makes it more likely that he was the Richard who was baptized at Binfield on February 15, 1600, when he was described as 'the supposed child of Richard Dollen.....as his mother Johan Swain, the daughter of Edmond, sayeth'. Francis was baptized there on January 25, 1621 (figure 47). Richard was made a freeman on March 13, 1639 and on May 22 the General Court appointed him and two others 'to end all businesses under 20 shillings' in Winnacunnet. The township was renamed Hampton on September 4, and Richard was one of three appointed at its first recorded meeting on October 31 'to measure, lay forth and bound all such lots as should be granted by the freemen'.³⁷

Hampton and Salisbury were joined to the jurisdiction of Ipswich on June 2, 1641. Dover and Strawberry Bank were taken under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts Bay on October 9 and a year later on September 27 the General Court accepted that the settlers there who 'formerly were free' could have the 'liberty of freemen in their severall townes' even 'though they bee not at present church members', the second breach in the colony's rules on freemanship. Richard Swain, his sons Francis and Nicholas, and others signed a petition dated March 7, 1643 on behalf of Hampton. Exeter initially remained outside Massachusetts Bay, but it was included with Dover, Strawberry Bank and Hampton in Norfolk County when the colony established its first counties on May 10. Francis and Nicholas were amongst those who then signed a petition on May 12 seeking Exeter's admission and this was accepted by the General Court on September 7.

The Swains had continuing interests in Exeter during the next nine years. Wheelwright, however, left Exeter and moved across the Piscataqua valley to a new settlement at Wells in Maine. Bachiler moved to Strawberry Bank (the future Portsmouth) in about 1644, but returned to England in 1651 when aged about 90. The English ancestry and year of immigration of Martha Cornish's father Thomas are uncertain, but he was probably the Thomas Cornish who married Mary, daughter of John Stone, at Gloucester, Massachusetts Bay on September 4, 1641. He also moved to Exeter, where he received land grants from 1649[?/50] onwards, signed a petition to the Massachusetts Bay General Court in 1652 and was involved in a joint project with the Swains for a saw-mill in that year (figure 47).³⁸

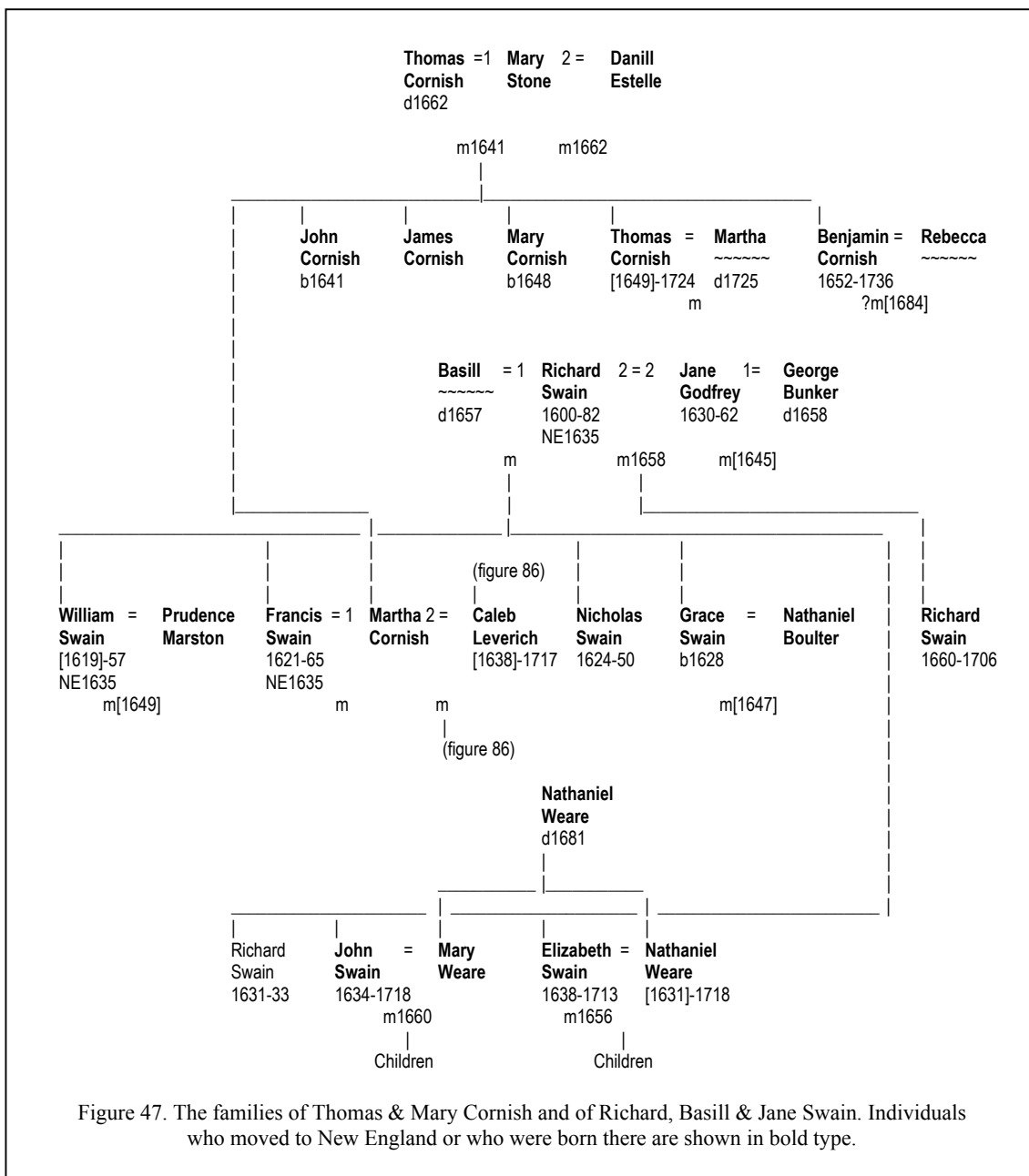


Figure 47. The families of Thomas & Mary Cornish and of Richard, Basill & Jane Swain. Individuals who moved to New England or who were born there are shown in bold type.

The surviving records of the Norfolk County Court begin in September 1648, when the court was held at Hampton, and Richard Swain and Nathaniel Boulter, who was probably the existing or future husband of Richard's daughter Grace, were successful in an action against Robert Lord for 'unjust molestation'. Richard and Francis Swain were involved in other court actions during the sittings of the court that were held at Salisbury in April and Hampton in October each year and they included a series of sexual allegations that eventually involved the Cornishes. At the court held on October 5, 1652 Henry Green was the plaintiff against Richard in an action of defamation 'for reporting that hee had attempted the chastity of Bassill Swaine [Richard's wife], & used beastly unseemly carriage & temptations toward Grace Boulter, & for other words of defamation' but he withdrew the case. On April 12, 1653 Francis was the plaintiff against Thomas King 'for defaming of him for bringing false reports to the select men, & other carriage tending to uncleanness between the said Francis & the wyfe of Thomas Cornish to his great disgrace', but they agreed to withdraw the case and pay their own costs. At the same court Cornish was successful in an action against King 'for defaming of his wyfe, for bringing of false report to the select men & others concerning uncleanness between the said Cornish his wyfe & Francis Swaine to their great disgrace' and King was ordered to pay damages and court costs of £2 14s 1d. At the next court held on October 4, Nicolas Lisson was presented 'for attempting the chastitty of Mary Cornish' and King 'concerning filthy unseemly speeches'. Both were fined twenty shillings and bound over to appear at the next sitting of the court. A year later on October 3 Cornish bound

himself 'for the appearance of his wyf Mary Cornish att Salisbury court next ensuing & there to attend the pleasure of the court & not to come in the company of Francis Swaine'. Lisson and King bound themselves on condition that Lisson 'shall not come to the house of Mary Cornish, nor in hir company, except of necessitie, & that he shall be of good abearing towards all people & to appeare att Salsbury court next' and Francis bound himself 'to keep out of the company of Mary Cornish & from the house & to appeare att Salisbury court to answer such things as shalbe brought against him'.³⁹

Unfortunately there is then a gap of eight years in the Norfolk County Court records and neither the outcome of the cases involving Francis, Lisson, King and the Cornishes nor the year when Francis married Thomas and Mary's daughter Martha are known. Richard and William Swain remained in Hampton and William was drowned in 'The Wreck of Rivermouth' on October 20, 1657, but he was not mentioned in Whittier's poem of that name. Dover Point, Strawberry Bank and Excester (Exeter) were all pictured in a map of the Piscataqua River in about 1670 drawn by an unidentified 'I. S.Americana'.⁴⁰

Norfolk County was abolished at the end of 1679 when most of its towns became part of the newly established Province of New Hampshire, but Haverhill and Salisbury remained in Massachusetts and were added to Essex County. Francis Swain's brother-in-law Nathaniel Weare lived in Hampton from 1662 until his death in 1718. He was a prominent resident not only of Hampton, but of the whole of the Province. He was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court in 1694-95 and occasionally a Justice of the Peace until 1699 and then a Justice of the Quorum until his retirement in 1715. He was a Councillor of the Government of New Hampshire from 1692 to January 1699 and from July 31, 1699 to December 24, 1715.⁴¹

The original town of Dover has been divided several times to form new towns - Newington in 1713, Somersworth in 1729, Durham in 1732, Madbury from Dover and Durham in 1755, Lee from Durham in 1766 and Rollinsford from Somersworth in 1849 - but historians have looked back to the old Dover. The Reverend Hubbard Winslow preached sermons on the history of the First Parish of Dover on January 2, 1833 and the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the parish was commemorated with addresses by the Reverend Alonzo H. Quint and others on October 28, 1883. The *Dover enquirer* published a series of Historical Memoranda by Quint and others from 1850 to 1896 and the town's history was described by Mary Pickering Thompson in 1888 and 1892, George Wadleigh in 1913 and John Scales in 1923.⁴² In these ways successive generations of residents have been reminded of William's brief involvement in the early years of Dover. For others the main interest may lie hidden in the soil. David Starbuck has recently written that 'if the cellar hole still exists in someone's backyard' he would like to dig 'the site of my first ancestor in America, Edward Starbuck, who settled with his family on Dover Point in 1635'.⁴³

6 - Sandwich

I remember one sowes and another reaps.
William Leverich recalling John 4: 37 in 1652.¹

The town of Plymouth founded by the *Mayflower* Pilgrims in 1620 lay 30 miles south-east of Boston. New Plymouth was governed by a set of laws that were renewed and expanded in 1636. They provided that the colony should be ruled by a governor and seven assistants as well as a constable for each town and other officers. They were all to be elected annually at the March meeting of the General Court, the colony's assembly of freemen that also met in June, September and December. The laws specified eight capital offences - treason or rebellion, willful murder, solemn compaction or conversing with the devil by way of witchcraft, willful or purposed burning of ships or houses, sodomy, rape, buggery and adultery - and many lesser offences, as well as dealing with the sale of land, inheritance, marking cattle, killing wolves and other matters. They included the oaths for residents and freemen that William probably made and provided for the appointment of days of fasting and thanksgiving, but did not deal with other church matters (document 5).²

The New Plymouth laws thus provided for a greater degree of separation of church and state than those of Massachusetts Bay, a feature which fitted the experience of those of the colony's leaders who had managed their own affairs outside the framework of the state church in the Netherlands, and in particular they did not require freemen to be church members. They need to be distinguished from John Cotton's draft laws for Massachusetts Bay, which were published in London in 1641 with the rather misleading title of *An abstract of the lawes of New England as they are now established*.

The Oath of any residing within the Government

You shall be truly loyall to our Sover. Lord the King, his heires & successors. And whereas you make choice at present to reside within the Government of New Plymouth, you shall not doe or cause to be done any act or acts directly or indirectly by land or water that shall or may tend to the destruccion or overthrow of the whole, or any the severall colonies within the said government that are or shall be orderly erected & established, but shall contrariwise hinder, oppose & discover such intents & purposes as tend thereunto to the Governor for the time being or some one of the Assistants with all convenient speede. You shall also submit unto & obey such good & wholesome lawes, ordinances & officers as are or shall be established within the severall limits thereof. So helpe you God, who is the God of truth & punisher of falsehood.

The Oath of a Freeman

You shall be truly loyall to *our Sov. Lord King Charles, his heires & successors*. You shall not speake or doe, devise or advise any thing or things, act or acts, directly or indirectly, by land or water, that doth, shall or may tend to the destruccion or overthrow of this present plantacions, colonies or corporacion of New Plymouth; neither shall you suffer the same to be spoken or done, but shall hinder, oppose & discover the same to the Governor & Assistants of the said colony for the time being or some one of them. You shall faithfully submit unto such good & wholesome laws & ordnances as either are or shall be made for the ordering & government of the same, and shall endeavor to advance the growth & good of the severall plantations within the limits of this corporacion by all due meanes & courses. All which you promise & swear by the name of the great God of heaven & earth simply, truly & faithfully to performe as you hope for help from God, who is the God of truth & punisher of falsehood.

Document 5. The New Plymouth oaths for residents and freemen. The words in italics in the freeman's oath were crossed out in the original text and were probably deleted during the English Civil War or after the execution of Charles I in 1649.

Ralph Smith was the minister at Plymouth from 1629 until 1636, when Bradford noted that 'this year Mr Smith layed downe his place of ministrie, partly by his owne willingnes as thinking it too heavie a burthen, and partly at the desire, and by the perswasion of others'. Smith was succeeded by John Rayner, an exact contemporary of William at Cambridge, who had entered Magdalene College in 1622 and graduated in 1626. He arrived in New England in 1635 and was made a Plymouth freeman on March 6, 1638.³ Plymouth expanded from the natural increase in its population and continuing immigration from both Great Britain and other New England settlements. Subsidiary settlements were established elsewhere, including one at Duxburrow or Duxbury on the northern side of Plymouth Bay (figure 48).

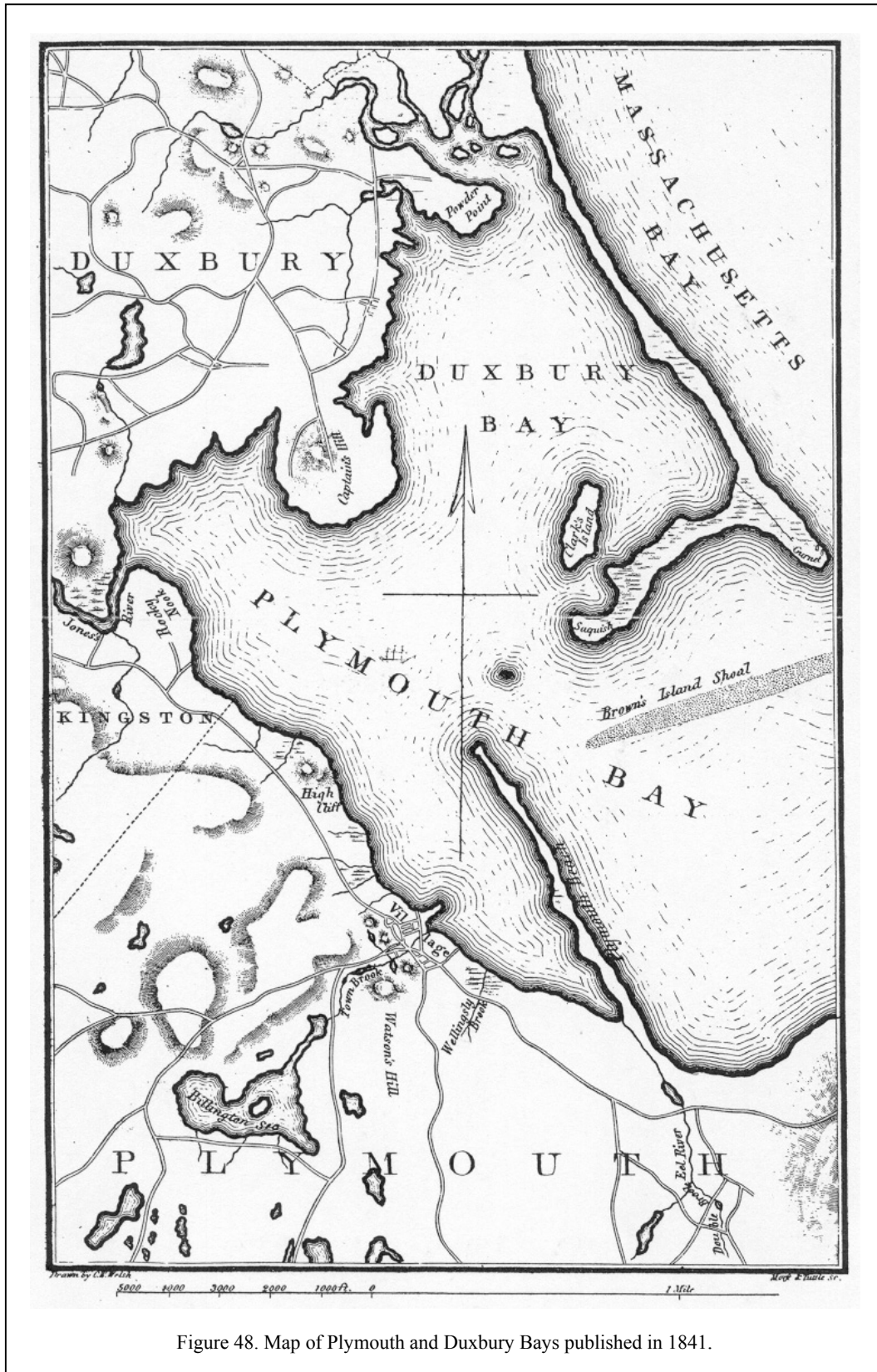


Figure 48. Map of Plymouth and Duxbury Bays published in 1841.

The Duxbury settlers may have initially traveled to the Plymouth meeting-house each week, an undertaking that would have been more difficult in winter, and in April 1632 John Alden, Myles Standish, Jonathan Brewster and Thomas Prencé promised 'to remove their fam[ilies] to live in the towne in the winter time, that they m[ay] the better repair to the worship of God'. Alden had come to Plymouth in the *Mayflower* in 1620. Standish had also come in the *Mayflower* and was the settlers' military captain. He had served in the

Netherlands and had married there, but his wife died during the 'first' Plymouth winter. Jonathan was the eldest son of William Brewster. Prence had emigrated to Plymouth in the *Fortune* in 1621 and was the Governor of the colony in 1634, 1638 and from 1657 to 1672.⁴ The Duxbury arrangement proved unsatisfactory and later in 1632

those that had lived soe longe together in Christian and comfortable fellowship must now parte and suffer many devisions. First, those that lived on their lotts on the other syde of the bay (called Duxburrow) they could not long bring their wives and children to the publick worshipping and church meetings heer but with such burthen, as, growing to some competent number, they sued to be dismissed and become a body of themselves; and soe they were dismissed about this time, though very unwillingly.

This extract from Bradford's journal was repeated in Nathaniel Morton's seventeenth-century 'A breife ecclesiasticall history of the Church of Christ att Plymouth', which continued with words that referred to a later year:

and sometime after being united into one intire body they procured Reverend Mr Ralph Partrich to be their pastour; and Mr William Leverich alsoe was with them att the same time and preached the word of God amongst them, but hee stayed not longe amongst them ere hee removed to Sandwich and was teacher of the church there a considerable time.⁵

Ralph Partridge had graduated from Trinity College, Cambridge in 1600. He moved to New England in 1636, was appointed pastor of the Duxbury church soon after his arrival and was made a freeman on March 6, 1638. Cotton Mather made a greater play on his name than he had with those of Cotton, Hooker and Stone when he wrote that he was

one that bore the *name*, as well as the *state*, of an *hunted partridge* [who] being distress'd by the ecclesiastical *setters*, had no defence, neither of *beak* nor *claw*, but a *flight* over the ocean. The place where he took covert was the Colony of [New] Plymouth, and the Town of Duxbury in that Colony. This *Partridge* had not only the innocency of the *dove*, conspicuous in his blameless and pious life, which made him very acceptable in his conversation, but also the loftiness of an *eagle*, in the great soar of his intellectual abilities..... Nevertheless Mr *Partridge* was, notwithstanding the *paucity* and *poverty* of his congregation, so afraid of being any thing that look'd like a *bird wandering from his nest*, that he remained with his poor people till he *took wing* to become a *bird of paradise*, along with the winged *seraphim* of heaven.⁶

William was granted a house lot in Duxbury and was allowed to enclose some adjacent land, but he left the settlement before the end of 1637. Duxbury settler William Basset recorded in a deed made on November 7 that before William left he made an agreement with Partridge, who accepted responsibility for breaking up and laying out the land, which was adjacent to a forty acre plot that he was granted on January 1, 1638:

Whereas I William Basset of the towne of Ducksborrow, in [the] plantacion of New Plymouth, did by word freely consent and give [] unto Mr William Leverich, late of the said towne, to enclose some part of [] lott of land adjoyneing to a parcell of land which was granted to him [for] an house lott, now, forasmuch as Mr Raph Partrich of the said towne hath satisfied by an agreement made with the said Mr William Leverich for his whole charge in incloseing & breaking up of the said ground, and hath the graunt of the said lott to bee layd to his adjoyneing thereto, know all men by this present writing that I William Basset aforesaid do freely remitt and release from my self and my heires for ever all my right and title in any part of the said land that now lyeth inclosed as is above mencioned to have beene by me willingly so permitted unto the said Raph Partrich of Ducksborrow aforesaid and to his heires for ever, in witsesse whereof I have sett to my hand and seale the viiith day of the ninth month anno domini 1637.⁷

Scituate at the north-eastern corner of New Plymouth was settled soon after Duxbury, and a church was established there in 1634 when John Lothrop arrived in New England and became its minister. Lothrop kept a diary of his five years in Scituate and of the fourteen years that he then spent at Sandwich's neighboring settlement of Barnstable, and it provides unique insights into life in the colony that William had entered and where he stayed for fifteen years. Lothrop listed the 56 houses of the Scituate residents in four categories - houses 'att my comeing hither.....aboute [the] end of Sept. 1634', houses 'since my comeing to Octo. 1636', houses '1636' and houses '1637' and also referred to the 'meeting-house erected.....Aug. the 2d & 3d dayes 1636'. The titles he gave the householders showed the social structure of the residents. Men at the top of the social scale were described as M[aste]r with their surname. Those in the next social tier by Goodman (or Goody for their wives) with their surname. Other residents had no title and were usually referred to by their Christian name and surname, but those that were church members were often referred to as Brother or Sister. Almost all the men and their wives who had occupied houses by the time Lothrop arrived became church members. Thereafter the proportion of new residents who became church members gradually decreased, though Lothrop may have stopped recording church admissions at the end of 1638. Some of the new church members were servants or children of householders and their wives. Almost every child baptized was the son

or daughter of a church member (table 7).⁸ There were probably other Scituate residents who were not recorded because they were not householders or church members, or were not baptized, married or buried whilst Lothrop was there, and it is difficult to judge the total number of people living in the town.

Table 7. Numbers of houses at Scituate, 1634-39, and the numbers of new church members, baptisms, marriages and burials associated with these houses. Some of the later houses were new houses for existing residents.

<i>Houses</i>	<i>No. of houses</i>	<i>New church members</i>	<i>No. of baptisms</i>	<i>No. of marriages</i>	<i>No. of burials</i>
'Att my comeing hither....aboute [the] end of Sept. 1634'	9	18	11	5	2
'Since my comeing to Octo.1636'	14	13	9	4	3
'1636'	24	11	6	3	1
'1637'	9		1		
[Occupants of existing houses]		19	3	6	5
Totals	56	61	30	18	11

The New Plymouth Court of Assistants agreed on April 3, 1637 that 'tenn menn of Saugust, vizt, Edmond Freeman, Henry Feake, Thomas Dexter, Edward Dillingham, William Wood, John Carman, Richard Chadwell, William Almey, Thomas Tupper & George Knott shall have liberty to view a place to sitt downe & have sufficient lands for three score famylies'. Saugus was a Massachusetts Bay town eight miles north-east of Boston, a town described as containing hundreds of acres of marsh and rocky hills that were useless as arable or pasture which was renamed Lynn on November 20. Stephen Bachiler had been the minister there from soon after his arrival in New England in 1632 until about 1636. Freeman and the other grantees selected the Sandwich area and they were joined by many other settlers from Lynn, including William's wife's cousins Jonathan, John and Nathaniel Fish, and by William and a few others from elsewhere. Since most of the settlers were from outside New Plymouth the establishment of Sandwich posed no threat to the fairly small population of its existing towns.⁹

Sandwich lay sixteen miles south-east of Plymouth and was the first of the Cape Cod towns to be established. Its location gave it access to both Cape Cod Bay on the east side and Buzzards Bay on the west (figure 49). It had fresh water springs and grazing land on the coastal plain, and the herring-like alewives, *Alosa pseudoharengus*, which ascended its rivers, and the stranded whales, mainly right whales, *Balaena glacialis*, provided additional resources. Winthrop recorded in April 1635 that 'some of our people went to Cape Cod and made some oil of a whale, which was cast on shore. There were three or four cast up, as it seems there is almost every year'.¹⁰

A description of Massachusetts Bay by Edward Johnson was published in London in 1654 with the title *A history of New-England* and the running title *Wonder-working providence of Sion's saviour*. Many of his chapters deal with individual settlements and their churches, and most of them contain a short poem about the minister. Chapter 38 of the 'first book' has the title 'Of the placing down of many souldiers of Christ, and gathering the Church of Christ at Sandwitch in Plimouth patten, and further supply for the churches of Ipswich and Linne'. Unfortunately it seems as though part of Johnson's manuscript may have become lost as there is nothing about Sandwich in this chapter, which deals with George Fenwick of Saybrook and Hartford, Ralph Partridge of 'Dukes Berry in Plimouth', Nathaniel Rogers of Ipswich and Samuel Whiting of 'Cawgust renamed Linne' and contains a poem about each of them.¹¹

Sandwich was presumably named after the English town of Sandwich in Kent, which was included in the list of new names in John Smith's *A description of New England* of 1616, though for a different location. The *Hercules* of Sandwich that brought settlers from various parts of Kent in 1635 was not the only ship from that town to bring settlers to New England and the New Plymouth Sandwich may have been named from some such link. Lovell has suggested that the name may have been used because the Massachusetts Bay settler John Humfrey was assigned land in Saugus and also owned land in Sandwich. It is a more likely possibility than a connection with the Levericks of Ash-next-Sandwich mentioned in chapter 1. The first use of the name Sandwich for the town in New Plymouth was on January 2, 1638 when the General Court heard the case in which 'Michaell Turner complaineth against John Davis in an action upon the case to the damage of xxli for not delivering his goods he hyred his boate to carry from Weymouth to Sandwitch'. William, Thomas Armitage, Edmond Freeman and eight others were admitted as freemen at the same meeting of the court. Two months later William made a complaint against William Hurst in an action for damages of £6 13s 4d at a meeting held before Bradford on March 5. John Vincent was appointed Sandwich's first constable on the following day and it was decided that Captain Standish and Mr John Alden 'shall, with all convenient speede, goe to Sanditch, and set forth their bounds of the lands graunted to them'.¹²

Bradford wrote very little about the establishment of the settlements outside Plymouth itself or about events in them, but when he recorded a 'great and fearful earthquake' in Plymouth in June he suggested that it might have been divine displeasure at those who were considering a move away from the town:

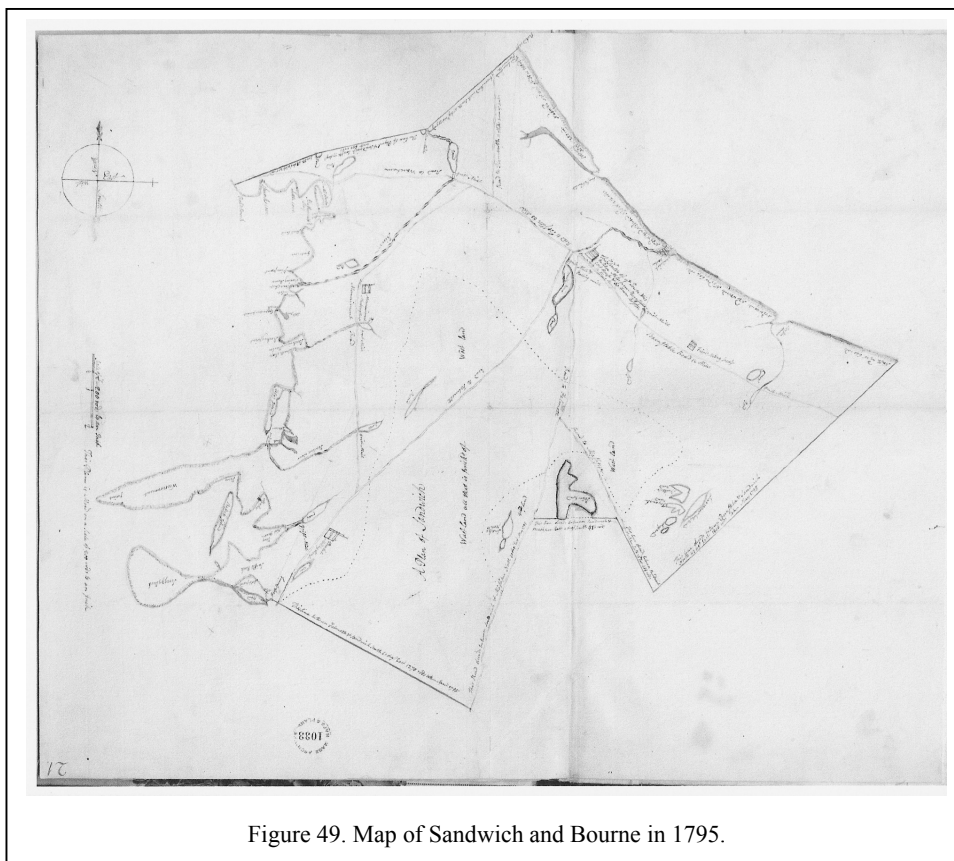


Figure 49. Map of Sandwich and Bourne in 1795.

This year, aboute the 1[st] or 2[nd] of June, was a great and fearfull earthquake; it was in this place heard before it was felte. It came with a rumbling noyse or low murmure, like unto remoate thunder; it came from the norward, and pased southward. As the noyse aproched nerer, they earth begane to shake, and came at length with that violence as caused platters, dishes, and shuch like things as stooode upon shelves, to clatter and fall downe; yea, persons were afraid of the houses them selves. It so fell oute that at the same time diverse of the cheefe of this towne were mett together at one house, conferring with some of their friends that were upon their removall from the place, (as if the Lord would herby shew the signes of his displeasure, in their shaking a peeces and removalls one from another). How ever it was very terrible for the time, and as the men were set talking in the house, some women and others were without the dores, and the earth shooke with that violence as they could not stand without catching hould of the posts and pails that stood next them; but the violence lasted not long. And about halfe an hower, or less, came an other noyse and shaking, but nether so loud nor strong as the former, but quickly passed over; and so it ceased. It was not only on the sea coast, but the Indeans felt it within land; and some ships that were upon coast were shaken by it. So powerfull is the mighty hand of the Lord, as to make both the earth and sea to shake, and the mountaines to tremble before him, when he pleases;^a and who can stay his hand?^b It was observed that the summers, for divers years togeather after this earthquake, were not so hotte and seasonable for the ripning of corne and other fruits as formerly, but more could and moyst, and subjecte to early and untimly frost, by which, many times, much Indean corne came not to maturitie; but whether this was any cause, I leave it to naturalists to judge.¹³

a Haggai 2: 6. For thus saith the Lord of hosts; Yet once, it is a little while, and I will shake the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land.

b Daniel 4: 35. And all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing: and he doeth according to his will in the army of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth: and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, What doest thou?

Roger Williams referred to the earthquake in a letter to Winthrop:

First in the affaires of the most High: his late dreadfull voice and hand: that audible and sensible voice the earthquake. All these parts felt it..... For my selfe I scarce perceaved ought but a kind of thunder and a gentle mooving, etc. and it was no more this way to many of our owne and the natives apprehensions, and but one sudden short motion.

The earthquake occurred on June 1 according to the record that Winthrop made in his journal. He did not attribute it to the hand of God:

Between three and four in the afternoon, being clear, warm weather, the wind westerly, there was a great earthquake. It came with a noise like a continued thunder or the rattling of coaches in London, but was presently gone. It was at

Connecticut, at Naragansett, at Pascataquack and all the parts round about. It shook the ships, which rode in the harbor, and all the islands, etc. The noise and the shakings continued about four minutes. The earth was unquiet twenty days after, by times.¹⁴

The patent that the Saugus grantees had received gave them control over the distribution of land, and this soon led to conflict between them and some at least of the other settlers. William and a group of Sandwich residents submitted a set of six questions to the General Court, which attempted to steer a middle course between the two groups when it met on June 5. The final comment suggests that Sandwich was settled separately by the grantees and by those that William was representing, but there is no clear evidence about the pattern of settlement of the town (document 6).¹⁵

An Answer to the Propositions made by Mr Leveridge
& others, of Sandwiche, concerning the lands there.

Pro[position]: 1. Whether the undertakers have a full gift of the lands at Sandwiche, or whether a condicionall graunt onely, for the settling of such a convenient number there that may be usefull for the common wealth, & cheifly fitt for church fellowship?

Ans[wer]: To the first we answere, for your terme of undertakers, we rather put instead thereof committies, as suting more properly with relacion twixt them and us, their graunt being condicionall, and not absolute; and the trust committed to them being for the ease of the government, and more convenient accomodacion of such people as shalbe quallified according to the condicion and intent of the graunt, and their joynt promise.

Pro: 2. Whether such of them as are still at Saugust shall have any power at all there, either to dispose of things, or to possesse any lands at all, in case they come not to inhabite?

Ans: To the second we answere negatively; for when they made suite to us, it was as a people streitened & pretending removeall really with all possible conveniency.

Pro: 3. Whether it may not be thought convenient to ad some others in their stead to the rest in case they come not? such as are of the church there, or neighbours of good report?

Ans: To the third we answere affirmatively, if need require, provided you make choyce of such as the government shall approve of, for they are but committies.

Pro: 4. Whether they may substitute any in their roomes, in case they bee necessarily called to be absent?

Ans: To the fourth we answere as to the third.

Pro: 5. Whether if this power be abused, how it may be reformed?

Ans: To the fift, as abuses shall arise upon due complaint, the majestrates must do justice, as in other cases.

Pro: 6. Whether in particuler it be not an abuse of the power in case they should monopolize the cheife places of conveniency for lands, woods, meadowes, &c., to the prejudice of the towne in generall?

Ans: To the sixt we answere, such the case may be, and the damage so great to the whole as not to be suffered; but if the committees be faythfull and able of estate, their paynes will not be small. Now their estates must be provided for, and their paynes will require more than ordinary accomodacion.

To the quere in the lettere, whether two townships, &c., wee answere, we made the graunt of the lands to one; neither can there be any other without the allowance of the government; but if the land farr of be disposed of for farmes to men of estate, we see no cause of dislike.

Document 6. Reply by the New Plymouth General Court on June 5, 1638 to
the propositions made by William Leverich and others of Sandwich.

Residence within the boundaries of New Plymouth provided not only new opportunities but also an obligation to observe its rules and instructions. The General Court had on October 2, 1637 revised its previous law on the ringing of swine. It then ordered on September 4, 1638 that ‘every man shall pay xii [pence] a swine for every swyne he hath kept & never ringed before this court’ and Richard Burne, John Carman,

Thomas Tupper and Thomas Armitage of Sandwich were fined a total of 20s 6d, though 8s 6d was repaid to Carman, Tupper and Armitage. Three months later on December 4 Edward Freeman, George Slawson, John Dingley, Richard Kerby, Peter Gaunt and John Stutely of Sandwich 'being defective in armes' were fined ten shillings each. When the General Court met on March 5, 1639 it ordered 'that the meadow lands at Sandwich, which were layd forth, shalbe new devided againe, by equall porcions, according to eich mans estate, and some of the townes men be joyned with the committees in doing thereof' and William was 'deposed to the last will & testament of Thomas Hampton, of Sandwich, deceased' which he and two others had witnessed a year earlier. William and his wife were both beneficiaries.¹⁶

At the same meeting Joseph Winsor of Sandwich was presented by the grand enquest 'for keepinge house alone disorderly, after half a yeares warneing, or thereabouts', and Antony Besse for 'liveing alone disorderly, and afterwards for takeing in an inmate without order'. The General Court had ordered on March 2, 1637 'that no servant comming out of his time or other single person be suffered to keepe howse or be for him or themselves till such time as hee or they be competently provided of armes & municcion', but it is not known in these cases whether a bachelor living on his own was in itself disorderly, or whether there were some special circumstances.¹⁷

Difficulties in travel and absence from work led to changes to the New Plymouth laws which required all the colony's freemen to attend a meeting of the General Court in Plymouth each March. The annual election meeting was moved to June and in future Plymouth was to be represented by four deputies and the other towns by two each instead of by all the freemen. Deputies had to be freemen, but all the householders in each town could vote for them. This change to a representative system marked the *de facto* incorporation of the towns that sent deputies to the election meeting held in June 1639 - Plymouth, Duxbury, Scituate, Cohannet (later Taunton), Sandwich, Barnstable and Yarmouth.¹⁸ Further changes were made when the General Court met on September 3. It was agreed that 'there shalbe a markt kept at Plymouth every Thursday and a faire yearly the last Wensday in May & to continue two dayes and a faire at Duxborrow the first Wensday in October yearly & to continue two dayes for all cattell and comodities' and that

all the townships within this government allowed or to be allowed shall have liberty to meete together and to make such towne orders as shalbe needfull and requisite for the hearing of cattell and doing such other things as shalbe needfull for the mayntenance of good neighbourhood, and to set penalties upon delinquents, provided that their orders be not repugnant nor infringing any publike acts, and that the fines and penalties shalbe disposed of afterwards to their particuler townes, provided also that the fynes exceed not the sum of tenn shillings for any one fyne.

The Court allowed John Blakemore 'to exercise the inhabitants of the towne of Sandwich in the use of armes', but also had to consider the allocation of land in Sandwich again:

Whereas, by complaint, it is very probable that divers of the committees of Sandwich have not faythfully discharged that trust reposed in them, by receiveing into the said towne divers persons unfitt for church societie, which should have bene their cheife care in the first place, and have disposed the greatest part of the lands there already, and to very few that are in church societie or fitt for the same, so that without speedy remedy our cheifest end wilbe utterly frustrate, these are to require such of the committees as are herein faulty to appeare at the next Court of Assistants, to answeere the complaint, and in the meane tyme not to dispose of any more lands there, without further order from the court, nor make sale nor convey any of their lands they have assumed to themselves to any person.¹⁹

This decision was followed up a month later. Thomas Prence and Captain Standish were 'appoynted by the government [of New Plymouth] to heare and determine all differences & controvisies among the commitees and inhabitants of the saide towne of Sandwich' and they met at Sandwich on October 3, when land was allocated for a meeting-house:

Whereas Joseph Winsor hath a lott in the towne of viii pole broad, & xii pole long, or there abouts, which he purchased of Thomas Shillingsworth, which was Thomas Hamptons, deceased, and that the place is fitt for publike use, it is ordered, that the towne shall have it for other use, they giveing the said Joseph Winsor as much as the same is worth; and in the meane season the said Winsor to keepe his possession thereof untill he be provided for elsewhere.

Land was also reserved for the use of the town's inhabitants 'for the breeding of their yeong cattell' and as a source of wood. William and the Sandwich church were given control over immigration to the town and arrangements were made for the future allocation of land:

It was also concluded & agreed upon, both by the committees & other the inhabitants of Sandwich, that for the redressing of the negligence of the commitees in receiveing into the towne many inhabitants that are not fitt for church societie, & for preventing of like evell for ensuing tyme, it is ordered, that none hereafter shalbe admitted into the towne, or have lands assigned them by the committees, without consent & approbacion of Mr Leverich & the church first had & obtayned, And

likewise that such of the now inhabitants as are disposed to sell their estates and depart the towne, they shall not sell their labours to any person except he be generally approved of by the whole towne.

And lastly, for the preventing of dangers, evells & discords, that may happen in the disposall of lands, or other occations within the towne, it is concluded and agreed upon, that the towne shall from tyme to tyme make choyce of some one of the assistants, and at present of Mr Thomas Prence, to be joyned with the committees to whom from tyme to tyme they shall have recourse to advise with, and receive direccions from, in all such occations as hereafter shalbe needfull.

The decision about church approval for the allocation of land in Sandwich was referred to nearly twenty years later when on October 2, 1658 the General Court reaffirmed 'that noe man shall hence forth bee admitted an inhabitant into Sandwich, or enjoy the priviledges therof, without the approbation of the church'.²⁰ Meeting the religious needs of those who lived at a distance from the meeting-house or in divided households continued to cause concern in New Plymouth, and John Rayner and William Brewster sought advice from the Boston ministers on August 5, 1639 in a letter that not only referred to Sunday services but also to daily 'famylye duties' in the home:

1. Whether in these parts, especially in some places, and where people have continued for some space of tyme it be not needfull for the comfortable and welbeing even of the churches that places for husbandry be made use of, though distant from the place of a mans habitacon and of the churches assembling three or foure miles or thereabouts?
2. Seeing by meanes of such farmes a mans famylye is divided so that in busie tymes they cannot (except upon the Lords Day) all of them joyne with him in famylye duties, whether to make use of them because of the forenamed needfulnes be not to doe evell that good may come of it?
3. Whether a master in the absence of some part of his famylye by occasion of his farm may not lawfully appoynt a son or servant, who is in some measure fited to performe duties among them in his absence?, or whether such a one be not as a substitute to a church officer in his non-residencie?
4. Whether a man not haveing wherewith to mayntaine his stocke, estate and place the Lord hath called him in, neare hand, may undertake and retaine such a farme abroad as abovesaid, when for the present hee wants and cannot procure such a servant in his famylye as may be helpfull there, with the rest of his servants by prayer and instrucion?²¹

Edmond Freeman visited England in 1639, but he had returned by the following spring, when he was elected as one of the colony's assistants for the first time on March 3. A general meeting of the Sandwich townspeople held before Prence on April 16 appointed five of the grantees - Edmond Freeman, Henry Feake, Edward Dillingham, Richard Chadwell and John Carman - and five of the townspeople - John Vincent, Richard Bourne, George Allen, Robert Botfish and Joseph Halloway - to act with him in allocating meadowland. They were to 'consider as well the estate & quallyty of every person, as also the quallyty & condiccon of the meddowes, and to appoynt to every man such a proporcon as shalbe esteemed equall and sutable to his necessaryty & ability' and the principles by which the land was to be allocated were set out. Twelve of the settlers had the title 'Master', though only some of them were freemen. 'Equall and sutable' did not mean an equal division of land amongst the settlers as their 'estate & quallyty' had to be considered. The ten grantees were allocated 173 acres, 47% of the total, and the other 46 settlers an average of about 4 acres each. The areas allocated to two other settlers were not stated and two of the allocations were conditional on the owners settling in the town (table 8).²² The comment 'the same he had' against William's name suggests that he had already received an allocation of meadowland. The full extent of the land that at least one of the grantees received is made clear in a Court of Assistants' memorandum of June 3, which recorded that John Carman received land for 'one messuage or dwelling house' in Sandwich, 15 acres of upland near Moonuscussett, 16 acres of marsh meadow (apart from the two islands of upland within it) east of the town centre, 8 acres of marsh meadow near the Town Neck, 10 acres of upland at Moonuscaulton and 90 acres 'lying at the playnes' - a total of about 140 acres.²³ The land that William received as one of the first British settlers was presumably to enable him to support himself by farming, but as a minister he was in a special position. Winthrop recorded in 1639 that Cotton

preaching out of the 8 of Kings, 8^a, taught, that when magistrates are forced to provide for the maintenance of ministers, etc., then the churches are in a declining condition. There he showed, that the ministers' maintenance should be by voluntary contribution, not by lands, or revenues, or tithes, etc., for these have always been accompanied with pride, contention and sloth, etc.²⁴

a 2 Kings 8: 8. And the king said unto Hazeal, Take a present in thine hand, and go meet the man of God [Elisha], and inquire of the Lord by him, saying, Shall I recover of this disease?

but Roger Williams wrote in *The bloody tenant yet more bloody* published in London in 1652 that he 'hath been inabled to get his bread by as hard *digging* as most *diggers* in New or Old England have been put to' and recalled many years later in a letter to Cotton's son John that whilst he was a minister in Plymouth in the

1630s ‘I spake on the Lords days and weeke days, and wrought hard at the how [hoe] for my bread (and so afterward at Salem)’.²⁵

Table 8. The names of the settlers and the amounts of meadowland allocated to them in Sandwich on April 16, 1640. The names are shown in the order in which they appear in the record of the allocation.

<i>Names</i>	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Acres</i>
Richard Chadwell	15	William Braybrooke	1
John Carman	28	George Blisse	1½
Peter Gaunt	4	George Buitt	1
William Hurst	3	George Cole, i.e. to be considered further	
Richard Kerby	4	when he brings his estate	1
John Dingley	5½	Henry Eve	1
Thomas Burges	7½	Jonathan Fish	2
John Briggs	7½	Edmond Clarke	2
Benjamin Noy	[]	Thomas Shillingsworth	2½
Mr Henery Feake	20	William Harlow	4
Thomas Tupper	6½	James Skiffe	4
Thomas Armitage	6½	Mr Dillinghame	8
Mr John Vincent	7	John Winge	6
Robert Botfish	5	Mr Thomas Dexter, if he come to live here	26
Mr Leverich, the pastor, the same he had	5	for his millne	6
Mr Ed. Freeman	42	Mr Wolleston, if he reside here and bring his estate	13
Mr Almey	8½	Thomas Butler	2
Mr Wood	8	Nicholas Wright	2½
Joseph Winsor	1	John Miller	1
Mr Willis	4	Thomas Launder	1
Anthony Bessy	1	John Fish	1½
Michael Turner	3	Nathaniell Fish	1½
Mr Edge	14	Thomas Boardman	3
George Knott	4	Peter Wright	2½
Mr Potter	10	Anthony Wright	2
John Frend	[]	Richard Burne	7
George Allen	6½	Richard Wade	3
Joseph Holloway	15	John Joyce	2½
William Newland, to be added to	6	Mr Blakemore	3
Andrew Hellot	7½	To Mr Feaks house	1
George Slawson	2		

Lists of names and acreages give only part of the picture of life in Sandwich during its early years. A large landholding could not easily be farmed just by a husband and wife and their elder children and they were probably assisted by one or more servants. The word ‘servant’ included not only domestic servants but any indentured servant or employee with some form of contractual relationship to his or her master. The presence of servants of European origin in New England is shown by the passenger lists of ships such as the *Hercules* of Sandwich, which had an average of one servant to every master for its voyage in 1635 and by laws such as that passed by the New Plymouth General Court on March 3, 1640:

That no servant comeing out of England or elsewhere and [who] is to serve a master for some tyme, be admitted his freedome, or to be for himself, untill he hath served forth his tyme, either with his master or some other, although hee shall buy out his tyme, except he have beene a house keeper or master of a famyly or meete & fitt to bee so.

Servants were also admitted as church members, though the admission of only four male servants compared to seventeen ‘maide servants’ to the Boston church in 1639-41 suggests that there were some important distinctions.²⁶ Some ‘servants’ might have been Amerindians captured in the Pequot War and there were probably other ‘servants’ who had no choice about being in New England. An entry in Winthrop’s journal for February 26, 1638 shows that there was a trade in black slaves:

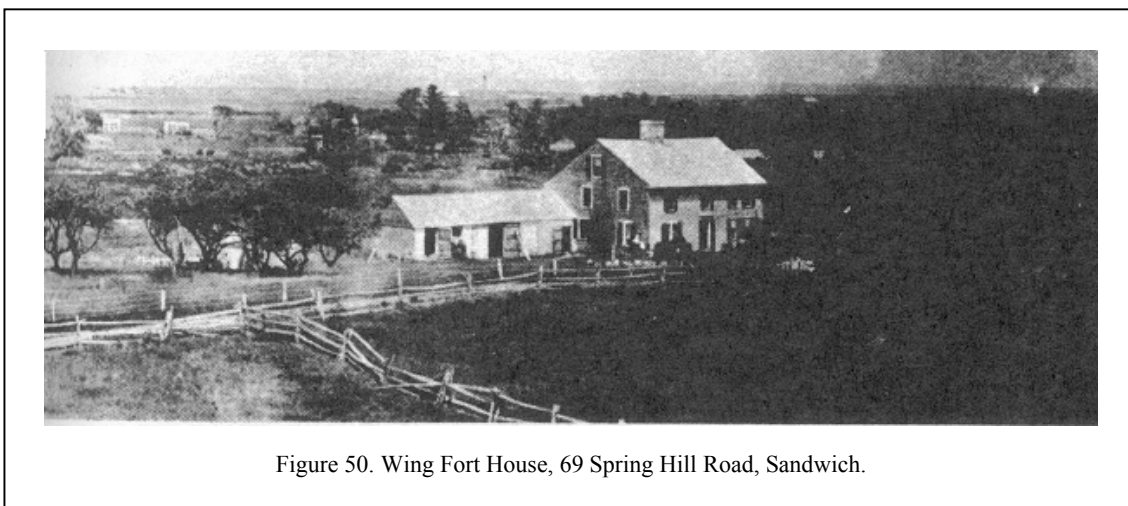
Mr. Peirce, in the Salem ship, the *Desire*, returned from the West Indies after seven months. He had been at Providence [Island], and brought some cotton, and tobacco, and negroes, etc., from thence, and salt from Tertugos. Dry fish and strong liquors are the only commodities for those parts. He met there two men-of-war, set forth by the lords, etc., of Providence with letters of mart, who had taken divers prizes from the Spaniard, and many negroes.

Winthrop recorded with apparent approval in April 1641 that ‘a negro maid, servant to Mr Stoughton of Dorchester, being well approved by divers years experience, for sound knowledge and true godliness, was received into the church and baptized’ and ‘Dorcas the blackamore joined the church’ on April 16. She was described in *New Englands first fruits* published in London in 1643, and ten years later the Dorchester church took steps to have her ‘redeemed’, i.e. freed from slavery. There may also have been white captives in the community, though it was not until 1651 that Oliver Cromwell sent Scottish prisoners to New England. All

these various types of servants were the hidden members of the community, rarely referred to and less often named, and the earliest mention of a black person in Sandwich was not until 1686.²⁷

Two sets of three brothers who were granted meadowland in 1640 were particularly important to William and his family. Jonathan, John and Nathaniel Fish or Fishe were cousins of William's wife and had come to Sandwich from Lynn. John and Nathaniel stayed in Sandwich, but Jonathan later moved to Long Island. The Wright brothers had also come to Sandwich from Lynn and they subsequently accompanied William to Long Island. Anthony, Nicholas and Peter Wright were born in England in the Norfolk parish of Wendling and were the sons of Nicholas Wright and his second wife Margaret Nelson, who were married there in 1594. Margaret was probably a distant relative of Admiral Lord Horatio Nelson, who died at the Battle of Trafalgar in 1805. The children of Horatio's great-great-grandfather Edmund Nelson and his two wives were baptised in Wendling in the period 1629-56. Anthony remained a bachelor, but Peter and Nicholas both had large families. Nicholas's daughter Rebecca later married William's son Eleazer and Peter's grandson Job Wright married William granddaughter Mary Leverich (figure 51).²⁸

John Winge, another recipient of meadowland, was a son of Deborah Winge and a grandson of Stephen Bachiler. Deborah was widowed in England and she and her sons came to New England with her father and probably moved from Lynn to Sandwich with the first group of settlers. Wing Fort House in Spring Hill Road, Sandwich dates from the 1640s and was built for Deborah's son Stephen (figure 50).²⁹



Yarmouth and Barnstable were established on Cape Cod soon after Sandwich. Yarmouth was originally known as Mattakesse and its establishment may have been a consequence of the departure from Lynn of Sandwich's founders. Winthrop recorded in March 1638 that 'another plantation was now in hand at Mattakeese, six miles beyond Sandwich. The undertaker of this was one Mr Batchellor, late pastor at Sagus, (since called Lynn), being about seventy-six years of age; yet he walked thither on foot in a very hard season. He and his company, being all poor men, finding the difficulty, gave it over, and others undertook it'. The 'others' included the Anthony Thacher and his wife who had survived the hurricane in 1635. Bachiler left Yarmouth soon after his arrival there and lived at Newbury in Massachusetts Bay before his move to Hampton in 1638. Marmaduke Mathews became the minister at Yarmouth soon after his arrival in New England in 1638, but his ministry there was a time of religious controversy that continued with the appointment of his successor John Miller several years later. In September 1638 the General Court carried out a review of the bridges in the colony, and the inhabitants of Sandwich and Yarmouth were instructed to build a bridge over the Eel River on the south side of Plymouth, but the construction and maintenance of the bridge was disputed for many years.³⁰

Barnstable was established in 1639 by John Lothrop and other settlers from Scituate, and by Thomas Hinckley and others from Massachusetts Bay. Hinckley has sometimes been described as having traveled to New England with his father Samuel, mother Sara and sisters Susan, Sara and Mary in 1635, but he probably arrived later as he was not included in the passenger list of the *Hercules* of Sandwich. Unlike Sandwich and Yarmouth, where new churches would have been established, the Scituate church moved to Barnstable and Lothrop recorded the names of those who were admitted, excommunicated or readmitted in both places. Thirteen individuals had formed the original church and seventeen others were admitted in the same year. Thereafter the annual number of new admissions fell and it was particularly low after the move to Barnstable (table 9). Lothrop was joined as minister in 1640 by John Mayo who had arrived in New England in about 1638.³¹

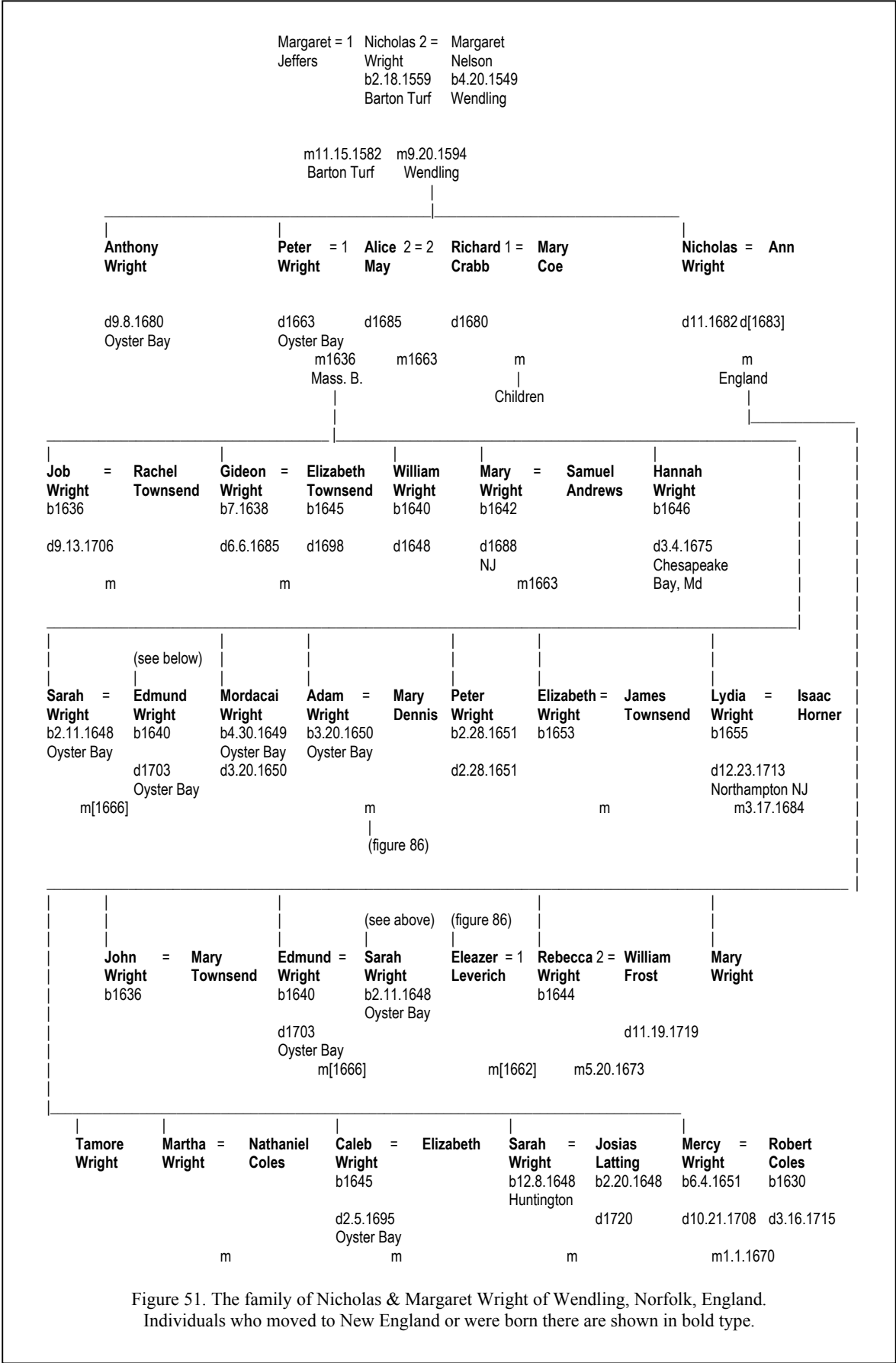


Figure 51. The family of Nicholas & Margaret Wright of Wendling, Norfolk, England. Individuals who moved to New England or were born there are shown in bold type.

Table 9. The numbers of individuals who were admitted to the church at Scituate, 1635-39, or Barnstable, 1640-53, and the numbers who were excommunicated or readmitted.

Year	Admissions	Excommunic.	Readmissions	Year	Admissions	Excommunic.	Readmissions
1635	30			1644	4		
1636	10			1645			1
1637	17			1646	1		
1638	5	1		1647	1		
1639				1648	2	1	
-----	-----	-----	-----	1649	1		
1640				1650	4	1	
1641		2		1651			
1642				1652	2		
1643	5		1	1653	1		

On June 2, 1639 the New Plymouth General Court arranged for low-value disputes to be settled locally by appointing Thomas Dimmock for Barnstable and John Crow for Yarmouth to join with Edmond Freeman of Sandwich, ‘to heare and determine all causes & controversies within the three townships not exceeding xxs’. The closeness of the New Plymouth settlement at Scituate and the Massachusetts Bay settlement at Hingham caused tension between the two colonies. In 1639 each colony appointed two representatives to discuss the problem and the boundary between the colonies that with only slight modifications is still the boundary between Norfolk and Plymouth Counties was agreed on June 9, 1640. Nine months later on March 2, 1641 Bradford surrendered to the freemen of the colony the patent that he and others had received from the Council for New England.³²

Wendell Davis recognized over two hundred years ago that ‘the ecclesiastical history’ of Sandwich ‘cannot be fully given for want of church memoranda’, and in the absence of any surviving town or church records from the early years the dates of birth or baptism of William and Ellen’s sons Caleb and Eleazer are not known. Caleb was born in about 1638, since he was aged 31 in 1669 and 79 when he died in 1717, and Eleazer was born some time later.³³ There are similarly only occasional glimpses of William’s personal religious beliefs and practices, but he was caught up in a minor *cause célèbre* in 1640. Bradford recorded that the Plymouth church

had invited and sent for Mr Charles Chansey, a reverend, godly and very larned man, intending upon trial to chose him pastor of the church hear, for the more comfortable performance of the ministrie with Mr John Reinor, the teacher of the same. But ther fell out some differance aboute baptising, he holding it ought only to be by dipping, and putting the whole body under water, and that sprinkling was unlawfull. The church yeelded that imersion or dipping, was lawfull, but in this could countrie not so conveniente. But they could not nor durst not yeeld to him in this, that sprinkling (which all the churches of Christ doe for the most parte use at this day) was unlawfull, and an humane invention, as the same was prest; but they were willing to yeeld to him as farr as they could, and to the utmost; and were contented to suffer him to practise as he was perswaded; and when he came to minister that ordnance, he might so doe it to any that did desire it in that way, provided he could peacably suffer Mr Reinor, and shuch as desired to have theirs other wise baptised by him, by sprinkling or powering on of water upon them; so as ther might be no disturbance in the church hereabout. But he said he could not yeeld therunto. Upon which the church procured some other ministers to dispute the pointe with him publikly; as Mr Ralfe Partrich of Duxberie, who did it sundrie times, very ablie and sufficently, as also some other ministers within this govermente. But he was not satisfied; so the church sent to many other churches to crave their help and advise in this mater, and, with his will and consente, sent them his arguments written under his owne hand. They sente them to the church at Boston in the Bay of Massachusets, to be communicated with other churches ther. Also they sent the same to the churches of Conightcutt and New-Haven, with sundrie others; and received very able and sufficent answers, as they conceived, from them and their larned ministers, who all concluded against him. But him selfe was not satisfied therwith. Their answers are too large hear to relate. They conceived the church had done what was meete in the thing, so Mr Chansey, having been the most parte of 3 years here, removed him selfe to Sityate, wher he now remains a minister to the church ther.³⁴

Winthrop made a similar account to Bradford on March 21, but added that Chauncy ‘did maintain, also, that the Lord’s Supper ought to be administered in the evening, and every Lord’s Day; and the church at Sandwich (where one Mr. Leveridge was minister) fell into the practice of it; but that being a matter of no great ill consequence, save some outward inconvenience, there was little stir about it’. There may have been an echo of this part of the dispute when Frederick Freeman wrote in 1862 that William ‘was charged with having introduced, whilst in Sandwich, some novelties in celebrating the Eucharist’, which Freeman suggested were probably ‘but the formularies of the Episcopal Church in administering the holy communion’.³⁵ Chauncy had moved from Ware to Marston St Lawrence in Northamptonshire in 1633, but he was again taken before the Court of High Commission in a case that continued from 1634 to 1636. He was suspended and imprisoned, but recanted and moved to New England in 1637. *The retractation of Mr Charles Chancy, formerly minister of Ware in Harfordshire*, was published in London in 1641 and his pamphlet on *The doctrine of the sacrament* was published there in the following year. Cotton, Davenport and Hooker all

disagreed with him. Hooker wrote on November 2, 1640 to Shepard, who had married his daughter Joanna the previous year, that

I have of late had intelligence from Plymouth. Mr Chancy and the church are to part, he to provide for himself, and they for themselves. At a day of fast, when a full conclusion of the business should have been made, he openly professed he did as verily believe the truth of his opinions as that there was a God in heaven, and that he was settled in it as the earth was upon the center. If ever such confidence fynd good successe, I misse of my mark. Since then he hath sent to Mr Prydden [Prudden] to come to them, being invited by some of the brethren by private letters. I gave warning to Mr Prydden to bethink himself what he did. And I know he is sensible and watchfull. Mr Umphry, I heare, invites him [Chauncy] to Providence, and that coast is most meet for his opinion and practise.³⁶

As mentioned in chapter 4 when referring to the baptism of William and Ellen's daughter Hannah, the Book of Common Prayer specified dipping the child in the water, but it stated that 'if the child be weake it shall suffice to poure water upon it'. It is probable, however, that pouring rather than dipping was usually used in practice in the Church of England, and in any case dipping did not mean the immersion of the child. Hooker's suggestion that Providence Island 'is most meet for his opinion and practise' probably referred to its warmer climate and the concern in New England that 'immersion would endanger the lives of infants in winter, and to keep all baptisms till summer hath no warrant in God's word'. Humfrey was appointed governor of Providence Island in March 1641, but the island's capture by Spanish forces two months later forestalled his move there and he went to England in December. Prudden remained in New Haven Colony. Chauncy moved to Scituate in 1641 and stayed there until his appointment as President of Harvard College in 1654.³⁷

News of the dispute about baptism was relayed to England by Thomas Lechford, a Massachusetts Bay settler who returned there in 1641 in the same ship as John Winthrop Jr. When describing New Plymouth in *Plain dealing, or, Newes from New-England* published in London in 1642 he wrote that

At New Plymouth they have but one minister, Master Rayner; yet Master Chancey lives there, and one Master Smith, both ministers, they are not in any office there; Master Chancey stands for dipping in baptisme onely necessary, and some other things, concerning which there hath been much dispute, and Master Chancey [was] put to the worst by the opinion of the churches advised withall.

He then referred to the other towns in the colony:

Cohannet, alias Taunton, is in Plymouth patent. There is a church gathered of late, and some ten or twenty of the church, the rest excluded. Master Hooke pastor, Master Streate teacher. Master Hooke received ordination from the hands of one Master Bishop, a school-master, and one Parker, an husbandman, and then Master Hooke joyned in ordaining Master Streate. One Master Doughty, a minister, opposed the gathering of the church there, alleading that according to the covenant of Abraham, all mens children that were of baptized parents, and so Abrahams children, ought to be baptized; and spake so in publike, or to that effect, which held a disturbance, and the ministers spake to the magistrate to order him. The magistrate commanded the constable, who dragged Master Doughty out of the assembly. He was forced to goe away from thence, with his wife and children. There are also in the patent divers other plantations, as Sandwich, Situate, Duxbury, Greenesharbour and Yarmouth. Ministers there are Master Leveridge, Master Blackwood, Master Mathews and Master Andrew Hallet, a school-master. Master Saxton also, who was comming away when we did.

At a later point in his account Lechford described how

Master Wilson, Master Mather and some others, going to the ordination of Master Hooke and Master Streate, to give them the right hand of fellowship, at New Taunton, there heard the difference between Master Hooke and Master Doughty, where Master Doughty was over-ruled, and the matter carried somewhat partially, as is reported.³⁸

William Hooke had graduated from Trinity College, Oxford in 1620, and was rector of Upper Clatford in Hampshire from 1627. He married Jane Whalley in 1630, the year after her hand in marriage to Roger Williams had been refused by her aunt Lady Joan Barrington. They moved to New England in 1637 and he soon became pastor of Taunton, but moved to New Haven to join Davenport in 1644.³⁹

Francis Doughty was the son of another Francis Doughty whose will was proved in Gloucester in England on October 31, 1634. The younger Francis Doughty was the curate of the parish of Boxwell with Leighterton in Gloucestershire when he was accused of misconduct in January 1632. However, his offences seem to have been minor ones that perhaps resulted from a clash of personalities with the rector, Robert Woodfoffe, and churchwardens, rather than matters of Puritan principle, and the decision to admonish him was counter-signed by the Bishop of Gloucester (document 7). Doughty found himself in more serious trouble four years later when he was brought before the Court of High Commission for an alleged treasonable comment made in Wapping in the parish of Stepney in Middlesex. However, he made a submission dated February 19, 1636 to the court, which admonished and dismissed him on May 5:

A true plaine & perfect answere made by Frauncis Doughty Curate of Boxwell & Leighterton unto certaine articles objected unto or against him the said Frauncis Doughty by John Adams one of the Proctors in the ecclesiasticall court held for the Dioces of Glouc[este]r.

Unto the first and second articles, I the said Frauncis Doughty answere that I deny nothing therein or in them contained except that I have not bene a Presbyter above a yeare & seaven monethes or thereabouts at which time I was made Curate of Boxwell & Leighterton. Unto the third article & the matters therein contained I answere as followethe that for the most part of the time since my cominge unto the Cure of Boxwell & Leighterton I did not & could not reade prayers upon Wensdayes, Frydayes, Saturdayes, holy days & holy dayes Eves untill Michaelmas last past & the reason hereof was the Clerk did not ringge the Bell and when I took paines to ringge the Bell my selfe the people would not assemble themselves to the church, albeit I admonished them diverse times soe to doe, but ever since the time of Michaelmas aforesaid some of the Parishioners of Boxwell and Leighterton have frequented the church at the time of divine service unto whome I lawfully read prayers upon Wensdayes, Frydayes in the morninge & upon Saturdayes in the eveninge & soe likewise upon holy dayes & all times els appoynted for divine service when the people assembled themselves. And whereas it is objected that I have not catechized I answere that soe many children & youthe of the parishe as would join[?] & conforme themselves to be catechized I heard them publicly in the congregation by proposing questions & takinge theyre answeres accordinge as they are set downe in the ancient Catechize authorized & allowed in the churche of England & this course I have taken & used ever since my comminge to the Cure aforesaid. Alsoe as touchinge wearing of the Serplesse I have still worn it at Leighterton since my comminge & never ommitted to weare it at Boxwell in contempt or scorne of the orders of the Church of England in that behalf provided but because the said Serplesse at Boxwell is a very course, deformed ould & overworne garment not fitt to be used in the church.

Unto the 4th & last article, I the said Frauncis Doughty answer the Parson would never suffer me to administer the Sacrament to the parishioners since my being Curate of Boxwell aforesaid, but ever (albeit I often intreated him to permitt me soe to doe & when I did administer it I did it but in part or as an assistant to the said parson for he delivered the Bread & I the wine & there being but one Serplesse belonging to the church he then wore it & therefore I could not but I did not administer the capp [cup] as it is objected to some standinge & some sittinge. Neither did the parson suffer me since my being curate to christen more children then one the which I did before the time I was cited to this court to answer the aforesaid matters articulated against me & the child I then christened I signed with the signe of the Crosse.

Lastly, I answere I have done & still will doe my dutie (as God doth give me leave) in these & all things else to approve my selfe a minister conformable to the govern[en]t of the Church of England.

[The following note and signature are in a different handwriting]

Tho[mas] Philpot

If these articles be Aunswere upon oath then I doe require that the Curate be putt to noe further charge but only admonished, and that some order be taken with the churchwardens of Boxwell that they provide a better serplis; this I doe because hee is not presented upon oath and that I [find].

[The following note, date and signature[s] are written along the left-hand side of the document]

The Minister to be a very unfitt Man to accuse him.

Winyard Januarij 24th 1631 Godfr. Glouc: [i.e. Godfrey Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester]

Document 7. Francis Doughty's answer to the charges made against him in the Consistory Court of the Diocese of Gloucester, January 1632.

The humble submission of Francis Doughty, clerk. Whereas it is charged upon me that in a prayer made before my sermon upon All Saints Day last past [November 1, 1635], in the chapel of Wapping, instead of giving his sacred majesty his just and royal title, according to the canon in that case provided, I used these words, 'Charles, by common election and general consent King of England'. I protest that I did not intend or premeditate any such detestable words, and if through inadvertency I let any such fall, I am heartily sorry, and most humbly beseech his majesty's gracious pardon, professing and acknowledging from the bottom of my heart, that his majesty's crown and dignity is most justly descended unto his sacred person by lineal succession and inheritance, and shall daily pray that it may continue in his royal line to many generations. London, February 19th, 1635[6].⁴⁰

Doughty nevertheless remained unable to meet the requirements of the Church of England, and he, his wife Bridget and children, Mary, Francis and Elias, moved to New England in 1636 and to Long Island in 1642. William and Sandwich were only mentioned very briefly by Lechford, and Lothrop and Barnstable not at all, but Taunton was probably typical of the New Plymouth churches - limited church membership in each locality, congregational ordination, a pastor and a teacher in each church (when there were enough ministers) and support from the civil authorities and other churches when this was needed. Nathaniel Morton recorded a full list of the New Plymouth ministers in 1642 in his *New Englands memorial*, which was published in Cambridge, Massachusetts Bay in 1669. He wrote

that about these times the Lord was pleased of his great goodnes richly to accomplish and adorn the Colony of [New] Plimouth (as well as other colonies in New-England) with a considerable number of godly and able gospel-preachers, who then being dispersed and disposed of to the several churches and congregations thereof, gave light in a glorious and resplendent manner, as burning and shining lights: which mercy and transcendent favour, had not sin and Satans envy interposed, might have rendred them greatly happy and prosperous; it being observed, that where gospel-dispensation flourisheth, there prosperity in other respects may usually be expected. In reference unto the honour of God, and due respects unto such worthy instruments, I thought meet to nominate some of the speciallest of them, viz.

Mr Charles Chauncy,	Mr Samuel Newman,
Mr William Hook,	Mr William Leverich,
Mr Nicholas Street,	Mr Richard Blinman,
Mr John Laythrop,	Mr Edward Bulkly,
Mr John Mayo,	Mr John Miller,
Mr John Reyner,	Mr Marmaduke Matthews,
Mr Ralph Partridge,	

with some others that might be named. These some of them stayed not long ere they removed, some into the neighbour-colonies, some into Old-England, and others to their eternal rest, whereby the said jurisdiction was wanting in a great measure for some time of such a blessing. Howbeit, the Lord hath since graciously raised up a supply to divers of the said congregations, and more may be expected according to his promises.⁴¹

The ministers of New Plymouth are as a whole less well known than those from the other New England colonies, since little of their correspondence, sermons or other writings has been published or survives in manuscript from their time in the colony. Consequently they and the practices of the New Plymouth churches have been rather overshadowed by their contemporaries and especially by those from Massachusetts Bay. The New Plymouth ministers were, however, asked for their advice. The Governor of Massachusetts Bay wrote to New Plymouth on March 28, 1642 with queries about certain 'heinous offences in point of uncleannes' and about 'the islanders at Aquidnett', and asked the General Court to 'imparte them to the rest of your magistrates, and also to your elders, for counsell; and give us your advise in them'.

Bradford dealt with the subject of 'uncleannes' - homosexual behavior - in his reply on May 13 and enclosed three letters on the subject from 'shuch reve[ren]d elders as are amongst us' - Rayner, Partridge and Chauncy. He added that 'from the rest we have not yet received any. Our farr distance hath bene the reason for this long delay, as also that they could not conferr their counsells together', so any responses that William and the other Cape Cod ministers might have made were left out of this consultation. Bradford was, however, able to add that 'concerning the [Rhode] Ilanders, we have no conversing with them, nor desire to have, furder then necessitie or humanity may require'. Bradford asked himself 'how some kind of wickednes did grow and breake forth here, in a land wher the same was so much witnessed against, and so narrowly looked unto, and severly punished when it was knowne, as in no place more, or so much, that I have known or heard of' and was rather pessimistic about 'sundrie notorious sins.....espetically drunkennes and unclainnes, not only incontinenie betweene persons unmaried, for which many, both men and women, have been punished sharply enough, but some maried persons allso'.⁴²

The *Mayflower* Pilgrims brought with them copies of the metrical version of the psalms by Henry Ainsworth, which was first published in Amsterdam in 1612. Later editions were published in 1617, 1626, 1639, 1644 and 1690 and they continued to be used until the end of the colony in 1691. The Massachusetts Bay settlers used the Sternhold & Hopkins version of the psalms until the Bay Psalm Book was published in Cambridge, Massachusetts Bay in 1640 - the first book to be printed in New England (figures 52 & 53). The Sternhold & Hopkins version was first published in 1562 and was used in the Church of England until the nineteenth century, when it was gradually replaced by the Tate & Brady version first published in 1698. 1700 copies of the Bay Psalm Book were printed, of which five complete and six incomplete copies are known to survive. A second edition was published in England in 1648.

A revised edition entitled *The psalms, hymns and spiritual songs of the Old and New Testament, faithfully translated into English metre* was published in Cambridge, Mass. in 1651 and this became known as the New England Psalm Book. Psalms were particularly important to the Puritans, since they saw their use in worship

as directly commanded by the texts that were placed on the title pages of their psalters. Cotton expounded on the importance of singing psalms in his 72-page book published in London in 1647 with the title *Singing of psalmes a gospel-ordinance, or, A treatise, wherein are handled these foure particulars: 1. Touching the duty it selfe. 2. Touching the matter to be sung. 3. Touching the singers. 4. Touching the manner of singing.*⁴³

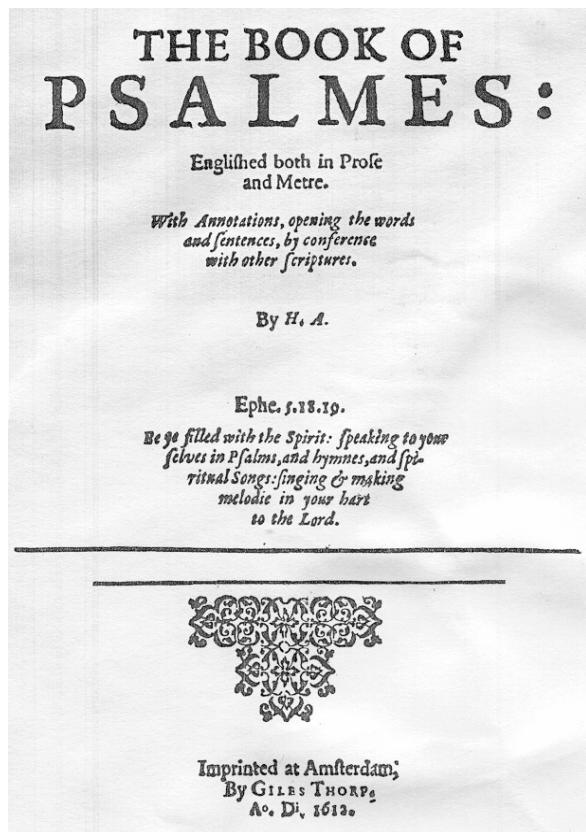


Figure 52. Title page of Henry Ainsworth's metrical version of the psalms published in Amsterdam in 1612.

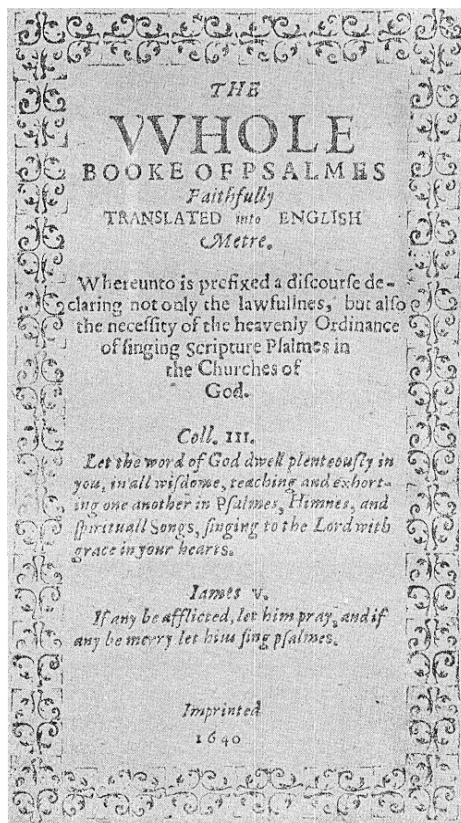


Figure 53. Title page of the Bay Psalm Book published in Cambridge, Mass. in 1640.

Lechford described the Massachusetts Bay pattern of Sunday worship in *Plain dealing* and his account is all the more valuable because he was not a church member:

The publique worship is in as faire a meeting house as they can provide, wherein, in most places, they have beene at great charges. Every Sabbath or Lords Day, they come together at Boston, by wringing of a bell, about nine of the clock or before. The Pastor begins with solemn prayer continuing about a quarter of an houre. The Teacher then readeth and expoundeth a chapter; then a psalme is sung, which ever one of the ruling elders dictates. After that the Pastor preacheth a sermon, and sometimes *ex tempore* exhorts. Then the Teacher concludes with prayer and a blessing.

The Lord's Supper was held once a month in the morning with 'all others departing save the church [members], which is a great deale lesse in number then those that goe away'. He was able to describe the pattern of this service, since 'once I stood without one of the doores and looked in, and saw the administration: besides, I have credible relation of all the particulars from some of the members'. Baptisms, collections for those in need and admissions of new members took place on Sunday afternoons. Lechford also described the slightly different patterns of Sunday worship in some of the other towns in Massachusetts Bay and his account was similar to those which Cotton described with many biblical references in *The true constitution of a particular visible church* published in London in 1642 and more fully in *The way of the churches of Christ in New-England* published there in 1645.⁴⁴

The Pilgrims and the Puritans eschewed the fasts and festivals of the Church of England, but they held *ad hoc* days of humiliation and thanksgiving. The ones that Lothrop recorded at Barnstable were probably similar though not identical to those at Sandwich. The number of days that referred to the turbulent events in England and elsewhere in the British Isles is particularly striking (table 10). Unlike Massachusetts Bay, where the

General Court frequently recommended that the churches hold days of humiliation and thanksgiving on particular dates, the New Plymouth General Court took no such action and appears to have left it to the individual churches to make their own decisions.⁴⁵ The English ecclesiastical hierarchy came under pressure at this time and a cartoon in Thomas Stirrey's satire *A rot amongst the bishops* published in London in 1641 showed William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, the John Lambe who had dealt with William at Great Bowden, Matthew Wren, Bishop of Ely, and Dr Arthur Duck, a member of the Court of High Commission, in the ship 'High Comission' approaching the mouth of hell (figure 54).

Laud was imprisoned in the Tower of London in March 1641 and remained under arrest until his execution for high treason in January 1645. His pet tortoise lived on for another 108 years at Lambeth Palace until it was killed by the carelessness of a gardener. Lambe fled to the royalist stronghold at Oxford in 1643 and remained there during the English Civil War until the town surrendered in July 1646. He then returned to London but died there in November.⁴⁶

News about the strained relationship between Charles I and the English Parliament reached New England in 1640. An official fast day for England was held at Taunton, where Hooke preached a sermon which was published in London in 1641 with the title *New Englands teares for old Englands feares: preached in a sermon on July 23, 1640, being a day of publike humiliation, appointed by the churches in behalfe of our native cuntry, in time of feared dangers*, but the day was not one that Lothrop listed for Barnstable, though a similar one was held there on August 5. Hooke's sermon and another one by him which was published in London in 1645 with the title *New-Englands sence of old-England and Irelands sorrowes: a sermon preached upon a day of generall humiliation in the churches of New-England* are the only published sermons by New Plymouth ministers during William's time in the colony.

The changed conditions in England encouraged Lord Saye, Lord Brooke, the Earl of Warwick and others to invest in the West Indies rather than New England. Winthrop recorded in his journal in 1640 that

It came over by divers letters and reports that the Lord Say did labor, by disparing this country, to divert men from coming to us, and so to draw them to the West Indies; and finding that godly men were unwilling to come under other governors than such as they should make choice of themselves, etc., they condescended to articles somewhat suitable to our form of government, although they had formerly declared themselves much against it, and for a mere aristocracy, and an hereditary magistracy to be settled upon some great persons, etc. The governor also wrote to the Lord Say about the report aforesaid, and therein showed his lordship, how evident it was, that God had chosen this country to plant his people in, and therefore how displeasing it would be to the Lord, and dangerous to himself, to hinder this work, or to discourage men from supplying us, by abasing the goodness of the country, which he never saw, and persuading men, that here was no possibility of subsistence; whereas there was a sure ground for his children's faith, that, being sent hither by him, either he saw that the land was a good land, and sufficient to maintain them, or else he intended to make it such, etc. To this letter his lordship returned answer, (not denying that which was reported of him, nor the evidence of the Lord's owning the work, but) alledging, that this was a place appointed only for a present refuge, etc., and that, a better place being now found out, we were all called to remove thither.⁴⁷

New England suffered an economic depression as the number of immigrants declined and earlier settlers departed. Winthrop recorded in December that

About the end of this month, a fishing ship arrived at Isle of Shoals, and another soon after, and there came no more this season for fishing. They brought us news of the Scots entering into England, and the calling of a parliament, and the hope of a thorough reformation, etc., whereupon some among us began to think of returning back to England. Others despairing of any more supply from thence, and yet not knowing how to live there if they should return, bent their minds wholly to removal to the south parts, supposing they should find better means of subsistence there, and for this end put off their

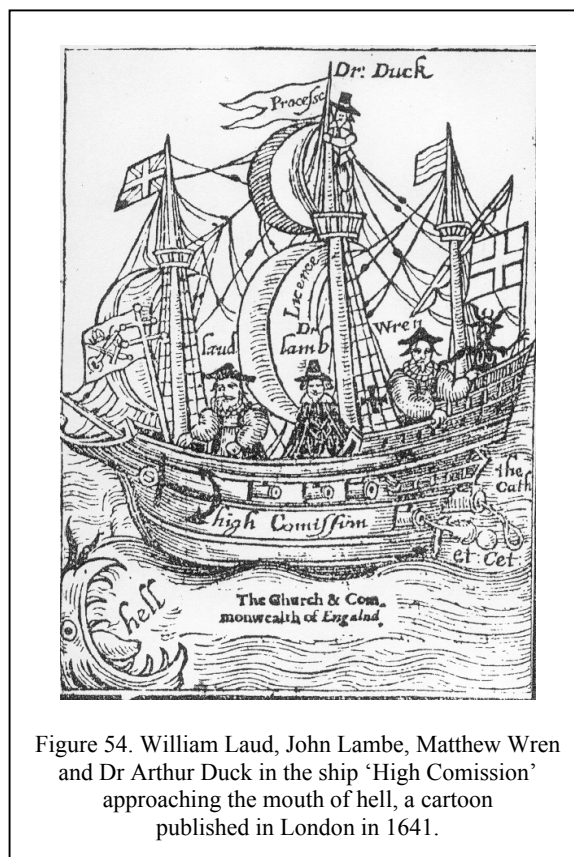


Figure 54. William Laud, John Lambe, Matthew Wren and Dr Arthur Duck in the ship 'High Comission' approaching the mouth of hell, a cartoon published in London in 1641.

estates here at very low rates. These things, together with the scarcity of money, caused a sudden and very great abatement of the prices of all our own commodities. Corn (Indian) was sold ordinarily at three shillings the bushel, a good cow at seven or eight pounds, and some at £5.whereby it came to pass that men could not pay their debts, for no money nor beaver were to be had, and he who last year, or but three months before, was worth £1000, could not now, if he should sell his whole estate, raise £200, whereby God taught us the vanity of all outward things, etc.

Table 10. Days of humiliation and thanksgiving at Barnstable, 1639-53.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Purpose, using Lothrop's own words</i>
<i>Days of humiliation</i>	
October 31, 1639	For the grace of our God to settle us here in church estate, and to unite us together in holy walkeing, and to make us faithfull in keeping covenaut with God, & one to another.
April 15, 1640	Att the investing of my Brother Mao into the office of a teaching ellder, uppon whome, my selfe, Brother Hull, Brother Cobb lay on hands, and for the Lord to finde out a place for meeting, & what wee might agree in it, as also that wee might agree aboute the division of lands.
August 5, 1640	In the behalfe of England, the sadd differences betwixt it & Scotland, as alsoe for direction and successe in our private communion and for the continuance of peace & good agreement amongst us.
March 24, 1641	In regard of England & for others, & our owne particular, our Brother Cooper then invested into the office of a Deacon, I, Brother Mao, & Brother Cobb laying on handes.
June 10, 1641	In regard of the wett & very cold spring, as also for the quelling of strange & heretical tenets raised principally by the Familists, as alsoe for healing of a bloodye coffe amonge children especially at Plimouth.
September 23, 1642	For old England & Ireland, & for the prevention of the Indians here, & our owne sinnes.
March 21, 1643	For old England - and Ireland - & for our owne particulars.
May 10, 1643	For old England - & for our selves.
October 3, 1643	For old England & for ourselves.
November 30, 1643	For old England & for ourselves.
August 1, 1644	For old England & for ourselves.
July 22, 1646	For the reforming of things amongst ourselves, especially the deadnes & drousynes in publique duties.
April 22, 1647	Partly for old England, partly for the state of this country, to prevent any evill that might come by their synod, or by discontented persons, & partly for ourselves.
July 22, 1647	Partly for old England, partly for this country as alsoe in speciall for ourseleves for the redressing of our spirituall evils, & for a sanctified use of Gods generall correction of sickness uppon every family - in a manner of every one in every familye.
March 16, 1648	Principally for old England requested by Sir Thomas Fairfax and the parliment, in regard of many feares of the Presbyterians, with many others to raise upp new warres in the land.....
November 15, 1649	Principally for old England & alsoe for our owne particulars, God's hand beeing uppon us by sicknesses & disease, many children in the Bey dyeing bye the chin cough & the pockes & wee beeing alsoe many visitted to sicknesses or diseases.
December 19, 1649	In regard to our owne particulars, very many amongst us being visitted with colds and coughes in a strange manner, especially children theire coughing, constraingeing, casting & bleeding att the nose & mouth, & principally in regard of my selfe beeing brought very low by the cough & stitich in my left side, by reason whereof I was detained from ministry seven weekes, but our God was intreated to show mercye.
August 7, 1650	For the investing of my Brother Dimmicke into the office of an elder.
April 9, 1651	For getting & obtaining an able & godly minister or teacher from God, as alsoe in speciall & particular in the behalfe of my selfe touching the recovery of my weakness, and the raising upp of my spirit with cheerfullnes in performance of my ministrye upon which day I was att home beeing weake.
March 30, 1653	For the preservation of Gods people in this land from the purposed invasion of the Indians, especially the Narragansetts, being instigated thereunto by the Dutch even to cutt of all the English, uppon which day I was absent from the people, haveing a great cold & cough, & alsoe for our owne country beeing att warr with the Dutch.
May 11, 1653	Beeing requested by our governours, majestraities & commissioners being att Boston in consultation together aboute their present conceived dangerous estate of the English, and haveing sent messengers unto the Dutch here in this land.
<i>Days of thanksgiving</i>	
December 11, 1639	For Gods exceeding mercye in bringing us hither safely, keeping us healthy & well in our weake beginnings & in our church estate.
September 2, 1641	Especially for good tydeings from old England, of amost happie beginning of a gracious reformation both of religion and state.....
October 14, 1647	Both in regard of our native country, God in his infinite love, goeing on with his servaunts raised upp by him to doe his worke there, giving them admirable successe, and in particular by the hand of Sir Thomas Farefax and his armie.....
March 13, 1650	For God his gracious restoreing & recovering manye of our little children who hadd beene very nigh death with very violent coughings, & my selfe alsoe in my left syde.
January 8, 1651	For Gods exceeding mercyes towards old England in the prosperous good successe of the armie there under the conduct of Coronall Cromwell, & particularly for their prevaileing against the rebells in Ireland, as alsoe their admirable victory against the Scotts.....
March 24, 1653	For the Lords admirable powerfull workeing for old England by Coronall Cromwell & his armye against the Scotts.
June 14, 1653	Which should have been a day of humilation for want of raine, but the Lord giveing us in mercy on the day before raine, itt was turned into a day of thankesgiveing.

and again in June 1641 that

The parliament of England setting upon a general reformation both of church and state, the Earl of Strafford being beheaded, and the archbishop (our great enemy) and many others of the great officers and judges, bishops and others, imprisoned and called to account, this caused all men to stay in England in expectation of a new world, so as few coming to us, all foreign commodities grew scarce, and our own of no price. Corn would buy nothing: a cow which cost last year £20 might now be bought for 4 or £5, etc., and many gone out of the country, so as no man could pay his debts, nor the merchants make return into England for their commodities, which occasioned many there to speak evil of us. These straits set our people on work to provide fish, clapboards, plank, etc., and to sow hemp and flax (which prospered very well) and to look out to the West Indies for a trade for cotton. The General Court also made orders about payment of debts, setting corn at the wonted price, and payable for all debts which should arise after a time prefixed.⁴⁸

He continued that the Massachusetts Bay General Court

thought fit also to send some chosen men into England, to congratulate the happy success there, and to satisfy our creditors of the true cause why we could not make so current payment now as in former years we had done, and to be ready to make use of any opportunity God should offer for the good of the country here, as also to give any advice, as it should be required, for the settling the right form of church discipline there, but with this caution, that they should not seek supply of our wants in any dishonorable way, as by begging or the like, for we were resolved to wait upon the Lord in the use of all means which were lawful and honorable. The men chosen were Mr Hugh Peter, pastor of the church in Salem, Mr Thos Welde, pastor of the church in Roxbury, and Mr William Hibbins of Boston. There being no ship which was to return right for England, they went to Newfoundland, intending to get a passage from thence in the fishing fleet. They departed hence the 3d of the 6th month [August 3], and with them went one of the magistrates, Mr John Winthrop, jun. This act of the Court did not satisfy all the elders, and many others disliked it, supposing that it would be conceived we had sent them on begging; and the church of Salem was unwillingly drawn to give leave to their pastor to go, for the Court was not minded to use their power in taking an officer from the church without their consent, but in the end they and the other churches submitted to the desire of the Court.

Hibbins returned to New England in 1642. Weld wrote on his own and Peters' behalf in September 1643 that they had planned to return to New England, but 'God, in whose hands our times and lives are, hath cast it otherwise at present; for this ship coming out so exceeding late we dare not venture our owne and our wives healths and lives in a winter voyage' and they remained in England as agents for Massachusetts Bay.⁴⁹

The 1640s and 1650s saw the return to England of about a quarter of the other ministers who had moved to New England by 1640, but there is no evidence that William showed any interest in going back to England. In 1642 Winthrop wrote about the return of 'Mr Humfrey, and four ministers, and a schoolmaster' who 'would needs go against all advice' and stated that they attributed the bad weather that they encountered in the English Channel to God's hand 'justly out against them for speaking evil of this good land and the Lord's people here'. Wheelwright was the only minister to return to New England and there were few arrivals of new ministers in the same period.⁵⁰

Cotton, Davenport and Hooker were invited to attend an assembly to be held in London in 1642, but they decided not go. The assembly was not held because the bill to establish it did not receive the royal assent, though it passed both houses of parliament. It took another five attempts before the assembly was established by an ordinance passed without royal approval on June 12, 1643. The Westminster Assembly of Divines first met on July 1 and initially considered the revision of the Church of England's Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion, but changed direction after about ten weeks with the signing of *A solemne league and covenant for reformation*. This agreement between the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland and the Scottish parliament on one side and the English parliament on the other was referred to the Westminster Assembly on October 12 and Scottish commissioners joined the Assembly. The first article of the Covenant declared

That we shall sincerely, really and constantly, through the grace of God, endeavour in our several places and callings, the preservation of the reformed religion in the Church of Scotland, in doctrine, worship, discipline & government, against our common enemies, the reformation of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland in doctrine, worship, discipline and government according to the Word of God and the example of the best reformed churches; and shall indeavour to bring the churches of God in the three kingdoms to the neerest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church-government, directory for worship and catechising, that we and our posterity after us, may as brethren, live in faith and love, and the Lord may delight to dwell in the midst of us.

The distinction made between the '*preservation* of the reformed religion in the Church of Scotland' and the '*reformation* of religion in the kingdoms of England and Ireland' led to prolonged discussion and dispute at the Assembly between the supporters of independent churches and the Scottish members and their English supporters who argued in favor of the Scottish Presbyterian system of placing church government and the ordination of ministers in the hands of assemblies of ministers from groups of churches. Five Assembly members argued in favor of independent churches in *An apologeticall narration, humbly submitted to the*

honourable houses of parliament published at the end of 1643 and the Scottish commissioners in favor of Presbyterian church government in *Reformation of church-government in Scotland* published early in 1644. A majority of the Assembly members were in favor of Presbyterian church government and this led the supporters of independent churches in England to differ from the New England churches in arguing for religious toleration.

The Assembly presented its 'Directory for Ordination' to parliament in April 1644, its 'Propositions concerning Church Government' towards the end of the year and its 'Practical Directory for Church Government' in July 1645. However, independent churches were supported by Oliver Cromwell and his increasingly successful military forces, and only the last of these was approved by parliament and then not until 1648. The Assembly also produced the Directory of Worship, which was approved by parliament in January 1645 as a replacement for the Book of Common Prayer, and the Confession of Faith, the Larger Catechism and the Shorter Catechism which were approved in 1648, though only by the House of Commons in the case of the Larger Catechism. The Assembly's main discussions ended in 1649 and it then dealt with the approval of individual ministers until 1653. The unity of the English and Scottish churches that had been sought was never achieved, but the Westminster Confession and the Catechisms, though largely abandoned in England when episcopacy returned with the restoration of Charles II in 1660, had and have a widespread and continuing influence as statements of Christian faith and practice.⁵¹

Roger Williams visited England in 1643 in order to obtain a charter for Providence Plantations. Whilst there he became involved in a pamphlet war that began with the publication, seven years after it was written, of *A letter of Mr. John Cottons, teacher of the Church in Boston.....to Mr. Williams, a preacher there*. Williams replied early in 1644 with *Mr. Cottons letter lately printed, examined and answered* and then anonymously to both *An apologeticall narration* and *Reformation of church-government* with his twelve *Queries of highest consideration*. In this he sidestepped the arguments for independent or Presbyterian churches and questioned the need for a national church and religious uniformity when he asked in querie VII

where you now find one footstep, print or pattern in this doctrine of the Son of God, for a nationall holy covenant, and so consequently.....a nationall church? Where find you evidence of a whole nation, country or kingdom converted to the faith and of Christs appointing of a whole nation or kingdome to walk in one way of religion? Againe, we aske, whether in the constitution of a nationall church, it can possibly be framed without a racking and tormenting of the soules, as well as of the bodies of persons, for it seems not possible to fit it to every conscience: sooner shall one suit of apparell fit every body, one law president every case, or one size or last every foot?

and more controversially in querie VIII

why even the Papists themselves and their consciences may not be permitted in the world? For otherwise, if Englands government were the government of the whole world, not only they, but a world of idolaters of all sorts, yea the whole world must be driven out of the world?⁵²

Williams obtained a charter for 'Providence Plantations in the Narragansett Bay in New England' on March 14 in spite of opposition from Peters and Weld. He set out for New England with the charter before the House of Commons made an order on August 9 for his next book, *The bloody tenent of persecution, for cause of conscience*, to be publicly burned. A year earlier parliament had set out to prevent the publication of 'false, forged, scandalous, seditious, libellous and unlicensed papers, pamphlets and books to the great defamation of religion and government', leading John Milton to speak for 'the liberty of unlicensed printing' in his famous *Areopagitica*. Aquidneck Island was renamed Rhode Island by the Court of Elections in Newport before Williams returned, but the towns of Providence, Portsmouth, Newport and Warwick did not officially accept the charter as the 'Incorporation of Providence Plantations in Narragansett Bay in New England' until May 1647.⁵³

Missionary activity amongst several groups of Amerindians began in the 1640s. Part of the stimulus for this may have come from England, where in 1641 William Castell presented a petition to Parliament that was signed by 46 other English ministers and by 6 Scottish ministers. Castell was the rector of Courteenhall in Northamptonshire and as a result of a visitation in 1637 he had faced complaints about the rails of the communion table and about not bowing at the name of Jesus, not wearing a surplice or hood and not using the catechism in the Book of Common Prayer, but he escaped suspension. In the petition he claimed

the great and generall neglect of this kingdome in not propagating the glorious Gospel in America, a maine part of the world: indeed the undertaking of the worke is (in the generall) acknowledged pious and charitable, but the small prosecution that hath hitherto beene made of it, either by us or others, having (as yet) never beene generally undertaken in pittie to mens soules, but in hope to possesse land of those infidels, or of gaine by commerce, may well make this and all other Christian kingdomes confesse, they have beene exceeding remisse in performing this so religious, so great, so necessary a worke.⁵⁴

Lechford reported in *Plain dealing* in 1642 that ‘there hath not been any sent forth by any church to learne the natives language, or to instruct them in the religion’ and attributed this to three reasons - ‘because they say they have not to do with them being without, unlesse they come to heare and learn English’, because ‘some say out of Rev. 15 last, it is not probable that any nation more can be converted, til the calling of the Jews’ and ‘because all churches among them are equall, and all officers equall, and so betweene many, nothing is done that way’ - but he commended the work undertaken by Henry Dunster in Cambridge:

Master Henry Dunster, schoolmaster of Cambridge, deserves commendations above many. He hath the plat-forme and way of conversion of the Natives, indifferent right, and much studies the same, wherein yet he wants not opposition, as some other also have met with. He will, without doubt, prove an instrument of much good in the countrey, being a good scholar, and having skil in the tounes. He will make it good, that the way to instruct the Indians must be in their owne language, not English, and that their language may be perfected.⁵⁵

Weld and Peters were probably responsible for an anonymous pamphlet that was published in London in January 1643 with the elaborate title

*New Englands first fruits
in respect,
(Conversion of some,)
First of the (Conviction of divers,) of the Indians
(Preparation of sundry)
2. Of the progresse of learning, in the Colledge at Cambridge, in Massacusetts Bay.
with
Divers other speciall matters concerning that countrey.*

and contained the description of Dorcas Blackamore that has been referred to earlier in this chapter. The pamphlet contained no reference to John Eliot, the minister of Roxbury in Massachusetts Bay, but it is often regarded as the first in the series called the Eliot Tracts.⁵⁶ Roger Williams’ *A key into the language of America* was published in London while he was there in 1643. In it he wrote that ‘a man may, by this helpe, converse with thousands of natives all over the countrey: and by such converse it may please the Father of Mercies to spread civilitie, (and in his owne most holy season) Christianitie’. He referred to his missionary work and attempted to devise a suitable language for discussions about religious matters,

because this book (by Gods good providence) may come into the hand of many fearing God, who may also have many an opportunity of occasionall discourse with some of these their wild brethren and sisters, and may speake a word for their and our glorious maker, which may also prove some preparatory mercy to their soules, I shall propose some proper expressions concerning the creation of the world, and mans estate, and in particular theirs also, which from my selfe many hundreths of times, great numbers of them have heard with great delight, and great convictions: which who knowes (in Gods holy season) may rise to the exalting of the Lord Jesus Christ in their conversion and salvation?

but he also wrote ‘that Gods way is first to turne a soule from it’s idolls, both of heart, worship and conversation, before it is capable of worship to the true and living God’ and he closed the book with a benediction that looked forward to benefits to both the Amerindian and European communities:

Now, to the most high and most holy, immortall, invisible, and onely wise God.....by whose gracious assistance and wonderfull supportment in so many varieties of hardship and outward miseries, I have had such converse with barbarous nations, and have been mercifully assisted, to frame this poore KEY, which may, (through His blessing in His owne holy season) open a doore; yea, doors of unknowne mercies to us and them, be honour, glory, power, riches, wisdom, goodnesse and dominion ascribed by all His in Jesus Christ to eternity, *Amen*.

A key is also valuable for rarely heard Amerindian voices and for descriptions of their culture:

This question they oft put to me: Why come the Englishmen hither? And measuring others by themselves, they say, it is because you want firing: for they, having burnt up the wood in one place, (wanting draughts to bring wood to them) they are faine to follow the wood, and so to remove to a fresh place for the woods sake.

The natives are very exact and punctuall in the bounds of their lands, belonging to this or that prince or people, (even to a river, brooke), &c. And I have known them make bargaine and sale amongst themselves for a small piece, or quantity of ground, notwithstanding a sinfull opinion amongst many that Christians have right to heathens lands.

They have some who follow onely making of bowes, some arrowes, some dishes, and (the women make all their earthen vessells), some follow fishing, some hunting: most on the sea-side make money and store up shells in summer against winter, whereof to make their money [wampum].⁵⁷

Many years later Williams stated that ‘my soules desire was to doe the natives good and to that end to learne their language (which I afterward printed) and therefore desired not to be troubled with English company’ and that he had possessed not only ‘a constant zealous desire to dive into the Indian language’, but ‘God was pleased to give me a painfull patient spirit to lodge with them in their filthy smoke holes (even whilst I lived at Plymouth and Salem) to gaine their tongue’.⁵⁸

Thomas Mayhew began missionary work amongst the Amerindians in Martha’s Vineyard in 1643, one year after the island had been colonized under the leadership of his father, Thomas Mayhew Sr. The Mayhews’ work was described by Thomas Prince in an account which Mayhew Jr’s grandson Experience Mayhew included in his *Indian converts* published in Boston in 1727, and Jennings referred in 1971 to the survival of the Christian tradition that the Mayhews established amongst the Gay Head Indians of the Vineyard, who sent their own missionaries to the island’s summer visitors.⁵⁹

Representatives of Massachusetts Bay, New Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven Colony met at Boston on May 19, 1643 to form the United Colonies of New England. The New Plymouth representatives were not fully authorized to make a final agreement and this was delayed until September 7. Each colony was to send two commissioners to an annual meeting, two of which were to be held at Boston for every one at Plymouth, Hartford and New Haven. Providence Plantations was not represented at the meeting. Williams was in England at the time, but the tolerant attitude of the colony in religious matters was doubtless well-known.⁶⁰ Support for Presbyterian church government in New England caused concern in Massachusetts Bay and an assembly of elders that William may have attended met to discuss the issue. Winthrop recorded that on September 4 that

There was an assembly at Cambridge of all the elders in the country, (about 50 in all), such of the ruling elders as would were present also, but none else. They sat in the college, and had their diet there after the manner of scholars’ commons, but somewhat better, yet so ordered as it came not to above sixpence the meal for a person. Mr Cotton and Mr Hooker were chosen moderators. The principal occasion was because some of the elders went about to set up some things according to the presbytery, as of Newbury, etc. The assembly concluded against some parts of the Presbyterial way, and the Newbury ministers took time to consider the arguments, etc.⁶¹

The constitution of the United Colonies required the colonies to support one another in time of trouble according to the number of men aged from 16 to 60 who were able to bear arms. A list of these men that was compiled for New Plymouth in August 1643 contained 633 names, including William and the Fish, Wright and Winge brothers. Most of the 68 names on the Sandwich part of the list had received meadowland in 1640. The 20 names that were missing from the 1643 list were of individuals who were too old to bear arms, or had died, moved away or never actually settled. The new names were mainly of sons, but additional surnames indicate new arrivals to Sandwich, or the inclusion of servants or others who were not landowners.⁶² An undated list of freemen was compiled after the establishment of Nauset. When compared to the numbers of those able to bear arms in 1643 it shows that in most of the towns from one half to one third of the men could take an active part in the political life of the colony, but less than a fifth of those in Sandwich (table 11).⁶³

Table 11. The numbers of those aged between 16 and 60 who were able to bear arms in New Plymouth in August 1643 and the numbers of freemen in the colony in an undated list that was compiled several years later.

<i>Town</i>	<i>List of 1643</i>	<i>Undated list</i>
Plymouth	148	78
Duxbury	79	34
Scituate	105	33
Sandwich	68	12
Barnstable	61	22
Yarmouth	52	16
Taunton	54	15
Marshfield	51	11
Rehoboth	-	4
Nauset	-	10
Totals	618	235

There were many discussions in Plymouth in 1644 about moving the settlement to another part of the colony because of what Bradford called the ‘straightnes and barrennes’ of the land, but the church decided to remain. Some, however, left to establish the settlement of Nauset on the eastern side of Cape Cod in 1645. Mayo became their minister in the following year and the town was renamed Eastham in 1651. From Bradford’s viewpoint, however, the ‘poore church’ at Plymouth was

left, like an anciente mother, growne olde, and forsaken of her children, (though not in their affections), yett in regarde of their bodily presence and personall helpfulnes; her anciente members being most of them worne away by death; and these

of later time being like children translated into other families, and she like a widow left only to trust in God. Thus she that had made many rich became her selfe poore^a.⁶⁴

a 2 Corinthians 6: 10. As sorrowful, yet alway rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things.

On March 8, 1644 Cutshamackin and four other sachems 'put ourselves, our subjects, lands and estates under the government and jurisdiction of the Massachusetts' and on June 10 the Massachusetts Bay General Court passed an order to regulate the behavior of the Amerindians in the colony:

It is ordred, that noe Indian shall come att any towne or howse of the English (without leave) uppon the Lords Day, except to attend the publike meeteings; neither shall they come att any English howse uppon any other day in the weeke, but first shall knocke att the dore, & after leave given, to come in, (& not otherwise), and if any (hereafter) offend contrary to this order, the constable, uppon notice given him, shall bringe him or them Indians, soe offendinge, to a magestrate to bee punisht according to his offence.

Whereas it is the earnest desire of this courte, that these natives (amongst whome wee live & whoe have submitted themselves to this governmente) should come to the good knowledge of God, & bee brought on to subject to the scepter of the Lord Jesus, it is therefore ordred, that all such of the Indians as have subjected themselves to our governmente bee henceforward enjoyed (& that they fayle not) to meete att such severall places of appoyntmente as shalbee most convenient on the Lords Day, where they may attend such instrucion as shalbee given them by those whose harts God shall stirr upp to that worke; and it is hereby further declared (as the desire of this courte) that those townes that lye most convenient to such places of meetinge of the Indians would make choyce of some of their brethren (whome God hath best qualified for that worke) to goe to them, (beeinge soe mett), & instruct them, (by the best interpreter they can gett), that if possible God may have the glory of the conversion (at least) of some of them in the use of such meanes God gives us to afoard th[em].⁶⁵

When the Commissioners of the United Colonies held their second annual meeting at Hartford on September 9 they dealt with the financial support of ministers:

Whereas the most considerable persons in these colonies came into these parts of America that they might enjoy Christ in his ordinances without disturbance, and whereas among many other precious mercies the ordinances have bene and are dispenced among us with much puritie and power, the Comissioners tooke it into their serious consideracion how some due mayntenance according to God might be provided and settled both for the present & future for the encouragement of the ministers who labour therein and concluded to propound & commend it to eich general court, that those that are taught in the word in the severall plantacions be called together, that every man voluntarily set downe what he is willing to allow to that end & use, and if any man refuse to pay a meete proporcion, that then hee be rated by authority in some just & equall way, and if after this any man withhold or delay due payment, the civill power to be exercised as in any other just debts.

They then received a recommendation from Shepard that financial support be provided for poor students who wished to attend Harvard College and this 'proposicion of a general contribucion for the mayntenance of poore schollers at the colledg at Cambridge being presented to the Comissioners by Mr Shepard, pastor to the church at Cambridg, was read and fully approved by them & agreed to be comended to the severall generall courts as a matter worthy of due consideracion and entertainment for advance of learneing and which we hope wilbe chearfully embraced'. However, neither recommendation appears to have been brought before the New Plymouth General Court. At the same meeting some of the inhabitants of Rhode Island 'intimated a willingnes to be received into and under the government of one of the colonies' and the Commissioners

considering that by an utter refusall they may, by the discords and divisions among themselves be exposed to some greate inconvenyences, & hoping many of them may be reduced to a better frame by government, thought fitt that if the major part & such as have most interest in the Iland will absolutely & without reservacion submit, either the Massachusetts [Bay or New] Plymouth may receive them

but Rhode Island kept its separate status outside the United Colonies.⁶⁶ A problem for the Massachusetts Bay authorities was the presence in the colony of some who argued for the baptism of adult believers and questioned or rejected infant baptism. They were known as Anabaptists or re-baptizers and more generally as heretics who questioned Puritan ways. Roger Williams had himself been re-baptized in Rhode Island in 1639, but he rejected Baptist beliefs soon afterwards. When in 1644 Thomas Painter of Hingham, Massachusetts Bay persisted in refusing to allow his new-born child to be baptized he was ordered to be whipped, and he went to Rhode Island soon afterwards. The General Court took action against Anabaptists when it met on November 13:

Forasmuch as experience hath plentifully & often proved that since the first arising of the Anabaptists, about a hundred years since, they have bene the incendiaries of common wealths, & the infectors of persons in maine matters of religion, &

the troublers of churches in all places where they have bene, & that they who have held the baptizing of infants unlawfull have usually held other errors or heresies together therewith, though they have (as other hereticks use to do) concealed the same, till they spied out a fit advantage & oportunitie to vent them, by way of question or scruple, & whereas divers of this kind have, since our coming into New England, appeared amongst ourselves, some whereof have (as others before them) denied the ordinance of magistracy, & the lawfulness of making warr, & others the lawfulness of magistrates, & their inspection into any breach of the first table, which opinions, if they should be connived at by us, are like to be increased amongst us, & so must necessarily bring guilt upon us, infection & trouble to the churches, & hazard to the whole common wealth -

It is ordered & agreed, that if any person or persons within this jurisdiction shall either openly condemne or oppose the baptizing of infants, or go about secretly to seduce others from the approbation or use thereof, or shall purposely depart the congregation at the administration of the ordinance, or shall deny the ordinance of magistracy, or their lawful right and authority to make warr, or to punish the outward breaches of the first table, & shall appear to the Court wilfully & obstinately to continue therein after due time & meanes of conviction, every such person or persons shalbe sentenced to banishment.⁶⁷

Both Presbyterian views and Anabaptism continued to trouble the leaders of Massachusetts Bay and Winthrop recorded another assembly of church elders on March 5, 1645:

Many books coming out of England, some in defence of Anabaptism and other errors, and for liberty of conscience as a shelter for their toleration, etc., others in maintenance of the Presbyterial government (agreed upon by the assembly of divines in England) against the Congregational way, which was practised here, the elders of the churches through all the United Colonies agreed upon a meeting at Cambridge this day, where they conferred their councils and examined the writings which some of them had prepared in answer to the said books, which being agreed and perfected were sent over into England to be printed. The several answers were these: Mr Hooker in answer to Mr Rutterford the Scotch minister about Presbyterial government, (which being sent in the New Haven ship was lost).

Winthrop added later that ‘While Mr. Hooker lived, he could not be persuaded to let another copy go over, but after his death, a copy was sent, and returned in print (3) [May 16]48’. Hooker had died in 1647. It is not surprising that he had not wanted to make or have made another copy of his *A survey of the summe of church discipline*, since it consisted of nearly 500 pages when it was published in London in 1648. Fortunately his 18-page preface contains a summary of his strong support for independent church organization:

There is no Presbyteriall church, (*i.e.* a church made up of the elders of many congregations appointed classickwise, to rule all those congregations) in the N[ew] T[estament]. A church congregation all is the first subject of the keys.^a Each congregation compleatly constituted of all officers hath sufficient power in her self to exercise the power of the keyes, and all church discipline, in all the censures thereof. Ordination is not before election. There ought to be no ordination of a minister at large, *namely, such as should make him pastour without a people*. The election of the people hath an instrumentall causall vertue under Christ, to give an outward call unto an officer. Ordination is only a solemn installing of an officer into the office, unto which he was formerly called. Children of such, who are members of congregations, ought only to be baptized. The consent of the people gives a causall vertue to the completing of the sentence of excommunication. Whilst the church remains a true Church of Christ, it doth not loose this power, nor can it lawfully be taken away. Consociation of churches should be used, as occasion doth require. Such consociations and synods have allowance to counsell and admonish other churches, as the case may require. And if they grow obstinate in error or sinfull miscarriages, they should renounce the right hand of fellowship with them. But they have no power to excommunicate. Nor do their constitutions binde *formaliter & juridice*.^{b 68}

a Matthew 16: 19. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.
b in due order and judicially.

Though the colonies made their own responses to the political and religious challenges they faced, the meetings of the Commissioners of the United Colonies provided opportunities to exchange ideas and opinions. There were also informal contacts between the colonies. Winthrop expressed an opinion on the place of wives in the community when he recorded in April 1645 that

Mr Hopkins, the Governour of Hartford upon Connecticut [River], came to Boston and brought his wife with him, (a godly young woman and of special parts), who was fallen into a sad infirmity, the loss of her understanding and reason, which had been growing upon her divers years, by occasion of her giving herself wholly to reading and writing, and had written many books. Her husband, being very loving and tender of her, was loath to grieve her, but he saw his error when it was too late. For if she had attended her household affairs, and such things as belong to women, and not gone out of her way and calling to meddle in such things as are proper for men, whose minds are stronger, etc., she had kept her wits, and might have improved them usefully and honorably in the place God had set her.

He then described how the change in economic conditions had caused a change in master-servant relationships:

The wars in England kept servants from coming to us, so as those we had could not be hired when their times were out, but upon unreasonable terms, and we found it very difficult to pay their wages to their content, (for the money was very scarce). I may upon this occasion report a passage between one of Rowley and his servant. The master, being forced to sell a pair of his oxen to pay his servant his wages, told his servant he could keep him no longer, not knowing how to pay him the next year. The servant answered, he would serve him for more of his cattle. But how shall I do (saith the master) when all my cattle are gone? The servant replied, you shall then serve me, and so you may have your cattle again.⁶⁹

In October the Massachusetts Bay General Court sought ministerial advice about what was appropriate in the colony's dealings with Amerindians:

The Court, being still mindfull of its duty, doth endeavour, as much as in it lyes, that all meanes may be used to bring the natives to the knowledge of God & his wayes, & to civilize them as speedily as may be; & that some such course may be taken as may cause them to observe those rules, its desired that notice may be given to the reverend elders, in their severall sheirs, of the ready mind of this Court, upon mature deliberation, to enact what shalbe thought meete hereabouts, & of their desires that they would take some paines therein & returne their thoughts about it to the next siting of the Generall Court.

At the same meeting the General Court thought 'it meete that Mr Peeters & Mr Weld, being sente over as persons fit to negotiate for the countrey, having been long absent, desire that they may understand the Courts minde, that they desire their presence here & speedy returne', but they remained in England.⁷⁰ An attempt was made to introduce religious toleration in New Plymouth when its General Court met in October 1645, but this was a step too far for governor Bradford. The main record of the meeting is contained in a letter that Edward Winslow, then one of the colony's assistants, wrote to Winthrop on November 24 about 'some unworthy passages in our last Generall Court to the great offence of our Govenor, Mr Prence, myselfe and sundry others'. After some discussion, an unnamed individual who was probably William Vassall had

told the Govenor he had a written propoosition to be propownded to the Court: which he desired the Court to take into consideracion, and according to order if thought meet to be allowed. To this the deputies were most made beforehand, and the other three assistants who applauded it as their Diana; and the sum of it was to allow and maintaine full and free tollerance of religion to all men that would preserve the civill peace and submit unto goverment. And there was no limitacion or excepcion against Turke, Jew, Papist, Arian, Socinian, Nicholayton, Familist or any other, etc. But our Gove[rno]r and divers of us having expressed the sad consequences would follow, especially my selfe and Mr Prence, yet notwithstanding it was required according to order to be voted; but the Gove[rno]r would not suffer it to come to vote as being that indeed would eate out the power of godlines, etc.

Winslow concluded by expressing a need to trust in God 'but if He have such a judgement for this place, I trust we shall finde (I speake for many of us that groane under these things) a resting place amongst you for the soules of our feet'. Winthrop recorded that

one Mr William Vassall, sometimes one of the assistants of the Massachusetts, but now of Scituate in Plimouth jurisdiction, a man of a busy and factious spirit, and always opposite to the civil governments of this country and the way of our churches, had practised with such as were not members of our churches to take some course, first by petitioning the courts of the Massachusetts and of Plymouth, and (if that succeeded not) then to the Parliament of England, that the distinctions which were maintained here, both in civil and church estate, might be taken away, and that we might be wholly governed by the laws of England, and accordingly a petition was drawn up to the Parliament, pretending that they being freeborn subjects of England, were denied the liberty of subjects, both in church and commonwealth, themselves and their children debarred from the seals of the covenant, except they would submit to such a way of entrance and church covenant, as their consciences could not admit, and take such a civil oath as would not stand with their oath of allegiance, or else they must be deprived of all power and interest in civil affairs, and were subjected to an arbitrary government and extrajudicial proceedings, etc.

Johnson wrote scathingly in *A history of New-England* in 1654 that

At the Court of Election there was a petition drawn and presented to the Court by a doctor of physick, with seven hands to it, the persons were of a Linsiwolsie^a disposition, some for prelacy, some for presbytery and some for plebsbytery, but all joyned together in the thing they would, which was to stir up the people to dislike of the present government.

a Linsiwolsie was a textile woven from a mixture of wool and flax, or wool woven on a cotton base; hence a strange medley, confusion or nonsense.

Vassall had been a member of the Massachusetts Bay Company in England and he and his family had travelled to New England with the Winthrop fleet. They went back to England later in 1630 but returned in 1635. They were early settlers at Scituate and he was admitted to the church there in 1636. He returned to

England with the petition, but did not achieve anything with it. He then went to Barbados in 1648 and died there between 1655 and 1657.⁷¹ Bradford added 'a late observation' to his *History* in 1646:

Full litle did I thinke, that the downfall of the bishops, with their courts, cannons and ceremonies, &c. had been so neare, when I first begane these scribled writings (which was aboute the year 1630, and so peeced up at times of leasure afterward) or that I should have lived to have seene or heard of the same, but it is the Lords doing and ought to be marvelous in our eyes!

and he used a series of biblical quotations to expand on this theme, leading James Anderson to comment in 1848 in his *History of the Church of England in.....the British Empire* that 'few passages are to be found in which this hatred of Puritans against the Episcopal Order is expressed in more awful terms'.⁷²

Stimulated by inquiries from England and perhaps by events in New Plymouth as well, the Massachusetts Bay General Court decided in May to ask their churches to call a synod to discuss and decide upon church doctrine. The attention of the church representatives was particularly directed to the subject of baptism, in which 'the apprehensions of many persons in the country are knowne not a little to differ'. They were asked if baptism should be restricted to the children of church members or could be extended to their grandchildren, and whether infant baptism itself was acceptable, since 'there be some amongst us who do thinke that whatever be the state of the parents, baptisme ought not to be dispensed to any infants whatsoever'. Though the request to hold a synod was put diplomatically, there was no doubt about the political determination behind it and the sensitivity of holding a synod (document 8). Representatives of New Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven Colony churches were also to be invited, though Ralph Partridge of Duxbury was probably the only New Plymouth minister to take part.⁷³

The calling of the synod caused concern in New Plymouth. The General Court noted in July 'that something be donn to mayntaine the libertys of the churches, without intermedleing or wronging eich other, according to the statutes of England, that they may live in peace'. The Commissioners of the United Colonies attempted to preserve religious unity when they met in September. Their recommendation made an oblique reference to Providence Plantations when it deplored 'a licentious liberty graunted & settled' 'in a parte of New England' and to New Plymouth when it referred to petitions that 'have beene lately putt up in some of the colonies', but it was not supported by the New Plymouth representatives:

Upon serious consideration of the spreading nature of error, the dangerous growth & effects thereof in other places & particularly how the purity & power both of religion & civill order is already much complayned, if not wholly lost in a parte of New England, by a licentious liberty graunted & settled, whereby many casting off the rule of the word, professe & practise what is good in their owne eyes: and upon information of what petitions have beene lately putt up in some of the colonies, against the good & strait waies of Christ, both in the churches & in the comon wealth, the Comissioners remembring that those colonies for themselves & their posteritie did enter into this firme & perpetuall league, as for other respects so for mutuall advise that the truth & liberties of the gospell might be preserved & propogated, thought it their duty seriously to comend it to the care & consideration of each generall corte within these United Colonies that as they have layd their foundations & measured the temple of God, the worship and worshippers by that straight reed God hath putt into their hands, soe they would walke on & build up (all discouragements & difficulties notwithstandinge) with an undaunted heart & unwearied hand, according to the same rules & patternes, that a due watch be kept & continued at the doores of Gods house, that none be admitted as members of the body of Christ, but such as hold forth effectuall callinge & thereby union with Christ the head, & that those whome Christ hath received, & enter by an expresse covenant to attend and observe the lawes and duties of that spirituall corporation, that babtisme, the seale of the covenant be administred onely to such members & their imediate seed, that anabaptisme, familisme, antinomianisme & generally all errors of like nature which oppose, undermine & slight either the scriptures, the sabboth or other ordinances of God, & bring in & cry up unwarrantable revelations, inventions of men, or any carnall liberty, under a deceitfull colloure of liberty of conscience, may be seasonably & duly supprest, though they wish as much forbearance & respect may be had of tender consciences seeking light as may stand with the purity of religion & peace of the churches. (The Comissioners of [New] Plymouth desire further consideration concerninge this advise given to the generall cortes.)

Then on April 22, 1647 the Barnstable church held a day of humiliation 'partly for old England, partly for the state of this countrey, to prevent any evill that might come by their synod, or by discontented persons, & partly for ourselves'.⁷⁴ It is not possible to tell whether or not William was involved in the religious controversies or the extent to which he was affected by them, but his work included giving spiritual advice and it is clear from a letter written to Thomas Hinckley on February 22, 1646 that this extended outside the town of Sandwich. The letter from William to Thomas survives in the form of a copy made by Thomas's grandson Thomas Prince and is printed in Appendix B. Prince was born in Sandwich in 1687 and was a son of Hinckley's daughter Mercy and her husband Samuel Prince. In 1718 he became the minister of the Old South Church, Boston where he remained until his death in 1758. He was a prolific author and editor of manuscripts, but part of his large library was destroyed during the War of Independence.⁷⁵

The right forme of church government and discipline being agreed part of the kingdome of Christ upon earth, therefore the establishing and settleing thereof by the joint and publike agreement and consent of churches, and by the sanction of civill authority, must needs conduce to the honour and glory of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the settleing and safety of church and common wealth, where such a duty is diligently attended and performed; and in asmuch as times of publike peace, which by the mercy of God are vouchsafed to these plantations, but how long the same may continue wee do not know, are much more commodious for the effecting of such a worke then those troublesome times of warr and of publike disturbances thereby, as the example of our deare native country doth witnes at this day, where by reason of the publike commotions and troubles in the state of reformation of religion, and the establishing of the same is greatly retarded, and at the best cannot be perfected without much difficulty and danger, and whereas divers of our Christian country men and freinds in England, both of the ministry and others, considering the state of things in this country in regard of our peace and otherwise, have sundry times, out of their brotherly faithfulness, and love, and care of our weldoing, earnestly by letters from thence solicited, and called upon us that wee would not neglect the opportunity which God hath put in our hands for the effecting of so glorious and good a worke as is mentioned, whose advertisements are not to be passed over without due regard had thereunto, and considering withall, that through want of the thing here spoken of, some differences of opinion and practice of one church from another do already appeare amongst us, and others (if not timely prevented) are like speedily to ensue, and this not onely in lesser things, but even in pointes of no small consequence and very materiall, to instance in no more but onely those about baptisme, and the persons to be received thereto, in which one particular the apprehensions of many persons in the country are knowne not a little to differ; for whereas in most churches the minister do baptize onely such children whose nearest parents, one or both of them, are settled members, in full communion with one or other of these churches, there be some who do baptize the children if the grandfather or grandmother be such members, though the immediate parents be not, and others though for avoyding of offence of neighbour churches, they do not as yet actually so practice, yet they do much incline thereto, as thinking more liberty and latitude in this point ought to be yielded then hath hitherto bene done, and many persons liveing in the country who have bene members of the congregations in England, but are not found fit to be received at the Lords table here, there be notwithstanding considerable persons in these churches who do thinke that the children of these also, upon some conditions and tearmes, may and ought to be baptized likewise; on the other side there be some amongst us who do thinke that what ever be the state of the parents, baptisme ought not to be dispensed to any infants whatsoever, which various apprehensions being seconded with practices according thereto, as in part they already are, and are like to be more, must needs, if not timely remedied, beget such differences as wilbe displeasing to the Lord, offensive to others, and dangerous to our selves; therefore for the further healing and preventing of the further groth of the said differences, and upon other groundes, and for other ends aforementioned.

Although this courte make no question of their lawfull power by the word of God to assemble the churches, or their messengers, upon occasion of counsell, or any thing which may concerne the practise of the churches, yet because all members of the churches (though godly and faithfull) are not yet clearly satisfied in this point, it is therefore thought expedient, for the present occasion, not to make use of that power, but rather to expresse our desire that the churches will answeere the desire of this present Generall Corte, that there be a publike assembly of the elders and other messengers of the severall churches within this jurisdiction, who may come together together and meete at Cambridge upon the first day of September now next ensuing, there to discusse, dispute and cleare up, by the word of God, such questions of church government and discipline in the things aforementioned, or any other, as they shall thinke needfull and meete, and to continue so doing till they, or the major part of them, shall have agreed and consented upon one forme of government and discipline, for the maine and substantiall partes thereof, as that which they judge agreeable to the holy scriptures, which worke, if it be found greater than can well be dispatched at one meeting, or session of the said assembly, they may then, as occasion and neede shall require, make two sessions or more, for the finishing of the same.

Document 8. The Massachusetts Bay General Court calls a synod, May 22, 1646.

The transfer of the remaining rights of the Sandwich grantees to the town began on July 7, 1646, when the General Court agreed and ordered

that when the inhabitants of Sandwich have payd a debt of *xviii* or *xviii* owing to the old company, and payd the charge & purchase of their towneship, or such a summe as Mr Thomas Prence and Captaine Miles Standish shall agree upon, that then the committees or undertakers shall yeild up the lands undesposed of to the towne, to be given forth and disposed by such persons as the towne shall appoynt, and that every inhabitant havinge lands graunted him shall pay proportionately to the said payments.

Then eighteen months later the final transfer of the land in Sandwich to the settlers took place when Bradford and his partners in the colony sold to Freeman the rights in the land there that they had purchased from the Amerindians for £16 19s:

Whereas about tenn yeares past the within named William Bradford, governor, and the rest of his parteners within written, being of the old Companie, have purchased the towne of Sandwidge of the Indians and paied to them for the said purchase the vallew of sixteene pounds nineteen shillings in comodities; now know yee that I the said William Bradford for my selfe and in the behoofe of my parteners for & in consideracion of the sum of sixteene pound nineteen shillings to mee in hand payed by Edmond Freeman of Sandwidge, I the said William Bradford have assigned, sould and sett over all my right and title that either my selfe or my parteners have to the said towne of Sandwidge by reason of the said purchase to have and to hold to him the said Edmond Freeman, his heires and assignes for ever, in wittnes wherof I have sett to my hand this 24th of January 1647[/8]. William Bradford

This was followed a month later by an agreement between Freeman and six representatives of the townspeople - George Allen, John Vincent, William Newland, Robert Botfish, Antony Wright and Richard Bourne - for them 'to satisfy the just demaunds of the comitties and their assignes of the said towne by reason of their charges for the use of the towne and likewise to satisfy the said Edmond Freeman seaventeen pounds laid out for the purchase; and allso to save and keepe harmles the said Edmond Freeman in any damages that shall com upon him by reason of his buying of the purchase'. This was finally achieved when land was transferred to Freeman in August 1651.⁷⁶

The New Plymouth General Court decided on October 20, 1646 that in every town there should be 'a cleark or some one appointed & ordayned to keepe a register of the day and yeare of the marriage, birth & buriall of every man, woeman & child within their townshippe & have 3d a peece for each particular person soe registered' and penalties were specified for those failing to provide the information. The clerk was also to publish all contracts of marriage. Lists of the births, marriages and deaths in some of the towns were collected centrally for several years from at least 1648 onwards and they show the numbers of births, marriages and deaths of the European settlers and their descendants in Plymouth, Sandwich and Yarmouth for the period 1648-50 (table 12). It is unfortunate that similar lists for Barnstable have not survived, as it would then be possible to compare them with the information that Lothrop recorded and to judge the extent to which the children of the town were baptized. There is, however, a list of Barnstable births, marriages and burials arranged by families that Hinckley presented to the General Court on March 6, 1662. Though incomplete and compiled long after some of the events it recorded, a comparison with Lothrop's record shows the baptism of the children of several families, such as those of Thomas Dimmock, John Gorum and John Scudder, none of whom, nor their wives, were recorded as church members, as well as the births of children, such as those of Thomas Burman, Moses Rowley and Tristram Hull, who were not baptized.⁷⁷

Table 12. Numbers of births, marriages and deaths of European settlers and their descendants in Plymouth, Sandwich and Yarmouth in 1648-50. *Includes one still-birth.

Year	Plymouth			Sandwich			Yarmouth		
	b	m	d	b	m	d	b	m	d
1648	17	2	5	13*	3	7	12	1	5
1649	23	5	6	12	2	1	13	1	3
1650	17	1	14*	5	2	6	10		3

Sandwich and Yarmouth had similar-sized populations of settlers to Barnstable and they can be used for comparison. Lothrop recorded an average of 11.1 baptisms a year from 1641 to 1652 and an average of 2.6 marriages a year for the same period. These numbers are broadly similar to those of the births and marriages at Sandwich and Yarmouth suggesting that most of the settlers' children born in Barnstable were baptized rather than just those of church members. The Barnstable church's more liberal attitude to baptism is shown by the baptisms there of 'John, sonn of Phillipp Tabor dwelling att Yarmouth, a member of the church att Watertowne' in 1640, of the daughter of Joseph Hull and the son of Thomas Holland 'both of these from Yarmouth, the parents of the first beeing yett members with us, the father of the 2d beeing a member of a separated church in Old England' in 1641, of the children of four members 'of the church of Yarmouth, beeing the 2d Sabbaoth of our meeting in our new meeting-house' in 1644, of 'Isaac and Marye, twinnes, children of John Smallee of Noset [Nauset]' in 1648 and of 'Alice, daughter of Abraham Peirce of Plimouth, beeing brought hither by Goody Scudder, his wives syster' in 1650. There were, however, no baptisms of anyone from Sandwich, suggesting either that William's continuous residence there or his church's attitude to baptism were similar to those of Lothrop.⁷⁸

Lothrop and William's duties would not have included conducting weddings, which the Pilgrims regarded as a civil rather than a religious ceremony. When Bradford referred to the first Plymouth marriage, that of Susanna White and Edward Winslow in 1621, he stated that

acording to the laudable custome of the Low-Cuntries, in which they had lived, [it] was thought most requisite to be performed by the magistrate, as being a civill thing, upon which many questions aboute inheritances doe depende, with other things most proper to their cognizans, and most consonante to the scriptures, Ruth 4, and no wher found in the

gospell to be layed on the ministers as a part of their office..... And this practiss hath continued amongst, not only them, but hath been followed by all the famous churches of Christ in these parts to this time, Ano 1646.⁷⁹

When Winslow visited England in 1634-35 he was imprisoned and his involvement with civil marriages was used against him, but he declared in a petition to the Lords of the Council that

whereas he confessed that he had both spoken by way of exhortation to the people and married, yet that it was in America and at such a time as necessity constrained them that were there, not only to these but to many other thinges far differing from a settled common weale. And if he had beene heere [he] would not have married nor should have needed to preach, as your Lordshipps terme it, but having no minister in 7 or 8 yeares at least, some of us must doe both, or else for want of the one, we might have lost the life and face of Christianity, and if the other which is marriage had beene neglected all that time, we might become more brutish then the heathen, when as in doing it we did but follow the presedent of other reformed churches.

However, Bradford added in his account that Winslow had ‘tould their Lordships that mariage was a civile thinge, and he found no wher in the word of God that it was tyed to ministrie’. Lechford in 1642 described similar civil marriage arrangements in Massachusetts Bay and he also dealt with grants of probate and letters of administration, which in England at that time were made by the ecclesiastical courts, and with burials:

Marriages are solemnized and done by the magistrates, and not by the ministers. Probats of testaments, and granting of letters of administration, are made and granted in the generall or great quarter courts. At burials, nothing is read, nor any funeral sermon made, but all the neighbourhood, or a good company of them, come together by tolling of the bell, and carry the dead solemnly to his grave, and there stand by him while he is buried. The ministers are most commonly present.⁸⁰

In June 1650 the New Plymouth General Court appointed Thomas Tupper to conduct marriages at Sandwich, Thomas Hinckley those at Barnstable and Yarmouth, and William Parker those at Taunton. The fourteen Barnstable marriage ceremonies that Lothrop recorded from 1644 to 1653 were conducted by Edmond Freeman (in 1644), Thomas Prence (in 1648 & 1649), William Collier (in 1649) and Thomas Hinckley (in 1650-53).⁸¹

Nathaniel Ward had resigned his ministry at Ipswich in 1636 as a result of ill-health, but he continued to live there until he returned to England in 1646. He argued against religious toleration in his commercially successful satire, *The simple cobbler of Aggawam in America*, which was published in four editions in London in 1647 under the pseudonym Theodore de le Guard:

My heart hath naturally detested foure things: the standing of the Apocrypha in the Bible; forrainers dwelling in my country, to crowd out native subjects into the corners of the earth; alchymized coines; tolerations of divers religions, or of one religion in segregant shapes. He that willingly assents to the last, if he examines his heart by day-light, his conscience will tell him, he is either an atheist, or an heretique, or an hypocrite, or at best a captive to some lust. Polchpiety is the greatest impiety in the world. True religion is *ignis probationis*,^a which doth *congregare homogenea & segregare heterogena*.^b⁸²

a a testing fire

b unite the similar and separate the diverse

Nathaniel's son John, who had entered Emmanuel College a few months after William, moved to New England in 1639. He became the minister at Haverhill in northern Massachusetts Bay in about 1641 and remained there until his death in 1693. The town and John's ministry there were described by Johnson in *A history of New-England*:

The Town of Haverhil was built much about this time [1645], lying higher up then Salisbury, upon the fair and large river of Merrimeck..... The people are laborious in the gaining the goods of this life, yet are they not unmindful also of the chief end of their coming hither, namely, to be made partakers of the blessed ordinances of Christ, that their souls might be refreshed with the continual income of His rich grace, to which end they gathered into a Church-body, and called to office the Reverend M[aster] Ward, son of the former named M[aster] Ward of Ipswitch.

With mind resolv'd run out thy race at length,
 Young Ward begin whereas thy father left,
 Left hath he not, but breaths for further strength,
 Nor thou, nor he, are yet of hope bereft:
 Fruit of thy labours thou shalt see so much,
 The righteous shall hear of it, and rejoyce
 When Babel falls by Christ's almighty touch,
 All's folk shall praise Him with a cheerful voice.

Then prosper shall that Sions building mind,
 Then Ward cease not with toyl her stones to lay,
 For great is He thee to this work assign'd
 Whose pleasure is, heavens Crown shall be thy pay.

John's daughter Elizabeth married Nathaniel, a son of Richard Saltonstall who had remained in Massachusetts Bay when his father returned to England. A house that was built for John in Haverhill in about 1642 still survives, providing an example of what the house that William lived in may have been like. The house was purchased, restored to its original site and given to Haverhill Historical Society by Richard Middlecott Saltonstall (1859-1922) in 1907 (figure 55).⁸³

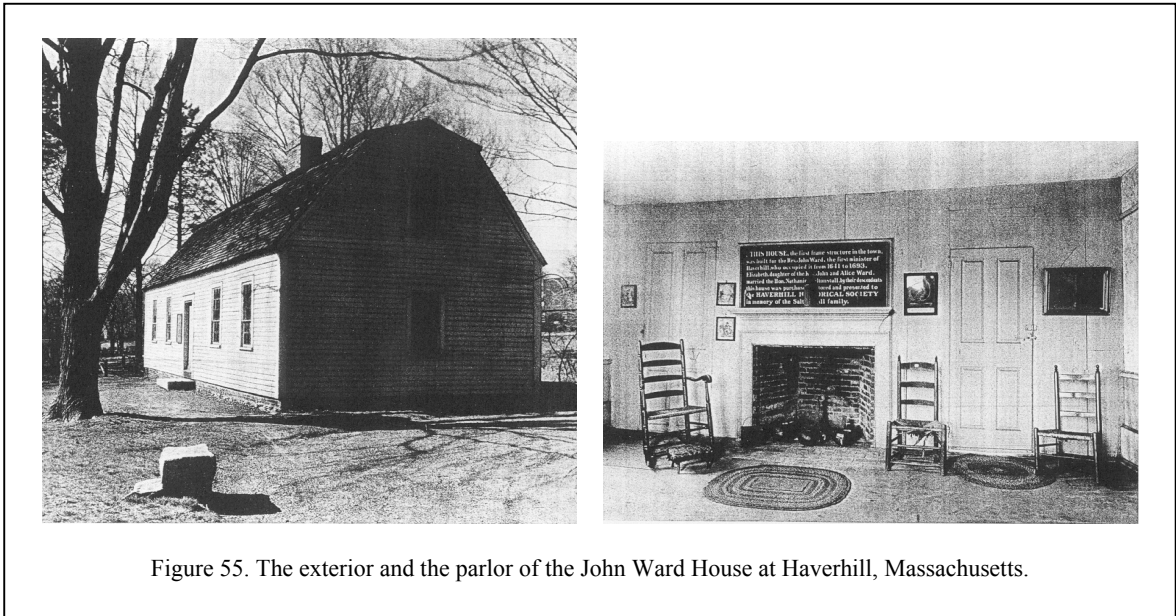


Figure 55. The exterior and the parlor of the John Ward House at Haverhill, Massachusetts.

Eliot probably began to learn the local Amerindian language in 1646 with someone whom he described in 1649 as

an Indian living with Mr Richard Calicott of Dorchester, who was taken in the Pequott Warres, though belonging to Long Island; this Indian is ingenious, can read; and I taught him to write, which he quickly learnt, though I know not what use he now maketh of it. He was the first that I made use of to teach me words, and to be my interpreter. Now of late, the Lord hath stirred up his heart to joyn unto the Church, at Dorchester, and this day I am going to the elders meeting, to the examination and tryall of this young man, in preparation for his admission into the Church.

He referred to him again at the end of his *Indian grammar* published in Cambridge, Mass. in 1666 as ‘a pregnant witted young man who had been a servant in an English house, who pretty well understood our language, better then he could speak it, and well understood his own language, and hath a clear pronunciation. Him I made my interpreter. By his help I translated the Commandments, the Lords Prayer, and many texts of Scripture; also I compiled both exhortations and prayers by his help’. Since this interpreter was a prisoner of war, he may have been kept as a slave. There is no record of him gaining admission to the Dorchester church, but in 1896 William Tooker identified him with Cockenoe-de-Long Island, an interpreter in many Long Island negotiations.⁸⁴

Winthrop referred briefly in his journal to a meeting between Eliot, Mather, Dedham minister John Allen and the Amerindian sachem Cutshamekin in 1646. This was held near Dorchester, but it was unsuccessful from the ministers’ point of view and Eliot later referred to the Amerindians as ‘not regarding any such thing’. It was followed by a meeting at Nonanetum on October 28, when the Amerindians’ response was ‘far different from what some other Indians under Kitchomakia in the like meeting about six weekes before had done’. The Nonanetum meeting and three further meetings there in November and December were described in *The day-breaking, if not the sun-rising, of the gossell with the Indians in New-England*, a pamphlet with a preface by Nathaniel Ward which was published in London in April 1647.⁸⁵

In early November the Massachusetts Bay General Court appointed a committee to purchase ‘such parcels of lands which they, with Mr Sheopard, Mr Allen & Mr Eliot shall conceive meete to purchase for the incuragment of the Indians to live in an orderly way amongst us’ with ‘payment out of the treasury for the same, so as hereafter the charge [that] this purchase shall amount unto shalbe deducted out of the first gift that

shalbe brought over, as given for the good of the Indians'. Land that had belonged to the Amerindians a few years previously was thus to be purchased for their use with funds received from England, rather than from the settlers. The Court also decided that 'for the honour of the eternall God, whom onely we worship & serve, that no person within this jurisdiction, whether Christian or pagan, shall wittingly & willingly blaspheme his holy name'. Anyone doing so was to be put to death and special provisions were made to bring the Amerindians' own worship to an end:

It is ordered & decreed by this court, that no Indian shall at any time pawwaw, or performe outward worship to their false gods, or to the devill, in any part of our jurisdiction, whether they be such as dwell here, or shall come hither. If any shall transgres this law, the pawwawer to pay 5*l*, the procurer 5*l*, & every assistant countenancing, by his presence or otherwise, (being of age of discretion), 20*shs*.

Furthermore, the Court endeavored 'to reduce them to civility of life' and to promote missionary work:

Considering that one end in planting these parts was to propagate the true religion unto the Indians, & that divers of them are become subjects to the English, & have engaged themselves to be willing & ready to understand the law of God, it is therefore ordered & decreed, that the necessary & wholesome lawes which may be made to reduce them to civility of life shalbe once in the yeare (if the times be safe) made knowne to them by such fit persons as the courte shall nominate, haveing the help of some able interpreter with them. Considering also, that interpretation of tongues is an appointment of God for propagating the truth, & may therefore have a blessed succease in the harts of others in due season, it is therefore further ordered & decreed, that two ministers shalbe chosen by the elders of the churches every yeare, at the Court of Election, & so to be sent, with the consent of their churches, (with whomsoever will freely offer themselves to accompany them in that service), to make knowne the heavenly counsell of God among the Indians in most familiar manner, by the help of some able interpreter, as may be most avaylable to bring them to the knowledge of the truth, & their conversion to Jesus Christ; & for that end, that some thing may be alowed them by the General Courte to give away freely unto those Indians whom they shall perceive most willing & ready to be instructed by them.⁸⁶

The record in *The day-breaking* of the third meeting at Nonanetum on November 26 listed a series of laws that the Amerindians were said to have devised, but which reflected the settlers' priorities for promoting 'civility':

1. That if any man be idle a weeke, at most a fortnight, hee shall pay five shillings.
2. If any unmarried man shall lie with a young woman unmarried, hee shall pay twenty shillings.
3. If any man shall beat his wife, his hands shall bee tied behind him and carried to the place of justice to bee severely punished.
4. Every young man, if not anothers servant and if unmarried, hee shall be compelled to set up a wigwam and plant for himselfe, and not live shifting up and downe to other wigwams.
5. If any woman shall not have her haire tied up, but hang loose or be cut as mens haire, she shall pay five shillings.
6. If any woman shall goe with naked breasts, they shall pay two shillings six pence.
7. All those men that weare long locks shall pay five shillings.
8. If any shall kill their lice betweene their teeth, they shall pay five shillings.⁸⁷

The day-breaking was followed by the publication of Shepard's *The clear sun-shine of the Gospel breaking forth upon the Indians in New-England* in London in March 1648. He made it clear that he expected the Amerindians to conform to the ways of the British settlers by including a list of twenty-nine points that were agreed by 'divers sachims and other principall men amongst the Indians at Concord' at the end of January 1647, a more elaborate version of the Nonanetum agreement (document 9). The abolition of powwows not only deprived the Amerindians of their spiritual culture, but also hindered their system of healing. They used a wide variety of medicinal herbs and both Amerindians and settlers prayed for rain. As Francis Jennings remarked in 1975 the Amerindians 'were not superstitious because they had a ritual for persuading divinity to make rain; their superstition lay in sending it to the wrong address'.⁸⁸ Shepard also described how he, Wilson and Eliot had been invited to help resolve some difficulties in Yarmouth and that this had led to some missionary work in Cape Cod:

The latter end of this yeare [1647] Mr Wilson, Mr Eliot and my selfe were sent for by those in Yarmouth to meet with some other elders of [New] Plymouth patten, to heare and heale (if it were the will of Christ) the difference and sad breaches which have been too long a time among them, wherein the Lord was very mercifull to us and them in binding them up beyond our thoughts in a very short time, in giving not only that bruised church but the whole towne also a hopefull beginning of settled peace and future quietnesse; but Mr Eliot as hee takes all other advantages of time, so hee tooke this, of speaking with, and preaching to the poore Indians in these remote places about Cape Cod.

This was probably the first published reference to any missionary work on Cape Cod or elsewhere in New Plymouth. It was also the first reference to John Eliot in the Eliot Tracts.

Conclusions and orders made and agreed upon by divers sachims and other principall men amongst the Indians at Concord, in the end of the eleventh moneth, An. 1646.

1. That every one that shall abuse themselves with wine or strong liquors shall pay for every time so abusing themselves 20s.
2. That there shall be no more pawwowing amongst the Indians. And if any shall hereafter *pawwow, both he that shall powwow, & he that shall procure him to powwow, shall pay 20s apeece.
3. They doe desire that they may be stirred up to seek after God.
4. They desire they may understand the wiles of Satan and grow out of love with his suggestions and temptations.
5. That they may fall upon some better course to improve their time then formerly.
6. That they may be brought to the sight of the sinne of lying, and whosoever shall be found faulty herein shall pay for the first offence 5s, the second 10s, the third 20s.
7. Whosoever shall steale any thing from another shall restore fourfold.
8. They desire that no Indian hereafter shall have any more but one wife.
9. They desire to prevent falling out of Indians one with another, and that they may live quietly one by another.
10. That they may labour after humility and not be proud.
11. That when Indians doe wrong one to another, they may be lyable to censure by fine or the like, as the English are.
12. That they pay their debts to the English.
13. That they doe observe the Lords-Day, and whosoever shall prophane it shall pay 20s.
14. That there shall not be allowance to pick lice, as formerly, and eat them, and whosoever shall offend in this case shall pay for every louse a penny.
15. They will weare their haire comely, as the English do, and whosoever shall offend herein shall pay 5s.
16. They intend to reforme themselves, in their former greasing themselves, under the penalty of 5s for every default.
17. They doe all resolve to set up prayer in their ^xwigwams, and to seek to God both before and after meate.
18. If any commit the sinne of fornication, being single persons, the man shall pay 20s and the woman 10s.
19. If any man lie with a beast he shall die.
20. Whosoever shall play at their former games shall pay 10s.
21. Whosoever shall commit adultery shall be put to death.
22. Wilfull murder shall be punished with death.
23. They shall not disguise themselves in their mournings, as formerly, nor shall they keep a great noyse by howling.
24. The old ceremony of the maide walking alone and living apart so many dayes 20s.
25. No Indian shall take an English man's ⁺canooe without leave under the penaltie of 5s.
26. No Indian shall come into any English mans house except he first knock: and this they expect from the English.
27. Whosoever beats his wife shall pay 20s.
28. If any Indian shall fall out with, and beate another Indian, he shall pay 20s.
29. They desire they may bee a towne, and either to dwell on this side the Beare Swamp, or at the east side of Mr Flint's Pond.

* [Marginal note] Pawwows are witches or sorcerers that cure by help of the devill.

x [Marginal note]. A wigwam is such a dwelling house as they live in.

+ [Marginal note] A canooe is a small boate.

Document 9. Agreement made by the Amerindians at Concord, Massachusetts Bay in January 1647.

Shepard concluded his pamphlet with a letter of Eliot's dated September 24, 1647 that was mainly about his contacts with the Amerindians, but also included a brief reference to the settlers' own medical study:

There is also another reason which moves my thought and desires this way, namely that our young students in physick may be trained up better then yet they bee, who have onely theoretticall knowledge, and are forced to fall to practise before ever they saw an anatomy made or duely trained up in making experiments, for we never had but one anatomy in the cuntry, which Mr Giles Firman (now in England) did make and read upon very well, but no more of that now.

Giles Firmin went to New England in 1632. He returned to England a year later and studied medicine before going back to New England in 1637. He was then a deacon of the Boston church before finally returning to England in 1644. The principal source of cadavers for dissection in England at that time was the corpses of executed persons and a Massachusetts Bay law of 1641 provided that 'no man condemned to dye shall be put to death within four dayes next after his condemnation.....nor shall the body of any man so put to death be unburied [for more than] twelve hours unles it be a case of anatomy'.⁸⁹

Meanwhile William was involved with the lives of the people of Sandwich in various ways. He acted as an arbitrator in two disputes that were heard in Plymouth on November 29, 1647. The inventory of the estate of Joseph Halloway made on December 4 included the sum of 15 shillings 'dew from Mr Leveridge'. The total value of Halloway's estate was £205 6s 10d and the inventory shows the wide range of household and agricultural items that he possessed (document 10). William and William Newland were the overseers of the oral will of George Knot made on May 1, 1648 for which William and Thomas Nichols obtained probate. The inventory of the estate taken by Edward Dillingham and Newland on June 1 valued it at £69 10s. William, John Vincent and Richard Bourne were the witnesses of the will of George Allen Sr and an inventory of his estate was taken by Dillingham and Bourne on September 22. Then at a meeting of the General Court held at Plymouth in March 1649 William was allowed three shillings each for four witnesses subpoenaed by him.⁹⁰

	[£ s d]
His wearing aparell and mony in his purse	42 0 0
One great chist, 2 small chists, 2 boxes, one case of botels	1 4 0
4 pewter platers, 4 basons, 2 drinking pots and divers smalle peeces of pewter more	1 3 0
4 firkins and one littell pot all full of buter	4 14 0
Twelve cheesses	4 0
A great peece of pork, som smale peesses and 60 <i>li</i> of beefe and som lard and som talow	1 15 0
2 barells, one churne, 2 tubbs	10 0
Six peeces of taned lether and 7 scins of whit lether	1 16 0
Som sheeps woole and som coten woolle and som yarne	1 0 0
In peassen	4 0 0
In Indian corn	3 0 0
In barley	1 6 0
In wheat	1 6 0
In hay	2 10 0
3 fether beads, 2 bolsters, 4 pilows, 2 rugges, 2 coverlids, 5 blankits, 3 sheets and five plowbeers [pillowcases]	7 0 0
4 oxen	24 0 0
2 steers and an hayfer that bee going on 2 year ould	6 0 0
Five calves	4 0 0
6 cowes	27 10 0
One bull	3 0 0
One mare and a yeare ould coult	14 0 0
4 young shots [shoats]	1 10 0
One wayne [cart], 2 yokes and 3 chaynes	2 0 0
An adventure [investment] in the [ship] <i>Adventure</i>	5 5 0
2 cow hydes	1 0 0
8 yards and a halfe of carys [jersey]	3 0 0
24 yards of stufe	33 5 0
One great brasse pan, 4 kittels, 3 smale pans, one scellit	4 10 0
4 iron pots, one payer of pot hangers and 2 pair of pothooks	1 15 0
One yard of cloth	7 0
One fouling peece, one muskat, one sword, one payer of bandealers, som powlder and shot	2 5 0
One silver spoone	8 0
One hogshhead of mault wanting a bushell	1 4 0
One twibill [double-headed ax], 3 axes, 8 augers, 3 chissils and 3 or 4 smale things	1 3 0
2 sithes and one sned [pruning tool]	4 0
One square, 4 playnes, one spokshave, one drawing-knife, one croskut saw, one hand saw	18 0
One harow with 37 teeth, one coulter and one share	13 0
4 iron wedges, 1 adds, one ould payer of pinsons [pincers], one broken hamer, 4 ould fyeles	10 0
3 reape hooks, 2 payer of compasses, one gimblit	2 0
3 payer of ould [fiber] cards, 2 meales sives and one new botom for a sive	5 0
2 pewter botles, one litle lether botell and one glase botle and one skumer [skimmer]	4 0
One warming pan and one peece of ould brase	6 0
One milke ladder, one brush, one dish, one spoon	3 0
Five round kimmils [tubs]	6 0
Boards and slabse	11 0
2 bedsteds, 2 chairs, 2 stooles	7 0
Som ould iron, one how, one spade, one peale [oven or fire shovel], one smothing iron	7 0
12 pound of coten woole to be received	11 0

Document 10. Inventory of the will of Joseph Halloway, December 1647 (continued overleaf).

2 payles	2	0	
1 cheessprese, 2 cheesfats [vats], one child's cradell	6	0	
One chamberpot, one brushe, one emty ferkin, a peece of a cartrope, one payer of hooks and a stapell for a yoke, one ould payer of bellows, one payer of broken tonges	7	0	
The manure, one litle earthen pot, one pitchfork, one payer of tinnes for a fork, one frying pan	9	0	
Dew from Mr Leveridge	15	0	
Dew from Gorg Allin	3	0	0
Dew from Willi Gifford	3	4	
2 bushells of wheat dew from Thomas Dex			
These debts are judged desperate which are foloing			
Dew from Mathew Alin of Hartford	1	0	0
Dew from John Hardy of Salem	2	0	0
Dew from Richard Foster	12	0	
6 trenchers, five or six Indian baskits and divers smale things not worth the writing downe and all other things that are forgotten	1	0	0
4 peecees of linnin cloth valued at 4 shilli			

	205	6	10
But ther is 12 <i>li</i> and 12 <i>s</i> in desperate debts			
Ther is two years and an half servis in a boy but hee is a very bad servant			
Things forgotten			
Half a bushell of wheat dew from Gorg Bewitt			
One bushell of Indian [corn] dew from Thomas Gibbs			
In childbead linnin and other linnin not valedwed			
Document 10 continued			

A rather unflattering account of the ministers who had emigrated to New England was published in *Good news from New-England* in London in 1648, stating that they 'hasted after fat benefices' and comparing 'New England pounds' to 'old England angells', coins with a value of ten shillings:

When these persecuted servants of Christ Jesus first set foot on these American shores, having their tongues untied from the prelates injunctions, they preach with all diligence to their auditors, doubling their hours to regain their lost time, being thoroughly warm'd with the manifestation of the love of their Lord Christ, in bearing them in his arms through the boystrous waves, a depthless ocean. These exil'd ministers of Christ soon began to gather into churches, as meete stones were offered; and now you shall see how they hasted after fat benefices, every one endeavouring to associate themselves with plain honest-hearted Christians rich in grace, the Lord assisting,.....many of whom hereafter are expressed by name, together with their annual maintenance so neere, as for the present I could gather. Only take notice New Englands pounds in some things cal'd corrant pay, will hardly hold out with old England angells, and yet will they not be gone from their flockes for thicker fleeces, unlesse example prove prejudiciall to others.

The pamphlet listed the salaries and names of the ministers in twenty-six Massachusetts Bay towns, but unfortunately none from New Plymouth. The salaries may have been greater than those in New Plymouth; most of them were much greater than William had received at Great Bowden. Some of the ministers' names were wrongly or incompletely recorded in the pamphlet and they have been altered in table 13.⁹¹

Table 13. Massachusetts Bay ministers and their salaries listed in *Good news from New-England* in 1648.

Town	Minister	Salary (£)	Town	Minister	Salary (£)
Salem	Hugh Peters	(in England)	Cambridge	Thomas Sheppard	70
	Edward Norris	60	Dedham	John Allen	50
Charlestown	Zecchariah Symmes	90	Concord	Peter Bulkeley	70
	Thomas Allen	60	Salisbury	William Worcester	45
Boston	John Cotton	90	Newberry	Thomas Parker	40
	John Wilson	60		James Noyes	60
Roxbury	Thomas Weld	(in England) 80	Hampton	Timothy Dalton	40
Dorchester	Richard Mather	70	Sudbury	Edmund Brown	40
Watertown	John Knowles	80	Braintree	Henry Flint	30
Lynn	Samuel Whiting	45		William Tompson	30
	Thomas Cobbett	45	Dover	Daniel Maude	40
Ipswich	Nathaniel Rogers	70	Gloucester	Richard Blindman	40
	John Norton	70	Woburn	Thomas Carter	60
Hingham	Peter Hobart	60	Reading	Henry Green	30
Weymouth	Thomas Thatcher	50	Wenham	John Fiske	20
Rowley	Ezekiel Rogers	80	Haverhill	John Ward	(not stated)
	Samuel Matthews	30	Andover	John Woodbridge	(not stated)

Charles I was placed on trial at the start of 1649. Hugh Peters, who had become an army chaplain, preached a sermon on Sunday, January 21 to the commissioners appointed to try the king, and he took as his text Psalm 149: 8 - 'To bind their kings with chains, and their nobles with fetters of iron'. Then a week later, after the trial and sentencing had taken place, he preached to a group of soldiers on Isaiah 14: 18-20 - 'All the kings of the nations, even all of them, lie in glory, every one in his own house. But thou art cast out of thy grave like an abominable branch'. Peters was too ill to attend the king's execution on January 30, though there were rumors that he was the masked executioner (figure 56).⁹² News of the king's execution reached New England at the end of May and reports were sent to John Winthrop Jr in a letter from Roger Williams dated May 26 and one from his brother Adam dated June 3. The New Plymouth General Court decided in June 'that wheras things are mutch unseteled in our native cuntry in regard of the affairs of the state, wherby the Court cannot so clearly prosseed in election as formerly' all the colony's officers were to remain in office for another year 'unles some spesiall intellegent or order come over which shall at any time.....occation the calling the body of freemen together for a new election'.⁹³

The Massachusetts Bay synod completed its discussions at Cambridge in 1648 and its influential *Platform of church discipline* was published there in 1649. This was largely written by Richard Mather, but key words were omitted from his draft. He had written that 'such as are borne in the church as members, though yet they be not found fitt for the Lords Supper, yet if they be not culpable of such scandalls in conversation as do justly deserve church censures, it seemeth to us, when they are married and have children, those their children may be received to baptisme'. It was recorded in 1662 that this approval of infant baptism for those whose parents had been baptized in infancy, but were not themselves church members was 'generally consented to', but was omitted 'because some few dissented and there was not the like urgency of occasion for present practice' to be changed. However, the synod welcomed and largely accepted the Confession of Faith of the Westminster Assembly:

For this end, having perused the publick Confession of Faith, agreed upon by the Reverend Assembly of Divines at Westminster, & finding the summ & substances therefore (in matters of doctrine) to express not their own judgements only, but ours also: and being likewise called upon by our godly magistrates to draw up a publick confession of that faith which is constantly taught & generally professed amongst us, wee thought good to present unto them, & with them to our churches, & with them to all the churches of Christ abroad, our professed & hearty assent & attestation to the whole confession of faith (for substance of doctrine) which the Reverend Assembly presented to the Religious & Honourable Parliament of England: excepting only some sections in the 25. 30. & 31. chapters of their confession, which concern points of controversie in church-discipline; touching which wee referre our selves to the draught of church-discipline in the ensuing treatise.⁹⁴

Publication of the Cambridge Platform marked the start of a period of increasing religious tension in New Plymouth. The colony had a more tolerant attitude to religious diversity than Massachusetts Bay, whose General Court in a letter dated October 18 put pressure on it to take action against the Anabaptists in its midst:

Wee have heard heeretofore of divers Annabaptists, arisen up in your jurisdiction, and connived at; but being but few, wee well hoped that it might have pleased God, by the endeavours of yourselves and the faithfull elders with yow, to have reduced such erring men againe into the right way. But now, to our great greife, wee are credibly informed that your patient bearing with such men hath produced another effect, namely, the multiplying and encreasing of the same errors, and wee feare maybe of other errors also, if timely care be not taken to suppress the same. Perticularly wee understand that within this few weekes there have binn at Sea Cuncke [Seaconk or Rehoboth] thirteene or fowerteene persons rebaptized, (a swifte progresse in one toun); yett wee heare not of any effectuall restriccion is entended thereabouts. Lett it not, wee pray yow, seeme presumption in us to minde yow heereof, nor that wee earnestly intreate yow to take care aswell of the suppressing of errors, as of the maintenance of truth, God aequally requiring the performance of both at the hands of Christian magistrats, but rather that yow will consider our interest is concerned therein. The infeccion of such diseases, being so neere us, are likely to spread into our jurisdiction: *tunc tua res agitur paries cum proximus ardet.*^a Wee are united by confoedaracy, by faith, by neighbourhood, by fellowship in our sufferings as exiles, and by other Christian bonds, and wee hope neither Sathan nor any of his instruments shall, by theis or any other errors, disunite us, and that wee shall never have cawse to repent us of our so neere conjunction with yow, but that wee shall both so aequally and

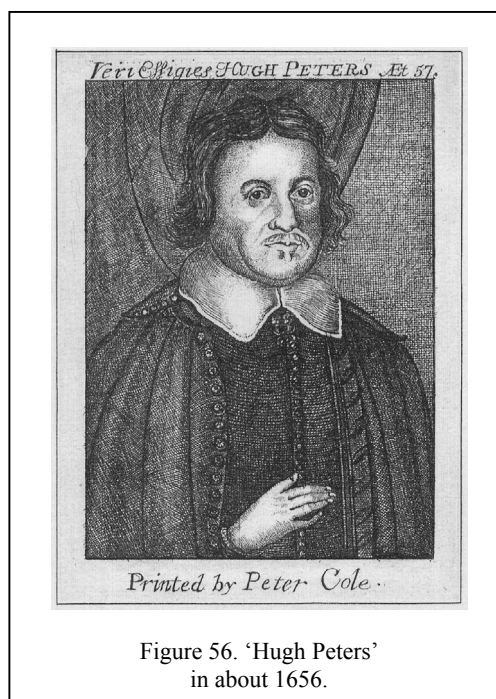


Figure 56. 'Hugh Peters' in about 1656.

zealously uphold all the truths of God revealed, that wee may render a comformable accompt to Him that hath sett us in our places, and betruſted us with the keeping of both tables [of the ten commandments], of which well hoping, wee cease your farther trouble, and rest.⁹⁵

a It is your concern when your neighbor's wall is on fire. [Horace, *Epistles*, book 1, chapter 18, line 84].

Roger Williams reported the background to these concerns in a letter to Winthrop Jr on November 10:

At Secunck a great many have lately concurd with Mr Jo[hn] Clarke and our Providence men about the point of a new baptisme, and the manner by dipping: and Mr Jo. Clarke hath bene there lately (and Mr Lucar) and hath dipped them. I believe their practice comes neerer the first practice of our great founder Christ then other practices of religion doe, and yet I have not satisfaction neither in the authoritie by which it is done, nor in the manner, nor in the prophecies concerning the rising of Christs Kingdome after the desolations by Rome, etc.⁹⁶

The New Plymouth General Court responded by passing laws in June 1650 against vilifying any church or ministry, or profaning the Lord's Day by secular work. Then in October the Grand Inquest presented nine inhabitants of Rehoboth to the General Court 'for the continewing of a meeting uppon the Lords Day from house to house, contrary to order of this Court enacted June the 12th, 1650'. William may have benefited from the increased attention to religious matters for the Sandwich town meeting agreed on January 7, 1651, the day when its surviving records begin, 'that there shall be a levie of five pound raised for Mr Leveridge for to pay for covering and parting his house with board, which was long since promised to be done for him by the towne'. This probably involved re-roofing his house and dividing it internally into separate rooms. On June 6 the General Court introduced penalties for not attending public worship. This was quickly followed by action against Edmond Freeman, his wife and eleven other residents of Sandwich, who were brought before the court on October 7 'for not frequenting the publick worship of God, contrarye to order made the 6th of June, 1651', but a marginal note was added to the court record that 'these were refered to conferance and further consideracion'. As Sandwich's minister William may have had some part in the these prosecutions, but the records are silent on the subject. Five months later on March 2, 1652 the New Plymouth General Court appointed Captain Standish 'to rectify the bounds betwixt Barnstable and Sandwidge as soone as conveniently hee can', in continuation of his work in Sandwich fourteen years before. Then on June 29 the Court ordered that 'henceforth the Indians within this jurisdiction bee not permitted to doe any servill worke on the Lords Day as by fishing, fowling, planting, hilling and carrying of burthens, &c.' and four years later forbade them to shoot a gun on the Sabbath.⁹⁷

The attempts by Dunster, Williams, Mayhew Jr and Eliot to promote their faith amongst the Amerindians were independent and isolated. The settlers were too involved in looking at and sustaining themselves in a new country to give much attention to it and as Lechford had reported in 1642 the organization of the churches as a series of independent congregations hindered any corporate action on their part. In spite of the decisions of the Massachusetts Bay General Court in November 1646, the New England colonies and their churches made very little attempt, either individually or together, to promote or finance missionary work of the type referred to in the Massachusetts Bay charter. Instead the encouragement and financial support for missionary work came from England. In November the Massachusetts Bay General Court

had made choyce of Mr Edward Winslow (one of the magistrates of Plimouth) as a fit man to be employed in our present affairs in England, both in regard of his abilities of presence, speach, courage and understanding, as also being well known to the Commissioners [for Foreign Plantations], having suffered a fewe years before divers months imprisonment by meanes of the last arch prelate in the cause of New England

and he became actively involved in promoting missionary work in New England.⁹⁸

The House of Commons began 'the consideration of affording some encouragement and charity to the inhabitants now in New-England for the promoting piety and learning in that plantation' on March 13, 1648, but a bill on the subject was unsuccessful. Parliamentary action began again in April 1649 and three letters by Eliot and one by Mayhew Jr were published in *The glorious progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England* in May. In one of Eliot's letters he made an unjustified claim to have 'intreated Mr Mahew (the young scholler, son to old Mr Mayhew) who preacheth to the English to teach' some of the Amerindians on Martha's Vineyard and added that 'he doth take pains in their language, and teacheth them not without successe, blessed be the Lord', but he later apologised that the syntax of his remark had made its 'sence untrue'.⁹⁹

'An act for promoting and propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England' was passed on July 27. This established the President and Society for Propagation of the Gospel in New England and entrusted the supervision of the Society's work in New England to the Commissioners of the United Colonies. It instructed that 'a general collection be made....in and through all the counties, cities, towns and parishes of England and Wales' and that ministers were 'required to read this Act or a copy thereof in the presence of their several

congregations upon the next Lords-day after the same shall be delivered unto them and to exhort the people to a chearful and liberal contribution, and are to give their best assistance to so pious a work'.¹⁰⁰

Eliot had written from Roxbury on November 12, 1648 that

For the further progresse of the work amongst them [the Amerindians], I doe perceive a great impediment. Sundry in the country in divers places would gladly be taught the knowledge of God and Jesus Christ, and would pray unto God if I could goe unto them and teach them where they dwell, but to come to live here among or neer to the English they are not willing because they have neither tooles, nor skill, nor heart to fence their grounds, and if it be not well fenced their come is so spoyled by the English cattell and the English so loath to restore when they want fence, that its a very great discouragement to them and me; so that few come to dwell, at the neer places where I ordinarily teach, onely some strangers do come to hear, and away again. So that I plainly see, the way to do them good must be this. A place must be found (both for this and sundry other reasons I can give) some what remote from the English, where they must have the word constantly taught, and government constantly exercised, meanes of good subsistence provided, encouragements for the industrious, meanes of instructing them in letters, trades and labours, as building, fishing, flax and hemp dressing, planting orchards, &c.

He continued on similar themes in later letters as he set about establishing an Amerindian town and sought tooles and other supplies for it in a letter of October 12, 1649 which was printed in *A perfect diurnall of some passages and proceedings of and in relation to the armies in England and Ireland* for April 1-8, 1650.¹⁰¹ There was, however, a need to deal with the 'Old Objection' - to explain what had happened to the collections that had been promoted by Peters and Weld in earlier years, but which had not been accounted for. Weld compiled

A true account of what moneyes were per my self and others received and from whome for New England towards a common stocke, the poore children, the colledge, the advance of learning, the library, the poore of New England and the conversion of the Indeans from the tyme of our first landing heere untill this present 10th of the 2d mo. [April] 1647

that was accepted by the Society's Committee on October 25, 1651. Weld also explained what had happened to money that had been collected in earlier years in a letter written from his new parish of Gateshead in Co. Durham on January 2, 1650, and he prepared but never published 'Innocency cleared, containing a just defence of Mr Weld and Mr Peters.....concerning monies received for transporting poor children to N[ew] Engl[and] and other pious uses there, and how disbursed'.¹⁰²

In October 1649 the Massachusetts Bay General Court asked Winslow to return to New England. However, when the Commissioners of the United Colonies met at Hartford in September 1650 they were presented with a letter from the Society for Propagation of the Gospel which asked for him to remain in England, since his 'integritie, abilities and dilligence.....as allso his great enterest and acquaintance with the members of Parlement and other gentlemen of qualitie' made him useful to the Society and the Commissioners accepted the situation. Prompted no doubt by Eliot, the Commissioners then wrote to Winslow asking for tools and clothing. Bradford, however, wrote that 'by reason of the great alterations in the state' Winslow 'was detained longer then was expected; and afterwards fell into other employments their, so as he hath now bene absente this 4 years, which hath been much to the weakning of this governmente, without whose consente he tooke these employments upon him'.¹⁰³

At the end of May 1650 Eliot wrote a letter to an unknown correspondent in England in which he gave 'a briefe topographically description of the severall townes in New England with the names of our magistrates and ministers' (figure 57) and he described the area where William lived in the following words:

From Plimouth southeast or more easterly putteth forth a very long poynt of land into the sea, the head whereof is called Cape-Cod, which with Cape-Ann make the great Bay of New England. Alongst that necke of land are severall townes. Eastward 27 myles from Plimouth is Sandwich, Mr Leveredge is pastor. Eastward 14 myles is Bastable, Mr Lothrop pastor. Eastward 4 myles is Yarmouth, Mr Miller pastor. Eastward 11 myles Nauset is, Mr Mayo pastor. On the southside of this necke of land over against Bastable or Sandwich, lyeth Martins Vinyard, the iland where Mr Mahu is pastor and preacheth to the Indians which live in island.¹⁰⁴

Meanwhile Massachusetts Bay was taking action against Marmaduke Mathews, who had moved there from his ministry in Yarmouth in 1644. The General Court decided in June to give him an opportunity to explain his opinions, but fined him ten pounds on May 22, 1651 for having 'given offence to magistrats, elders & many brethren in some unsaffe, if not unsound, expressions in his publicke teachinge' and for not having given satisfaction to those magistrates and elders appointed to receive it. The Malden church was also censured for having acted against advice in ordaining Mathews as its minister. Five months later in October it was recorded that the General Court

doe conceive that, although the civill & churches powers may proceede concerninge offenders in their severall wayes without interfering one with an other, yet in this case, upon some consideraccons, they judge it doth stand with wisdome to have the churches to act before themselves, & therefore they thinke meete & doe appoynt the Church of Maldon speedily to consider of the errors Mr Mathewes standes charged with in courte.

However, the General Court found the Malden church's reply unsatisfactory and it was fined fifty pounds, though members who had given satisfaction to the court or had voted against Mathews's ordination were excused. The Court also ordered that payment of Mathews's fine should be delayed 'till other goodes appeare besides bookes'. Mathews's fine and ten pounds of Malden's fine were remitted in 1652, but two Malden residents were unsuccessful in getting their part of the church fine remitted in 1655 because most of the fine had been paid by then.¹⁰⁵

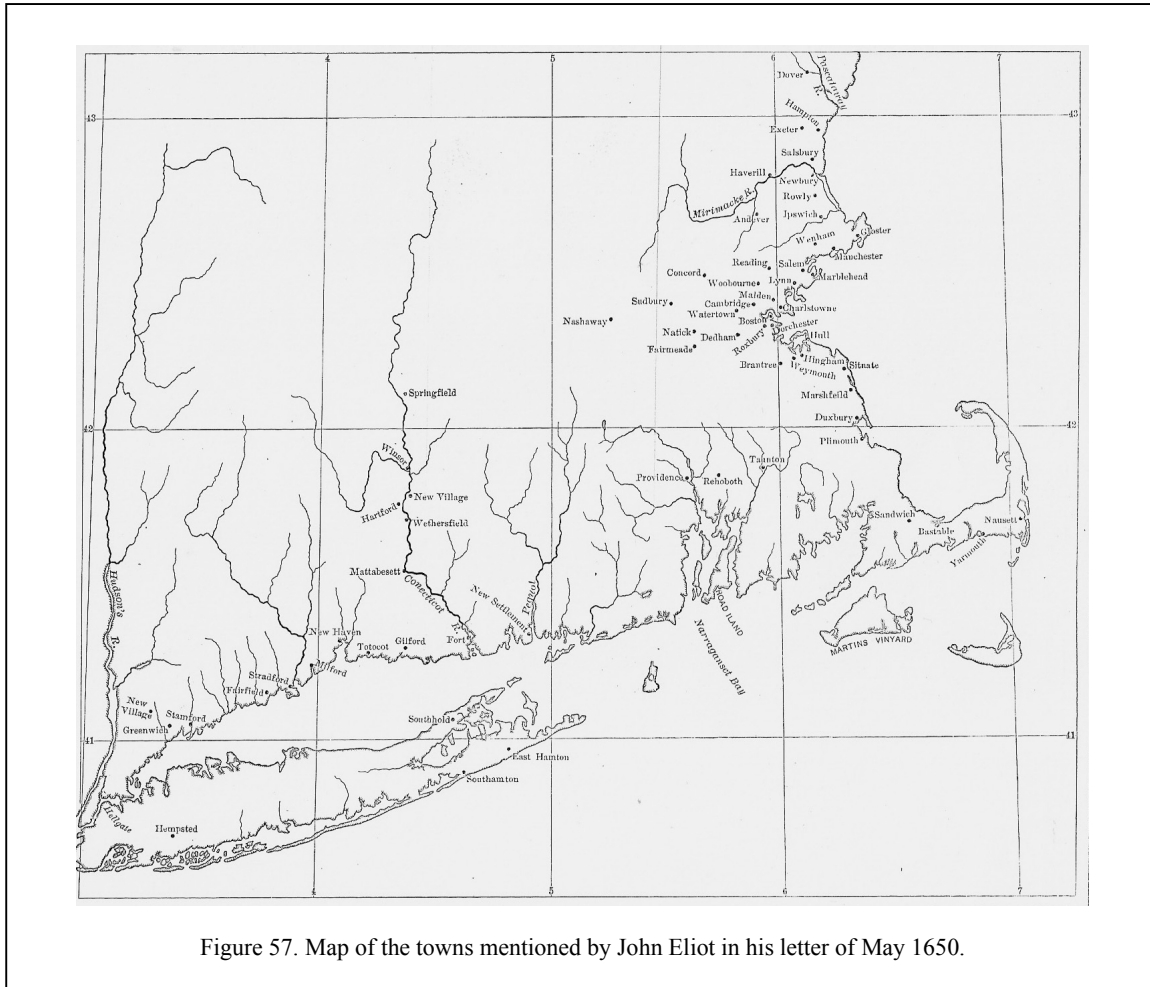


Figure 57. Map of the towns mentioned by John Eliot in his letter of May 1650.

The Massachusetts Bay authorities also discovered that they had an unorthodox layman in their midst when they received a copy of *The meritorious price of our redemption* by 'William Pinchin, gentleman, in New-England'. This discussion of Christ's sacrifice and man's justification was written by one of the founder members of the Massachusetts Bay Company and was published in London in June 1650. Pynchon had emigrated in 1630 and had established the settlement of Agawam (later Springfield) on Connecticut River in 1636. The town appointed him a magistrate and the notes that he made of court proceedings there from 1639 to 1650 provide an excellent record of judicial processes at town level for most of the time that William lived at Sandwich. On October 16, 1650 the General Court

haveinge had the sight of a booke, lately printed under the name of William Pinchon, in New England, gent., & judginge it meete, doe therefore order: First, that a protest be drawne fully & clearly to satisfy all men that this Court is so farre from approvinge the same as that they doe utterly dislike it & detest it as erroneious & dangerous. 2ly, that it be suffyciently answered by one of the reverend elders. 3ly, that the said William Pinchon be summoned to appeare before the next Generall Court, to answer for the same. 4ly, that the said booke now brought over be burnt by the executioner, (or such other as shalbe appoynted thereunto, provided the party appoynted be willinge), & that in the market place in Boston, on the morrow immediatly after the lecture.

John Norton, the teacher of the church at Ipswich, was asked to answer Pynchon's book. He had previously been chosen to make a reply to the questions that William Apollonius, pastor of Middelburg in the Netherlands, had addressed to the English churches in 1645.¹⁰⁶ Pynchon acknowledged that his book had some deficiencies when he appeared before the General Court on May 8, 1651. Norton was paid twenty pounds 'for his paynes & good service' and his book was later ordered to be sent to England to be printed, and it was published as *A discussion of that great point in divinity, the sufferings of Christ* in London in 1653. Pynchon was ordered to consider his errors and Norton's book and to appear before the General Court in May 1652, but he had probably left for England by then. *The Jewes synagogue*, his other book written in New England, was published in London in 1652. In it he discussed church government, arguing that the synagogues of the Old Testament were 'true particular visible churches' and 'it is most like that synagogue-worship was ordained by Christ from the beginning of the world'. He remained in England until his death in 1662.¹⁰⁷

Cotton was nearing the end of his life when on a day of public thanksgiving in early 1651 he preached to the First Church of Boston a sermon on regicide in which he referred to the continuing controversies about church order in England:

& if soe be you looke into the churches of England, tyme was when differences was not a little aboute hirarchy, or episcopacy & leturgie, conformity and nonconformity. But now though these matters of contention be removed yet the like contention still continuith aboute Presbitterie & Independencye, yet caried with such distaste one against another, that a man would wonder that those that have gotten victorie over popery & the image of it should be soe transported with bitterness & outrage against their well approved brethren & yet both stand in a sea of glass & see the face of God in Christ, & yet cannot looke one another in the face with any concord & mutuall love; and that alsoe is the greate difference betweene England & Scotland at this day: & as for other civell libertyes & passages aboute them, are but collaterrall.¹⁰⁸

On July 28 he wrote a letter of advice and support to Oliver Cromwell, whom he addressed as 'Right Honourable',

For so I must acknowledge you, not only for the eminency of place and command which the God of power and honour hath called you unto; but also for that the Lord hath sat you forth as a vessell of honour to his name, in working many and great deliverances for his people, and for his truth, by you; and yet helping you to reserve all the honour to him, who is the God of salvation, and the Lord of hoasts, mighty in battell.^a

a Psalms 24: 8-10. Who is this King of glory? The Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle..... Who is this King of glory? The Lord of hosts, he is the King of glory.....

Cromwell would not have received the letter by September 3, when he was victorious against Scottish forces at the Battle of Worcester, the final battle of the English Civil War. He replied to Cotton on October 2 that 'I received yours a few dayes sithence' and sent him a 'narrative' that was probably 'Parliament's narrative of the Battle of Worcester'. Cromwell also sought 'prayers in this as much as ever. How shall wee behave ourselves after such mercy? What is the Lord a doinge? What prophesies are now fulfilling? Who is a God like ours? To know his will, to do his will are both of him'. He 'took this liberty from business to salute you thus in a word [for] truly I am readie to serve you, and the rest of our brethren and the churches with you'.¹⁰⁹

Not everyone in England approved of the way the settlers were conducting themselves. When three Anabaptists - John Clark, John Crandel and Obediah Holmes - went to Lynn from Rhode Island in July 1651 they were imprisoned and punished by the Massachusetts Bay authorities, and Clark related their story in his *Ill newes from New-England* published in London in 1652. Richard Saltonstall heard how the Anabaptists had been treated and wrote to Cotton and Wilson that

It doth not a little grieve my spirit to heare what sadd things are reported dayly of your tyranny and persecutions in New-England, as that you fyne, whip and imprison men for their consciences. First, you compell such to come into your assemblies as you know will not joyne with you in your worship, and when they shew their dislike thereof or witness against it, then you styrr up your magistrates to punish them for such (as you conceyve) their publicke affronts. Truly, friends, this your practice of compelling any in matters of worship to doe that whereof they are not fully persuaded, is to make them sin, for soe the apostle (Rom. 14 and 23)^a tells us, and many are made hypocrites thereby, conforming in their outward man for feare of punishment.

a Romans 14: 23. And he that doubteth if he eat, because he eateth not of faith: for whatsoever is not of faith is sin.

Cotton replied justifying the colony's actions and he responded to Santonstall's argument that 'to compell men to conforme the outward man for fear of punishment' made them hypocrites by stating that 'if it did so, yet better to be hypocrites than prophane persons. Hypocrites give God part of his due, the outward man, but the prophane person giveth God neither outward nor inward man'.¹¹⁰

Winslow purchased some tools from Humfrey Osborne in the Little Minories, a road immediately to the east of the City of London, on March 29, 1651 and more tools were purchased on the following day. They and a letter from the Society for Propagation of the Gospel were sent to the Commissioners of the United Colonies in April and a list of the goods received was compiled in New England in June. When the Commissioners met at New Haven on September 4 they received the Society's letter and replied six days later that 'Mr Elliot and Mr Mayhew continew their pious labours in sowing spirituall seed amongst them [the Amerindians] and Mr Leveridge, Mr Blinman and Mr Person &c. are studying the language that they may the better treat with them concerning the thinges of their peace'. They also received a petition and letter dated September 3 from Eliot and replied nine days later that

Wee take notice from you that Mr Leveridge and Mr Blinman are fitting themselves for the worke. It wilbee great mercy if the Lord please to present more instruments and fitt mater for them to worke upon. Mr Higgenson hath spent som time formerly about the Indian language and Mr Peirson hath done the like and continueth with much seriousness therein.¹¹¹

Richard Blinman had arrived in New England in 1640 and was minister firstly at Gloucester and then from 1650 at New London. Abraham Peirson or Pierson had arrived in New England at about the same time and was the minister at Southampton on the eastern end of Long Island until about 1647 when he moved to Branford in New Haven Colony. 'Mr Higgenson' was probably Francis Higginson's eldest son John. The letters are the first references to William's involvement in missionary work, work that was soon to receive much wider publicity.¹¹²

Henry Whitfield left Guilford in New Haven in 1650 and returned to England where he produced the fifth of the Eliot tracts, a pamphlet with the title *The light appearing more and more towards the perfect day, or, A farther discovery of the present state of the Indians in New-England*, in London in the following year. This contained one letter from Mayhew Jr and five from Eliot. It was followed by the publication by the Society for Propagation of the Gospel of *Strength out of weaknesse, or, A glorious manifestation of the further progresse of the Gospel among the Indians in New-England* in 1652 and the bookseller George Thomason obtained his copy on August 4. This pamphlet has often been attributed to Whitfield because the title page contains the words 'published by Mr Henry Whitfield', but they probably refer back to his previous pamphlet (figure 58). The title 'Strength out of weaknesse' had been used three years earlier for a pamphlet about John Lilburn, a controversial officer in the parliamentary army who was then a prisoner in the Tower of London'.¹¹³

Strength out of weaknesse began with an 'Epistle Dedicatorie' to Parliament which was signed by Whitfield and eleven other ministers and this was followed by a preface 'To the Reader' which was signed by eight of these and by six other ministers. All were Puritan ministers who except for Whitfield had remained in England during the previous twenty troubled years. Most of them had been associated with the Westminster Assembly, five were masters of Cambridge or Oxford colleges, four of the six who had attended Emmanuel College had done so at about the same time as William and all were sufficiently prominent to be included in the *Oxford dictionary of national biography* (table 14). A second preface 'To the Christian Reader' stated that 'This is the fifth treatise [that] hath been published to the world in this kinde (but the first by the Corporation) every one of them exceeding each other, wherein a most apparant growth and progresse doth appeare amongst the poor Natives'. It also reported that

This worke of Gods grace growes in New England, not onely in the places where the Gospel was formerly preached to the Indians, but God hath stirred up two eminent ministers in two other parts of the countrey to labour in the worke, not without successe answerable, as Mr William Leveridge neere Sandwich in the Government of New Plymouth, sixtie miles from the place where Mr Eliot teacheth, and Mr Richard Blindman at Pecoat, a place formerly subdued by the English.¹¹⁴

Strength out of weaknesse contained nine letters from New England. The first of two by Eliot was dated April 28, 1651 and had already been published in the *Severall proceedings in Parliament* in October. In his undated second letter he referred to the establishment in October 1650 of the Amerindian 'praying town' of Natick on the Charles River ten miles west of Dedham. The third letter was written from Boston by John Wilson on October 27, 1651. He began by referring to 'Mr Eliot, Mr Mahew and Mr Leverich, with whom I have made diligent enquiry' and wrote that

Mr Leverich being lately here and at my house, (who also preached at our new church) I conferred with him about the beginnings and progresse of the Lords worke among his neighbouring Indians at Sandwich, and did heare from him, what did my heart good. And therefore when he tooke his leave of me I requested him that he would doe me the favour at his returne home, to send me a briefe story of that good hand of God which was there upon them, *ab origine*, which I thanke him he did soone after, and I thought not amisse to inclose it, as it came to me, being written with his own hand, not doubting but it would adde unto your rejoycing in the Lord.

The 'new church' that William preached at may have been Boston's second meeting-house, which was built in 1640, but was probably the new church established at Boston's North End in 1650 (figure 59).¹¹⁵

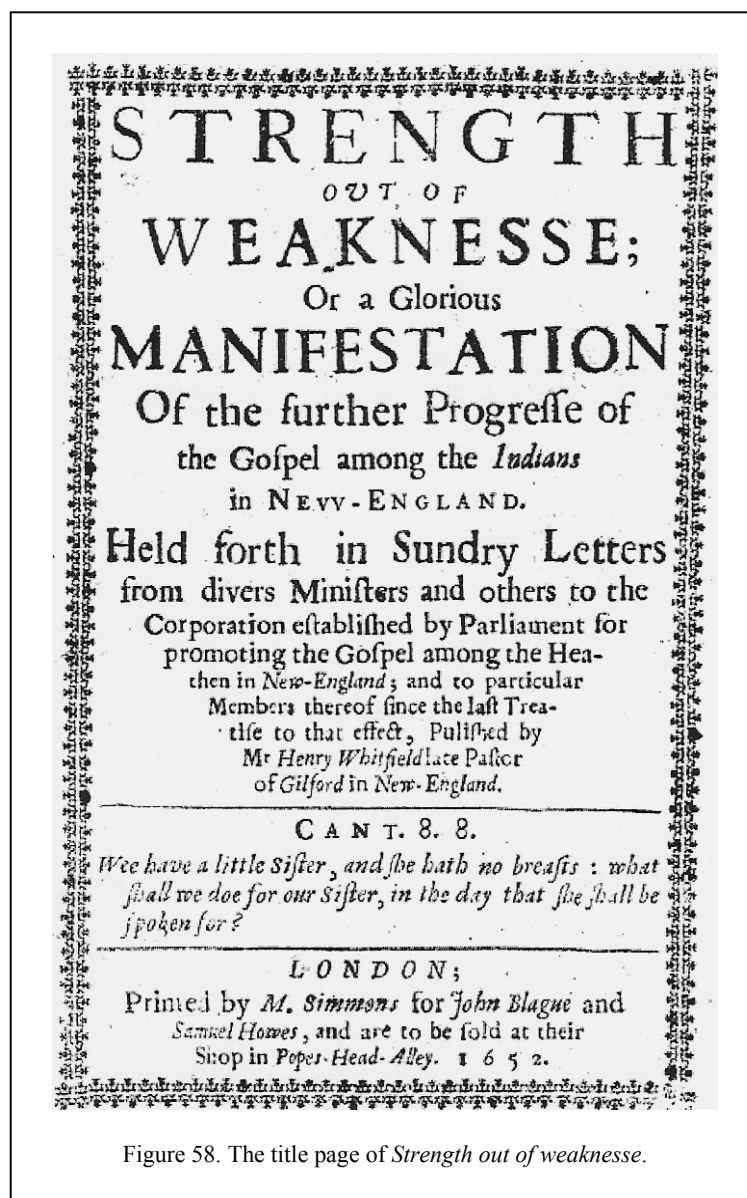


Figure 58. The title page of *Strength out of weaknesse*.

William's letter of September 22 was printed next and in it he described 'the mooving causes inducing mee to set upon this worke [and] secondly, with what successe I have hitherto been entertained'. He had encountered 'travaills amongst our owne countreyemen' leading to 'the rejecting of all churches and ordinances by a new cunning' which he persuaded himself was a 'most pernicious plot of the Devill to undermine all religion'. He and some others had considered moving elsewhere, but had been persuaded to remain, and William began his missionary work amongst a group of Amerindians:

Not long after, having an hopefull Indian in my house, he propounds to mee a motion of teaching the Indians neere us. And sometime after Mr Eliot invites mee to the same worke by his letters: then I thought with my selfe I must stay, and began to tast the motion with more affection, resolving, that if God would please to fit up the roomes of others with the accesse of such forlorne creatures, and bring in such as wandred in the high wayes, lanes and hedges, and call in the lame and halt, and blind, in stead of those contemners, it would be a mercy.

William described his attempts to learn Algonquian, the Amerindians' language, which he found to be 'very difficult, irregular and anomalous' but he found that God helped him to learn more of it than 'I thinke I could or did of Latine, Greeke or Hebrew in the like space of time' and that the Amerindians 'understand mee fully.....so farre as I have gone'. He was encouraged that some of them were able 'to looke over and beyond the examples of some of our looser sort of English, which I looke upon as a great stumbling blocke to many'.

He described particular examples of the effect of his and God’s work upon the Amerindians, was encouraged to ‘finde the Devill bestirring himselfe, and betaking of himselfe to his wonted practice of stirring up oppositions against this worke by his instruments, as fearing the ruine of his kingdome’ and reported to Wilson that ‘not long before I was last with you in the Bay.....there came to me to the number of twentie of them, voluntarily professing one by one their desire to feare God, promising that they would leave their sins’. The complete text of William’s letter and a supporting testimonial from Anthony Bessey (Antony Besse) of the same date that was also included in the pamphlet are here reprinted as Appendix C.¹¹⁶

Table 14. The ministers who signed the ‘Epistle Dedicatorie’ (ED) and the preface ‘To the Reader’ (TTR) of *Strength out of weaknesse*. The colleges were part of Cambridge University except where stated.

Name	Year of birth	College	Year of grad.	Diocese of ordination	Year of ordin.	Signed	Year of death
Simeon Ashe		Emmanuel College	Admitted 1613	Peterborough	1619	TTR	1662
William Bridge	1601	Emmanuel College	1623			ED TTR	1671
Edmund Calamy	1600	Pembroke College	1620			TTR	1666
William Carter	1605	?Trinity College	?1629			ED	1658
Joseph Caryl	1602	Exeter Coll., Oxf.	1625			ED TTR	1673
Thomas Goodwin	1600	Christ’s College	1617	Peterborough	1622	ED	1680
William Gouge	1575	King’s College	[1598]		1607	TTR	1653
William Greenhill	1598	Gonville & Caius C.	1619	Lincoln	1628	ED	1671
George Griffith	?1618	Magdalen Hall, Oxf.	1642			ED TTR	[1702]
Philip Nye	1595	Brasenose Coll., Oxf.	1619			ED TTR	1672
John Owen	1616	Queen’s Coll., Oxf.	1632	Oxford	1635	ED	1683
Lazarus Seaman		Emmanuel College	1628		1628	TTR	1675
Sidrach Simpson	[1600]	Emmanuel College	1622		1623	ED TTR	1655
William Spurstowe		Emmanuel College	1627			TTR	1666
William Strong		St Catharine’s College	1631			ED TTR	1654
Ralph Venning	[1622]	Emmanuel College	1646			ED TTR	1674
Jeremiah Whitaker	1599	Sidney Sussex Coll.	1619	Peterborough	1623	TTR	1654
Henry Whitfield	1597	New College, Oxford	-			ED TTR	1657

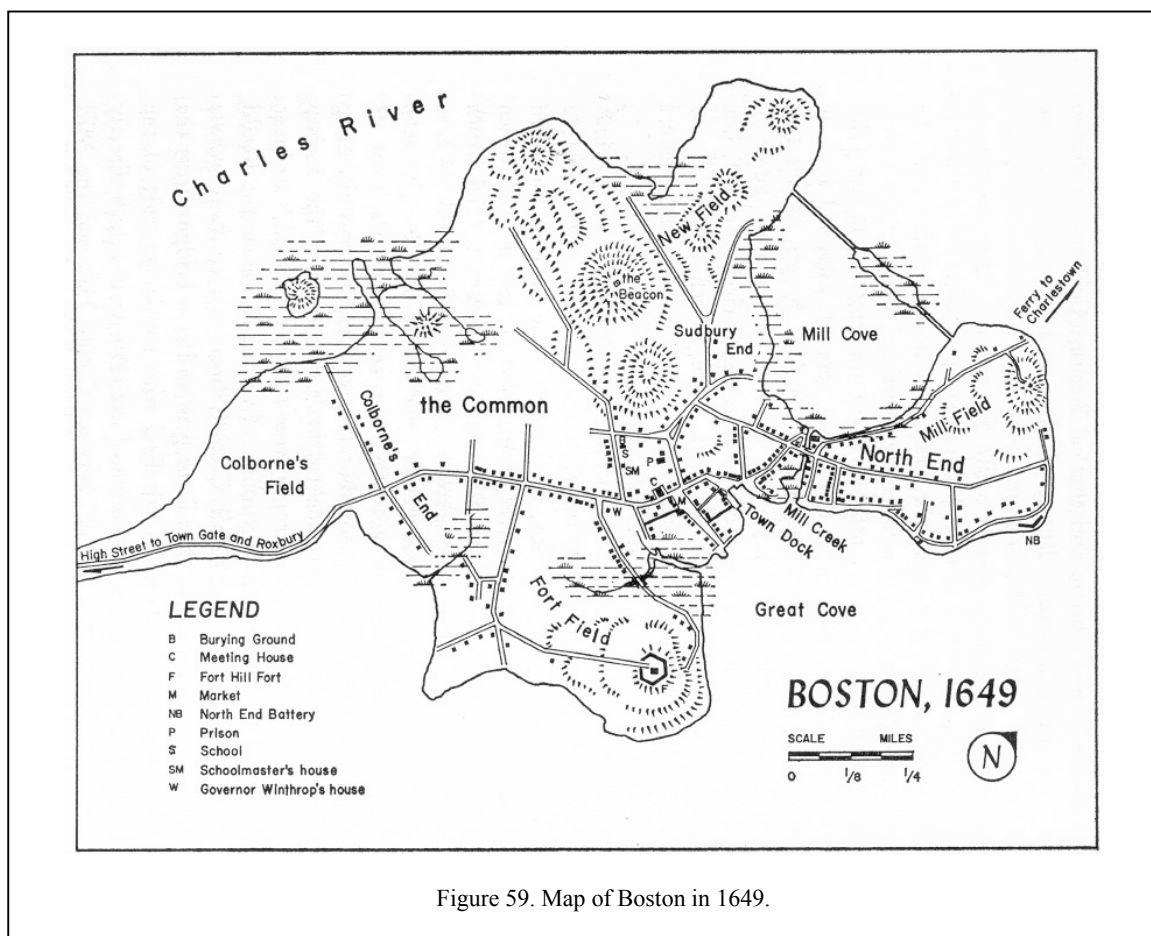


Figure 59. Map of Boston in 1649.

The other letters in *Strength out of weaknesse* were by Mayhew Jr, John Endecott, then Governor of Massachusetts Bay, William French and Thomas Allen. Allen's letter of January 8, 1652 from Norwich stated 'that there are divers persons in severall places, who doe take paines, and labour in that worke there, viz not onely Mr Eliot of Roxbury.....and Mr Mahew.....[of] Martins Vineyard; but of late also Mr Leveridge in the jurisdiction of Plymouth, and Mr Blynman, who lives now in a new plantation in the Pequotts countrey'. A large number of copies of *Strength out of weaknesse* were produced in at least four separate issues and it was reprinted in 1834, in 1865 and in 2003. It was also reissued with a new title page - *The banners of grace and love displayed in the farther conversion of the Indians in New-England* - in 1657.¹¹⁷

It is not possible to tell how long William had been engaged in his missionary work before writing the letter to Wilson. However, his language studies would have taken some time to reach the level he described and he is likely to have begun the work before 1651. He appears to have been sincere in this work, though doubtless he operated within the mental framework of the period. Some authors have read more into William's letter than appears to be justified by what he actually wrote. Alden Vaughan wrote in 1965 that he 'never mastered the native tongue' and Harry Ward in 1973 that he 'gave up his Sandwich pastorate because "divers of his people" had "cast off all the ordinances of God" and "at last came to be seduced by every idle spritt"'. It is, however, much more likely that he continued to minister to his fellow settlers at Sandwich. Eliot remained a minister at Roxbury during his much longer and more extensively-recorded missionary work and Edward Johnson's description of missionary work in *A history of New-England* in 1654 contained the marginal note 'Also Mr William Leveriry, Pastor of Sandwich Church, is very serious therein, and with good success'.¹¹⁸

Eliot described the initial distribution of the tools sent by the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in a letter he wrote to Winslow on October 20, 1651 and the Commissioners sent Winslow a letter and Eliot's much fuller accounts of the distribution of the tools when it met at Boston in September 1652. Eliot stated in his accounts that

When I heard that Mr Leveridg began to teach the Indians I sent him advice to put them upon labour also and to that end I sent him by Mr Paddy one broad axe, 2 narrow axes, 2 bills, 3 broad howes, 3 narrow howes, 4 hatchets, which are 9 edg tools and 6 howes, this promised.¹¹⁹

Eliot may thus have hoped that William would establish a 'praying town' similar to Natick, which the Massachusetts Bay General Court approved at this time, but this only came about after William had moved away from Sandwich. Eliot later wrote about the purchase of 'two libraris of two ministers who left us and they are both paide for by the Corporation in London, and my brother Mahn [Mayhew] hath been possessed of his a good while'. The libraries were those of Thomas Weld, Elliot's former colleague at Roxbury, and of Thomas Jenner, who had returned in 1650. Weld's 195 and 'divrse other small' books were purchased for Elliot for £34 and Jenner's 200 books for Mayhew for £30.¹²⁰ There is no record of William receiving any books, but he continued with his missionary work and in May 1653

The Comisioners [of the United Colonies], considering how the precious light of the gossPELL might bee further communicated and spred amongst the Indeans, thought fitt to incourage Mr Leverich of Sandwidge in Plymouth Collonie for that good worke; and ordered Mr Rawson to pay him the sume of six pound, namely 3 pound in linnin for his owne use and 3 pound in tooles for the use of the Indians.

Eliot also undertook independent fund-raising and this caused problems for both the Society and the Commissioners, who informed Winslow in September 1653 that 'wee have advised Mr Eliott and others that heerafter they forbear such writing and consult with the Comissioners first what to send for, and wee desire you not to attend to such private letters'.¹²¹

The 'five pound' to be raised for William's house, the rejection of Mathews's books in payment of his fine and the many other financial items imply the existence of a currency, though payments were also made in crops and other goods. The supply of English coin in New England was very limited. Consequently the Massachusetts Bay General Court decided on May 27, 1652 to produce its own coins and this was entrusted to John Hull:

In pursuance of the intent of this Court herein, be it further ordred & enacted by the authoritie of this Court, that all persons whatsoever have libertie to bring in unto the mint howse at Boston, all bullion, plate or Spanish coyne, there to be melted & brought to the allay of sterling silver by John Hull, master of the said mint, & his sworne officers, & by him to be coyned into twelve pence, six pence & threepence peeces, which shalbe for forme flatt, & square on the sides, & stamped on the one side with NE, & on the other side with xiid, vid & iiid, according to the value of each peece, together with a privie marke.

The coins were to have a value of 'two pence in a shilling of lesser valew then the present English coyne'. Twelve, six and three pence coins, and two pence coins as well, were minted for several years, but all bore the date 1652, and the lower value compared with sterling disappeared over time (figure 60). Hull stated in his diary that he 'was born in Market Harborough, in Leicestershire, in the year 1624, about December 18' and that he was 'brought up in Hareborough, at school, until I was near ten years old', when he and his father went to Boston. No record has been found of his baptism at either Market Harborough or the neighboring Great Bowden that William had moved to in 1628, but his father Robert may have been the 'Robert Hull of Harborowe, spurrier' who was named in a letter of attorney dated January 8, 1630.¹²²

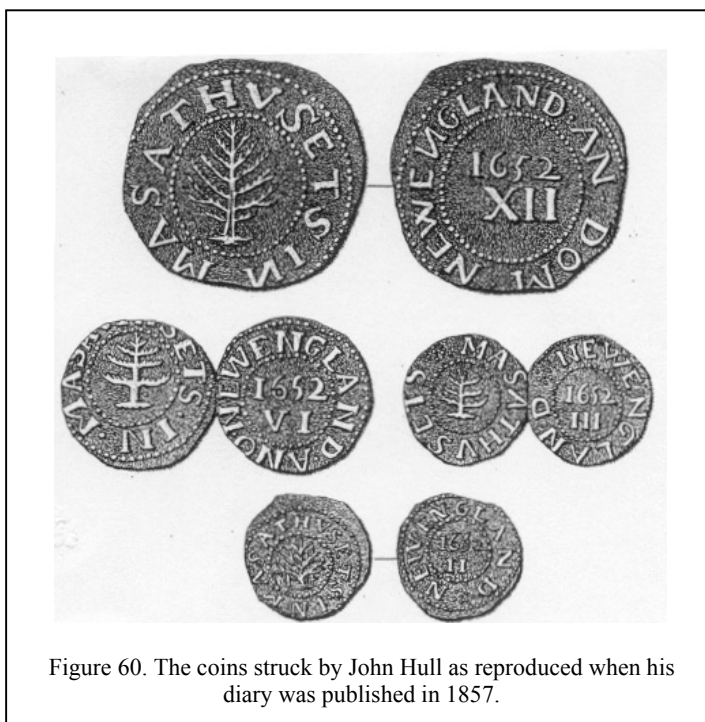


Figure 60. The coins struck by John Hull as reproduced when his diary was published in 1857.

The next Eliot Tract, with the title *Tears of repentance, or, A further narrative of the progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England*, was published by the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in 1653 and contained letters from Mayhew Jr, Eliot and Mather. Mayhew described the missionary work in Martha's Vineyard and he included a copy of the covenant that he had prepared for the Amerindians there. Mather recorded a meeting at Natick on October 13, 1652 which was attended by a group of ministers and magistrates to hear some of the town's Amerindians make confessions of their Christian faith. He asked 'how shall we know that the confessions here related, being spoken in their tongue, were indeed uttered by them in such words as have the same signification and meaning with these that are here expressed, for we have only the testimony of one man [Eliot] to assure us of it?' and it was reported after the third confession by Ponampam

that the magistrates, elders and other Christian people present did much rejoyce to hear their confessions, and advised them to go on in that good way; but as for the gathering a church among them this day, it could not be; partly, because neither Mr Mayhew, nor Mr Leveridg, nor any interpreter was here (for whom they knew I had sent, some of themselves being the messengers to carry letters time enough) and it was Gods ordinance, that when any were to judg a case, though they could beleve one witness, yet they could not judg under two or three. Also I told them, that themselves might easily see there was not time enough to finish so solemn a work this day; therefore they advised, and God called to refer it to a fitter season, in which advice they rested; and so was the work of that day, with prayers unto God, finished; the accomplishment being referred to a fitter season.¹²³

The 'fitter season' took a long time to come. Eliot recorded in a letter to Jonathan Hanmer, minister of Barnstable in Devon, on August 29, 1654 that

Religion is on the gaineing hand (I blesse the Lord) though in church estate and affaires of ecclesiastical polity they come on but slowly, but in these matters they doo as they are ordered and guided by counsel and not according to their owne notions. I hope you have seen theire confessions which they made in the yeare [16]52, and the reasons of our proceeding no further at that time; in the yeare [16]53 I did not move at all that way for some special reasons..... This yeare [16]54 we have had another meeting about it: viz. for the examination of the Indians in poynt of knowledge in the doctrinal part of religion, they were examined principally by the elders of the churches about us, as also by any other Christian man, who thought good to propound any question to them, as some did for it was an open and free conference.

Some of the Natick Amerindians were admitted to the Roxbury church in 1659 and an Amerindian church was eventually established at Natick in 1660.¹²⁴

The Society for Propagation of the Gospel collected substantial sums of money throughout England. It invested a lot of its income in land and the manor of Eriswell and Chamberlains that was purchased in 1653 was located ten miles north-west of William's former Suffolk parish of Great Livermere (table 15).¹²⁵

Table 15. Summary of the accounts of the Society for Propagation of the Gospel in New England for 1650-54.

<i>Cash in the hands of the treasurer</i>	<i>£ s d</i>	<i>Contra creditor</i>	<i>£ s d</i>
2.1653 To the Army's contribution	511 3 7	1650 By books paid for	30 0 0
To the contribution from 12 named counties	3186 19 4	1651 By goods bought & sent to New England	80 19 0
To personal gifts	861 16 7	More goods sent by ship	275 8 0
To rents received	22 15 0	For books	34 0 0
		1652 By goods bought sent to New England	162 6 8
		More goods sent by ship	387 17 6
		By sundry disbursements	359 7 5
		By fee farm rents bought of the State	320 19 3
		By bills of exchange	158 0 0

			1808 18 0
		3.1653 By balance carried forward	2773 16 6

			4582 14 6

3.1653 To balance brought forward	2773 16 6	1653 By goods bought & sent to New England	39 12 0
1653 & To the Army's contribution	2479 0 6	By goods bought & sent to New England	6 17 0
1654 To the contributions from 20 named counties	5146 0 3½	By the Manor of Eriswell & Chamberlain	7108 9 10
To personal gifts	317 2 6	By sundry disbursements	260 3 1
To rents received	196 15 8		-----
		9.1654 By balance carried forward	7415 1 11
			3497 13 6½

			10912 15 5½

Not everyone was contented with the money that they received from the Commissioners. The Society wrote to the Commissioners on February 18, 1654 about 'the many complaints made by Mr Elliott to sundry of his frinds heer, that you allow him but twenty pound per annum, which doth not beare his charges, in soe much as hee runs in debt every yeare more and more and is disabled for giveing his children that education hee otherwise would'. It reported that these comments had an adverse effect on the Society's income for they 'flyeth like lightening and takes like tinder, men being extream glad to meet with any thing that may couller over there covetiousnes and dull there zeale in soe good a worke'. Peters was particularly critical of the missionary work in New England, having 'tould Mr Winslow in plaine tearmes hee heard the worke was but a plaine cheat, and that there was noe such thinge as gossPELL conversion amongst the Indians'. The Society added that Peters 'hath been a very bad instrument all along towards this worke, whoe though of a comittee in the army for the advance of it amongst them, yett protested against contributing a peny towards it in his person'. The Commissioners responded when they met at Hartford in September by raising Eliot's and Mayhew's salaries to £40, but they chided Eliot for his unwise comments. They also reported to the Society that 'one cattachesme is alreddy printed and Mr Person is preparing another to sute these southwest partes where the language differs from theires whoe live about the Massacheuesetts'. Concern about what was happening to the money that was being collected for the Society's work led in July 1665 to the Council of State directing the Society 'to take the most effectual means for getting in the sums so collected, and to certify the reason of the delay' and it was 'also required to make a return of all the money collected, how it has been disposed of, and how the growing revenues are employed'. The Society responded with a letter to Oliver Cromwell, by then Lord Protector, and 'An account of such moneys as have byne received...from the 7th August 1649 to the 3 of September 1655'.¹²⁶

The New Plymouth General Court continued both to transact its routine business and to prepare for hostilities with the Dutch. The court records from March 1652 to June 1653 show a range of items that affected either Sandwich as a whole or particular residents (document 11). If the 'Grand Enquest' or Grand Jury's presentment of William was justified, his contact with one Amerindian had breached the colony's rules. In spite of this action against him, he appears to have been in a special position when the arrangements for pasturing livestock were considered by the Sandwich town meeting on June 24 and it was ordered

that the keepers or any other person or persons are and have liberty to pound all swine and all other cattell whatsoever, except Mr Leveridg his sheep and calves, out of the Towne Neck and this order to put in practice the third day of the next week which is the last week of June 1653 and the oners of the hogs or cattle to pay 6d a peice the first time and 12d the second time to the pound. For the present hogs are allowed to be with out rings untill the first of September next. It is

agreed upon that Mr Leveridge only have liberty to put his sheep into the Towne Neck with a keeper two days in a week all this summer and to keep them upon the farther side of the neck that all the hither side may be preserved for the calves because of the water.¹²⁷

[March 2, 1652]

The Court have deputed Captaine Standish to rectify the bounds betwixt Barnstable and Sandwidge as soone as conveniently hee can.

Ralph Allen Senior and Richard Kerbey, for speaking vild and deriding speaches gainst Gods word and ordinances, were fined five pounds a peece, to be paied betwixt this and June court next, or if not, then to suffer bodily punishment by whiping.

[Grand Enquest]. Wee further present the towne of Taunton for not having a common stock of powder & shott according to order. Wee further present the towne of Sandwidge for the like defecte.

[Grand Enquest]. Wee further present Thomas Launder of the towne of Sandwidge for haveing a child born within thirty weeks after marriage. [Note added: Not appeering, fined according to order].

[June 3, 1652]

[Grand Enquest]. Wee further present the townes of Sandwidge and Mattakeesse, or Yarmouth, for not building a bridge over the Ellriver, according to order.

The cunstable of Sandwidge, by a warrant, is required to call upon the lieftenant and William Newland to traine the milletary companie of Sandwidge, and if hee refuse, to appoint there sergeant, Peeter Wright, to doe it.

[June 29, 1652]

Wheras complaint is made that the lower way betwixt Sandwidge and Barnstable is enterupted and hindered, the Court have ordered, that Mr Prence or Captaine Standish, as soone as conveniently they can, shall have power to impanell a jury to lay the said way out as conveniently as they can for the use of the cuntry, unless the towne of Barnstable will of themselves allow it for a common hieway.

It is ordered [that] Captain Standish or Mr Prence are authorised to impannell an indifferent jurey out of the 4 townes, *videlecett*, Sandwidge, Barnstable, Yarmouth and Eastham, to lay out the convenientest waie from Sandwidge to Plymouth for a cuntry way as speedily as may bee donn.

[May 3, 1653]

The counsell of warr mett att Plymouth on the 12th of May, 1653, *videlecett*, Mr Thomas Prence, presedent, Capt. Myles Standish, [and others and they] haveing received intelligence.....conserning a warr with the Duch in these partes of America.....came to these conclusions following.....

Warrants were issued out, in the name of the state of England, for the pressing of the number of sixty men, able and fitt for warr, if need shall require, which number was to bee taken out of the severall townes within this jurisdiction according to there proportions, viz. -

Out of Plymouth	7	Yarmouth	6
Duxburrow	6	Barnstable	6
Scittuate	9	Marshfeild	6
Sandwidge	6	Rehoboth	6
Taunton	5	Eastham	3

[June 9, 1653]

[Grand Enquest]. Wee present Mr William Leveridge, of Sandwidge, for chaunging a gun with an Indian, contrary to order of Court.

Document 11. Entries relating to Sandwich in the records of the New Plymouth General Court from March 1652 to June 1653. Both Allen and Kerbey subsequently became Quakers or Quaker supporters. Allen may have been a son of the George Allen whose will was dealt with by William in 1648. Forty shillings of the fine imposed on Launder was remitted by the Court on December 6, 1653.

The time had, nevertheless, come for William and Ellen to move away from Sandwich. William was clearly dissatisfied with the attitudes and behavior of some of the settlers there and the town was not the religious utopia that he may have sought or longed for. Furthermore the increasing influence of Massachusetts Bay in the religious affairs of New Plymouth may have encouraged a move. The religious diversity in the adjacent colony of Providence Plantations & Rhode Island was probably equally unattractive. William looked further west to Connecticut for a new home for himself and ‘some other freinds’ when he wrote an undated letter to John Winthrop Jr at the Pequot River (afterwards the Thames):

Worthy Sir, Your knowne humanity encourages me (otherwise almost a stranger to your selfe) to adventure theis few lines to your wor[shi]pps, presuming ofe your favor. You shall please to understand, that beeing unsetled here together with some other freinds wee have beene put upon thoughts ofe remoovall, in case the Lord should please to open unto us a doore ofe providense els where, and heareing ofe some convenient seates neere you, as also ofe your desire ofe neighborhood in this respect, I am emboldned in the name ofe the rest to desire your furtheranse in this designe, (about which also theis freinds come on purpose), not only to enforme them according to your knowledge ofe the places adjacent, but in case after view they shall take incouragement and likeing, to be helpfull to them in the procureing of a title and legall interest in the same for their associates with themselves, with the like freedome from publiq trouble and charge, as we heare your selves enjoy. Wee hope you shall have noe just cause to repent you ofe any favor shewne us therein. Thus craveing pardon ofe my boldness, I humbly take leave and rest yor wor[shi]pps to be comm[en]ded.¹²⁸

Winthrop had moved to Pequot (New London) in 1646 and this and eleven other towns had expanded Connecticut beyond the three original British settlements. Winthrop’s response to William’s letter has not survived, but William and his family, the Wright brothers and their families and several other Sandwich residents had moved to Long Island by September, a move that may have been encouraged by Davenport and Eaton of New Haven.¹²⁹ William’s move to Long Island did not stop further proceedings against him in New Plymouth, where at the General Court on October 3, 1654

Gyles Hopkins complained against Mr William Leverich, in an action of defamacion, to the dammage of fifty pound. The jury find for the plaintife twenty pounds, and the charges of the Court, which comes to -

It[em], to the jury,	<i>s d</i> 06: 06
It[em], to the clarke,	3: 00
It[em], to the marshall,	00: 06
It[em], to the cunstable of Sandwich,	00: 06

Judgment was graunted by the Court unto the plaintife, according to the verdict.¹³⁰

Bradford wrote a long, wistful poem in 1654 in which he reflected how he had lived ‘in happy peace this four and thirty years’ in New England. He recalled with a touch of sadness how the colony that he had served had been over-shadowed by Massachusetts Bay but had itself grown:

Almost ten years we lived here alone,
 In other places there were few or none;
 For Salem was the next of any fame,
 That began to augment New England’s name.
 But after multitudes began to flow,
 More than well knew themselves to bestow;
 Boston then began her roots to spread,
 And quickly soon she grew to be the head,
 Not only of the Massachusetts Bay,
 But all trade and commerce fell in her way.
 And truly ‘tis admirable to know
 How greatly all things here began to grow.
 New plantations were in each place begun,
 And with inhabitants were filled soon.

Ministers from outside the colony had clearly had a greater impact on him than those within, for he wrote that

Many men of worth, for learning and great fame,
 Grave and godly, in to those parts here came;
 As HOOKER, COTTON, DAMFORD, and the rest,
 Whose names are precious and elsewhere express’d;
 And many amongst these, you might soon find,
 Who (in some things) left not their like behind.¹²⁷

Sandwich was not the only town in New Plymouth to lose its minister in the 1650s. Plymouth asked Rayner to resign in 1654 and he went to William's former town of Dover where he died in 1669. Lothrop of Barnstable died in 1653 and Mayo left Eastham in 1655. Bradford pressurized the General Court to stem the losses and associated disagreements and declared that 'hee is not willinge to accept his place [as governor] for the full yeare unlesse some speedy course bee taken for the redresse of the same' when it met on June 8, 1655. The court responded, but its orders were too late:

It was enacted that such as shall denye the scriptures to bee a rule of life shall receive corporall punishment according to the descretion of the majestrate soe as it shall not extend to life or limb.

Wheras there hath been many complaints of want of due maintainance of the minnesters as some have reported, it is therfore enacted, that noe pastor or teacher of any congregation shall remove before his complaint hath been tendered to the majestrates and they have heard both sides.

That upon such complaints if there appeers to bee a reall defect in the hearers of the minnesters soe complaining, the majestrates shall use all gentle meanes to perswade them to doe their duty heerin, but if any of them shall not heerby bee reclaimed but shall persist through plaine obstinacye against an ordinance of God that then it shalbee in the power of the majestrate to use such other meanes as may put them upon their duty.¹³²

The Sandwich town records for 1655 contain a copy of a letter by nineteen residents to an unknown addressee. This may have been an attempt to attract William back to Sandwich. If it was sent to him it was unsuccessful, since he remained on Long Island, but it provides a reminder of the leading Sandwich residents soon after his departure:

Loving Brother - It is the earnest desire of our friends, with ourselves, all whose names are underwritten, to encourage by a clear call to continue and employ the spiritual gift and talent which God of His goodness and mercy has bestowed upon you, hoping that if it please the Lord to incline your heart to answer us in our desires, we will not be [] to recompense your labor of love.

Thomas Tupper	Henry Dillingham	Edmond Freeman	Thomas Dexter
John Vincent	Thomas Tobey	Thomas Gibbs	Joseph Winsor
James Skiff	William Swift	Thomas Johnson	Michael Blackwell
Edward Dillingham	Jonathan Willis	Daniel Wing	Johana Swift
Anthony Besse	Richard Chadwell	Nathaniel Fish ¹³³	

The New Plymouth General Court was still dealing with William's affairs in 1656 when it ordered on June 3 that 'wheras Mr William Leverich hath stood sometime presented for changing a gun with an Indian, contrary to order, and was by the said order fined the summe of fifteen pounds, the Court, upon some considerationes, have abated five pounds therof, soe that he is now to pay the sum of ten pounds' and it ordered 'that the fine of ten pound upon Mr Leveridge bee appointed to satisfy for horshier, and it to bee brought to Plymouth, and delivered to such a person as the Treasurer shall appoint'. William continued to be remembered in Sandwich by the land that he had owned. Proceedings before the General Court referred to the grant of 'a parcell of meddow, formerly called Mr Leveriches meddow, as being by him onely mowed, the said meddow lying att Manomett' to Thomas Burgis Sr of Sandwich on June 13, 1660 and to 'the meddow.....which was called Mr Leverich his meddow' on June 4, 1661.¹³⁴

Mayhew Jr set out for England in November 1657, but the ship on which he was travelling never arrived. His missionary work was continued by his father, who established an Amerindian church in Martha's Vineyard in 1659. Eliot continued with his missionary work and language studies. His *A late and further manifestation of the progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New-England* was published in London in 1655 and his translations of the first book of the Old Testament and the first book of the New Testament into Algonquin were printed in Cambridge, Mass. in the same year. There is one surviving copy of *Genesis*, but none of *Matthew*. The complete Bible in Algonquin, *Mamusse wunneetupanatamwe Upbiblum God*, was first published in Cambridge in 1663, though as Lovell has written 'how much it was used and read by the Indians themselves is questionable'. *Manitowompae pomantamoonk*, Eliot's translation of Bayly's *The practise of pietie*, followed two years later.¹³⁵

William's missionary work in the Sandwich area was continued and expanded by Richard Bourne, one of the original Sandwich grantees, and by Thomas Tupper. Bourne was supported financially by the Society for Propagation of the Gospel. He encouraged the formation of an Amerindian church and was ordained as its minister when it was established at Mashpee in June 1670. A month later in a letter that was published in London as *A brief narrative of the progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England* in 1671 Eliot claimed responsibility for having first introduced William to missionary work, an unsupported claim that is similar to the one he had made over twenty years previously about Mayhew Jr:

upon the 17th day of the 6th month [August] 1670 there was a meeting at Maktepog near Sandwich in Plimouth-pattent to gather a church among the Indians. There were present six of the magistrates and many elders (all of them messengers of the churches within that jurisdiction) in whose presence, in a day of fasting and prayer, they making confession of the truth and grace of Jesus Christ, did in that solemn assembly enter into covenant, to walk together in the faith and order of the Gospel, and were accepted and declared to be a church of Jesus Christ. These Indians being kin to our Massachuset-Indians who first prayed unto God, conversed with them and received amongst them the light and love of the truth. They desired me to write to Mr Leveredge to teach them. He accepted the motion and performed the work with good success, but afterwards he left that place and went to Long-Island, and there was a godly brother, named Richard Bourne (who purposed to remove with Mr Leveredge, but hindred by divine providence) undertook the teaching of those Indians, and hath continued in the work with good success to this day. Him we ordained Pastor, and one of the Indians, named Jude, should have been ordained Ruling-Elder, but being sick at that time, advice was given that he should be ordained with the first opportunity, as also a Deacon to manage the present Sabbath-Day collections and other parts of that office in their season. The same day also were they, and such of their children as were present, baptized.¹³⁶

The movement of people away from Sandwich has been analyzed by Thomas Cole in what Ralph Crandall has termed the 'New England Second Great Migration' - the movement of settlers from the coast to the interior. However, Ellen's cousins, Jonathan, John and Nathaniel Fish, probably all remained in Sandwich when she and William left. Jonathan was there until at least 1652, but had moved to Middelburg in Long Island by 1659. John died in 1663 and the inventory of his estate taken on November 18 shows the wide range of possessions that he had acquired since his arrival in New England at the age of sixteen nearly thirty years previously (document 12). Nathaniel lived in Sandwich until at least 1669 and his and John's descendants remained there for many generations. Fish was the fourth commonest surname in the town in the Massachusetts tax valuation list of 1771 and the third commonest surname there when the federal census was taken in 1790.¹³⁷

An inventory of the estate of Mr John Fish deceased
taken this 18 of November 1663 by us whose names are underwritten.

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
Imprim six cows	20	-00	-00
Two three yeare olds	6	-13	- 4
Two two yeare olds	3	-10	- 0
Tow calves	01	-15	- 0
The howse land and meadow	30	-00	- 0
Indian corne	04	-10	- 0
Wheate and pease	01	-03	- 0
Hay	03	-00	- 0
A beast howse	00	-10	- 0
The bed boulster & one pillow	03	-16	- 0
The three sheets	00	-12	- 0
Three pillowbeers	00	-05	- 0
Tow blankets	00	-12	- 0
The bedsteed	00	-16	- 0
The curtaines and valens	00	-14	- 0
The bed matt and bed cord	00	-03	- 0
One linen wheele	00	-03	- 0
One rug	01	-10	- 0
Three barrells of tarr	01	-10	- 0
One old flock bed	00	-06	- 0
One suit of cloth	02	-00	- 0
One long coat	01	-00	- 0
One troopers coat	01	-10	- 0
One bearing blanket	00	-15	- 0
One paire of breaches	00	-12	- 0
One hatt, one neckcloth, tow paire gloves, one paire of mittens, three bands, 1 paire stockens, one wascot	01	-10	- 0
Fowre pewter platters, tow basons, one candlesticke and some old pewter	01	-00	- 0
One brasse mortar, one grater, one cullender, one brush	00	-04	- 0
One brasse kettle & tow skellets	01	-00	- 0
One iron pott & pot hooks & pot hangers, one spitt, one paire of touns, & fier pan, one old gridiron	01	-00	- 0

Document 12. Inventory of John Fish's estate made on November 18, 1663. His estate was valued at £81 4s 4d with debts before his death of £21 7s and debts incurred after his death of £5 17s.

One paire of andirons, one axe & hoes	00 -14 - 0
One friing pan & smothing iron, one sofe, one trunk	00 -14 - 0
Tow earthen bottles, three earthen potts, one gun pppbox	00 -17 - 6
Five old barrell, five milk tubbs, one churne	00 -18 - 0
Two cives, two pailles, 2 firkins, trenchers, spoons	00 -16 - 0
Five milke trayes, cheesefat, 2 cow bells, one aule	00 -05 - 6
One paire of cards, tow chaires, some butter & cheese, sheeps wool	00 -10 - 0
Some old things and some things forgotten	00 -10 - 0
Butter payd, viz. 1 firkin a 72s	

Richard Bourne Nathaniel Fish

Debts owing before his death

Imprimis to John Gorum	11 -00 - 0
To William Swift	04 -00 - 0
To Richard Bourne	03 -10 - 0
To Joseph Holly	00 -15 - 0
To James Skiffe sen.	00 -08 - 0
To Henry Saunders	00 -10 - 0
To Joseph Winsor	00 -05 - 0
To William Swift for his care to Mrs Swift	00 -15 - 0
To Nathaniell Fish	00 -04 - 0

Debts since his death for the family use

To Richard Bourne	01 -14 - 0
To William Swift	00 -09 - 0
To Joseph Burge	00 -10 - 0
To Nathaniell Fish	00 -04 - 0
To Robert Rolock	01 -00 - 0

Document 12 continued.

The Thomas Hinckley to whom William had written in 1646 was the last governor of New Plymouth, which was incorporated in Massachusetts under its new charter of October 7, 1691. The township of Bourne on the south side of the Cape Cod peninsula was separated from Sandwich in 1884, but there was a joint celebration of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the two towns on September 3, 1889 when the oration was given by the Reverend Nathan H. Chamberlain. His novel, *The autobiography of a New England farm-house*, was first published in 1865 and described a fictional New England town called Sandowne, with fields running down to the sea and a pastor named Mr Leverick. Later generations have been reminded of their town's history by Lovell's *Sandwich: a Cape Cod town* first published in 1984 and of William by Sandwich's Leveridge Lane (figure 61).¹³⁸

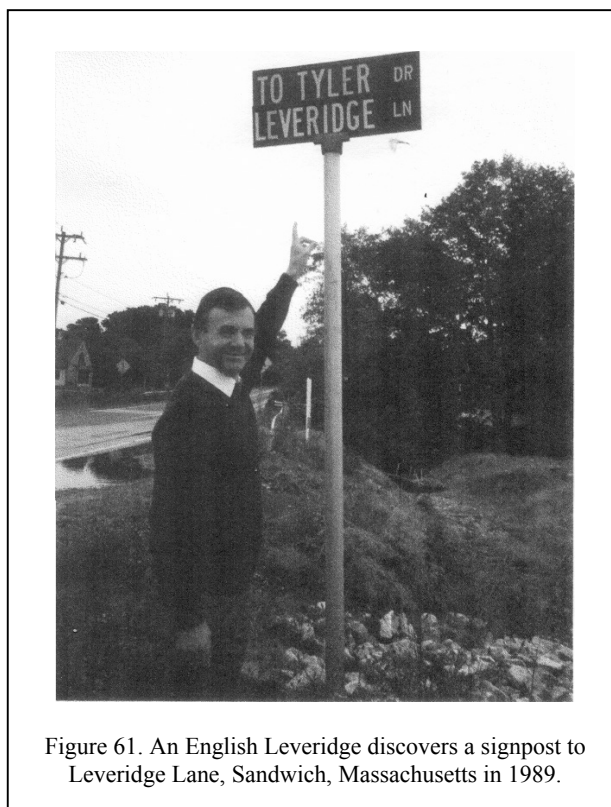


Figure 61. An English Leveridge discovers a signpost to Leveridge Lane, Sandwich, Massachusetts in 1989.

New York

This portion of the West Indies.....our countrymen call New Netherland.

Joannes de Laet, *Nieuwe Wereldt*, 1625¹

Dutch interest in the area that became New York began when Henry Hudson discovered the river that bears his name whilst exploring on behalf of the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie, or VOC) in 1609 and it was soon named New Netherland. The New Netherland Company was set up by a group of Amsterdam merchants in 1614, but it was superseded by the Dutch West India Company (Westindische Compagnie) in 1621. These developments in the Netherlands did not pass unnoticed in Great Britain and on December 15 the Privy Council instructed the British ambassador at The Hague to object to the States-General about Dutch involvement in what Great Britain regarded as part of Virginia. He did this on January 30/February 9, 1622 and reported back to the Privy Council six days later.² Nevertheless, Dutch activity in the area continued. The West India Company's main settlement in New Netherland was established at New Amsterdam on Manhattan Island and the States-General received a report about it from Amsterdam on November 7, 1626:

Yesterday arrived here the ship, the *Arms of Amsterdam*, which sailed from New Netherland, out of the river Mauritius, on the 23rd September. They report that our people are in good heart and live in peace there; the women also have borne some children there. They have purchased the island Manhattes from the Indians for the value of 60 guilders; 'tis 11,000 morgens in size. They had all their grain sowed by the middle of May and reaped by the middle of August. They send thence samples of summer grain, such as wheat, rye, barley, oats, buckwheat, canary seed, beans and flax. The cargo of the aforesaid ship is: 7,246 beaver skins, 178½ otter skins, 675 otter skins, 48 minck skins, 36 wild cat skins, 33 mincks, 34 rat skins, considerable oak timber and hickory.³

Four months later, Isaack de Rasieres, the Secretary of the New Netherland government, wrote to New Plymouth 'to congratulate you and your prosperous and praise-worthy undertakings and government of your colony ther' and he offered that 'if it so fall out that any goods that comes to our hands from our native countrie may be serviceable unto you, we shall take ourselves bound to help and accommodate you ther with, either for beaver or any other wares or merchandise that you should be pleased to deale for'. In reply New Plymouth thanked New Netherland 'for your good will and congratulations of our prosperitie in these smale beginings of our poore colonie' and referred to 'the good and curteous entreaty which we have found in your countrie, haveing lived ther many years with freedome and good contente, as also many of our freinds doe to this day'. New Plymouth looked forward to 'profitable commerce and trade togeather', but its letter continued with a warning that Bradford omitted from the copy in his *History*:

But you may please to understand that we are but one particular colony or plantation in this land, there being divers others besides, unto whom it hath pleased those Honourable Lords of His Majesty's Council for New England to grant the like commission and ample privileges to them (as to us) for their better profit and subsistence, namely to expulse, or make prize of any, either strangers or other English, which shall attempt either to trade or plant within their limits (without their special licence and commission) which extends to forty degrees: yet for our parts, we shall not go about to molest or trouble you in any thing, but continue all good neighbourhood and correspondence as far as we may; only we desire that you would forbear to trade with the natives in this bay and river of Naragansett and Sowames, which is (as it were) at our doors, the which if you do, we think also no other English will go about any way to trouble or hinder you, which other wise are resolved to solicit His Majesty for redress, if otherwise they cannot help themselves.

Bradford informed the Council of New England about the contact with the Dutch and though the New Netherland and New Plymouth governments continued with a fairly amicable correspondence, the stage was set for future conflict between the Dutch and British governments and settlers. Three years earlier when responding to an objection against further settlement that 'the Dutch are planted nere Hudsons Bay and are likely to over throw the trade', Bradford had replied that 'they will come and plante in these parts also, if we and others doe not, but goe home and leave it to them. We rather commend them then condemne it'.⁴

Control of the West India Company was vested in five chambers of directors who represented the main mercantile areas of the Netherlands and its management was entrusted to the Chamber of Amsterdam. The supervision that the Chamber exercised over the government of New Netherland was much greater than any administrative links which the New England colonies had with Great Britain and the extensive surviving correspondence between New Netherland and the Chamber, the States-General and the Classis of Amsterdam, the governing body of the Dutch Reformed Church, shows the continual exchange of information and instructions. The West India Company adopted a seal for New Netherland on December 28, 1630 and sent it to New Amsterdam to be used on the legal documents of the colony. The beaver on the seal is surrounded by wampum, the strings of shells that were used as currency by the Amerindians, British and Dutch (figure 62).⁵

The main focus of the Dutch was on trade rather than settlement. There was no religious incentive to leave the Netherlands. Privileges were granted to intending colonists and the printed copy of them shows the type of ship that was used to transport them across the Atlantic (figure 63). The Dutch authorities in New Netherland made several agreements with the Amerindians of the western end of Long Island from 1636 onwards and British settlers made a much larger number of similar agreements in the central and eastern parts of the island. One of the Dutch purchases made on January 5/15, 1639 consisted of land

situate upon the Long Island, called in the Indian tongue Suanhackey, reaching in length along the southside of [the] said island from Rechouwhacky to Sicketeuwhacky and from the said Sicketeuwhacky in width to Martin Gerritsen's Bay and thence in length westwardly along the East River to the kil of the Flats, with all the action, rights and privileges thereunto.⁶

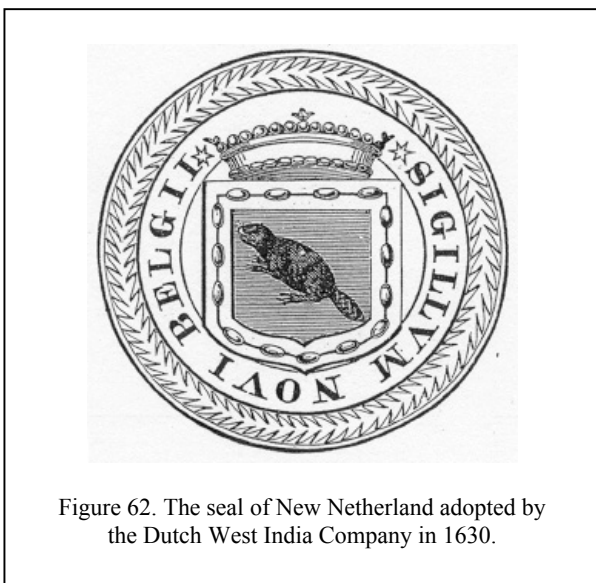


Figure 62. The seal of New Netherland adopted by the Dutch West India Company in 1630.

The agreement was signed by Cornelis van Tienhoven, the Fiscal of New Netherland, and his signature was witnessed by David Pietersen de Vries and Maurits Jansen. Vries had had extensive experience as an explorer and he described in his journal, *Korte historiael ende journaels aenteyckeninge*, a visit he made to Connecticut River later in the year:

[May 25]. The 4th of June, I started north in a yacht to the Fresh River [Connecticut River], where the West India Company have a small fort called the House of Hope [Fort of Good Hope], and toward evening came to anchor in Oyster Bay, which is a large bay which lies on the north side of the Great Island, which is about thirty leagues long. This bay runs up into the island, and is about two leagues wide from the mainland. There are fine oysters here, whence our nation has given it the name of Oyster Bay or Harbor.

[May 27]. The 6th, had good weather at break of day, and got under sail, and towards evening arrived at the Roode-Berghs [Red Hills, i.e. New Haven], which is a fine haven. Found that the English had there begun to build a town on the mainland, where there were about three hundred houses and a fine church built.

[May 28]. The 7th, having weighed anchor in the morning, arrived at the Fresh River about two o'clock in the afternoon, where at the mouth of the river the English have made a strong fort [Saybrook]. There was a governor in it [Lion Gardiner], who had a Netherland wife from Woerden and he himself had formerly been an engineer and workbase [military engineer] in Holland..... Remained at night at this English fort, where we were well entertained by the governor.

[May 29]. The 8th, took our leave and went up the river, and....[on the] 9th [May 30] arrived with the yacht at the House of Hope, where one Gysbert van Dyke commanded with fourteen or fifteen soldiers. This redoubt stands upon the plain on the margin of the river, and alongside it runs a creek toward a high woodland, out of which comes a waterfall, which makes this creek, and where the English, in spite of us, have begun to build up a small town, and have built a fine church and over a hundred houses.

The Dutch commander of the fort ordered Vries to make a protest to the British settlers about using land that the Dutch had bought from the Amerindians, but the Connecticut governor replied 'that the lands were lying idle, that, though we had been there many years, we had done scarcely anything, that it was a sin to let such rich land, which produced such fine corn, lie uncultivated, and that they had already built three towns upon this river, in a fine country'. Disappointed, but perhaps not surprised, Vries left the Fort of Good Hope on June 4/14 and returned to New Amsterdam.⁷

When the Council for New England was wound up in 1635, William Alexander, 1st Earl of Stirling, was granted land in Canada and the island of Mattowacks - Long Island. James Forrett arrived in New England in 1639 as his agent and began to make grants of land on the island. However, a grant of land on the north-western coast to Edward Howell, Daniel How and Job Sayre of Lynn was opposed by a force from New Amsterdam, which set up the arms of the States-General, and it was replaced on June 12 by a grant of land at the eastern end of the island. The Earl of Stirling died in February 1640, but Forrett continued making grants. A new grant on April 17 led to a settlement on the north-west coast near Martin Gerritsen's Bay and Schout's Bay and this was also opposed by a force from New Amsterdam which arrested the settlers. However, a grant of land at the eastern end of Long Island made on July 7 led to the establishment of the settlement of Southampton with Abraham Pierson as its minister. Another settlement was also established at the eastern end

of the Island in about 1640 and it was named Southold after the Suffolk birthplace of its first minister John Youngs.⁸



During 1640 Forrett presented his letter of agency to the Director-General of New Netherland, Willem Kieft, and claimed Long Island, but a Dutch report made nine years later stated that 'his pretension was not much respected' by the Dutch and he 'departed without having accomplished any thing except imposing on the lower classes'. Forrett's last grants were of Nantucket and two adjacent islands to Thomas Mayhew and his son on October 13, 1641 and of Martha's Vineyard and Elizabeth's Isles to them and their associates on October 23. Tension between the British and Dutch settlers in Long Island and on the mainland continued. After Hugh Peters had set out for England in 1641 the Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut governors authorized him to visit Amsterdam and to try to reach an agreement with the authorities there, but he did not go to the Netherlands until the winter of 1643-44.⁹

The fundamental problem between the two groups of European settlers remained unresolved. There was a sufficient surplus of British settlers who wished to use uncultivated land, whilst the Dutch authorities wanted to maintain their rights without any effective occupation of the land. Consequently British settlements were established in the 1640s at Branford and Guilford to the east of New Haven and at Milford and Stamford to the west and the Dutch authorities agreed to the establishment of both Dutch and British settlements in the western end of Long Island.

John Underhill had on August 29/September 8, 1639 whilst he was still at Dover obtained the permission of the Dutch authorities to live in New Netherland. He obtained the lease of some land at Amersfoort (Flatlands) on Long Island on January 6/16, 1642, but he moved in May to Stamford, where he was made a deputy to the New Haven General Court in the following year. Anne Hutchinson's husband William died in Providence Plantations after June 1641 and she and her family moved to Stamford. On March 18/28, 1642 Francis Doughty and his associates obtained a Dutch patent of 13,332 acres in the part of Long Island that was called Mespath and would later become Middelburgh and then Newtown (figure 64). The patent included the

power to build on the aforesaid land a village or villages, a church or churches, to exercise the Reformed Christian religion, which they profess, and ecclesiastical discipline; also to legally administer high, middle and low jurisdiction; to decide civil suits for sums not exceeding fifty Holland guilders, while in criminal cases their sentence of fines up to the same sum shall be final and without appeal; in other civil as well as criminal suits of greater import to pronounce the final sentence, which by appeal may be referred to the supreme court of New Netherland, and execute such sentence and finally to exercise all rights conferred upon the said jurisdiction with further power of nominating and presenting to the Director of New Netherland some of their community, that from their number suitable persons may be selected for the civil and judicial administration; with the right of hunting, hawking, fishing and trading, and the immunities granted or to be granted to the colonists of this Province, none excepted.¹⁰

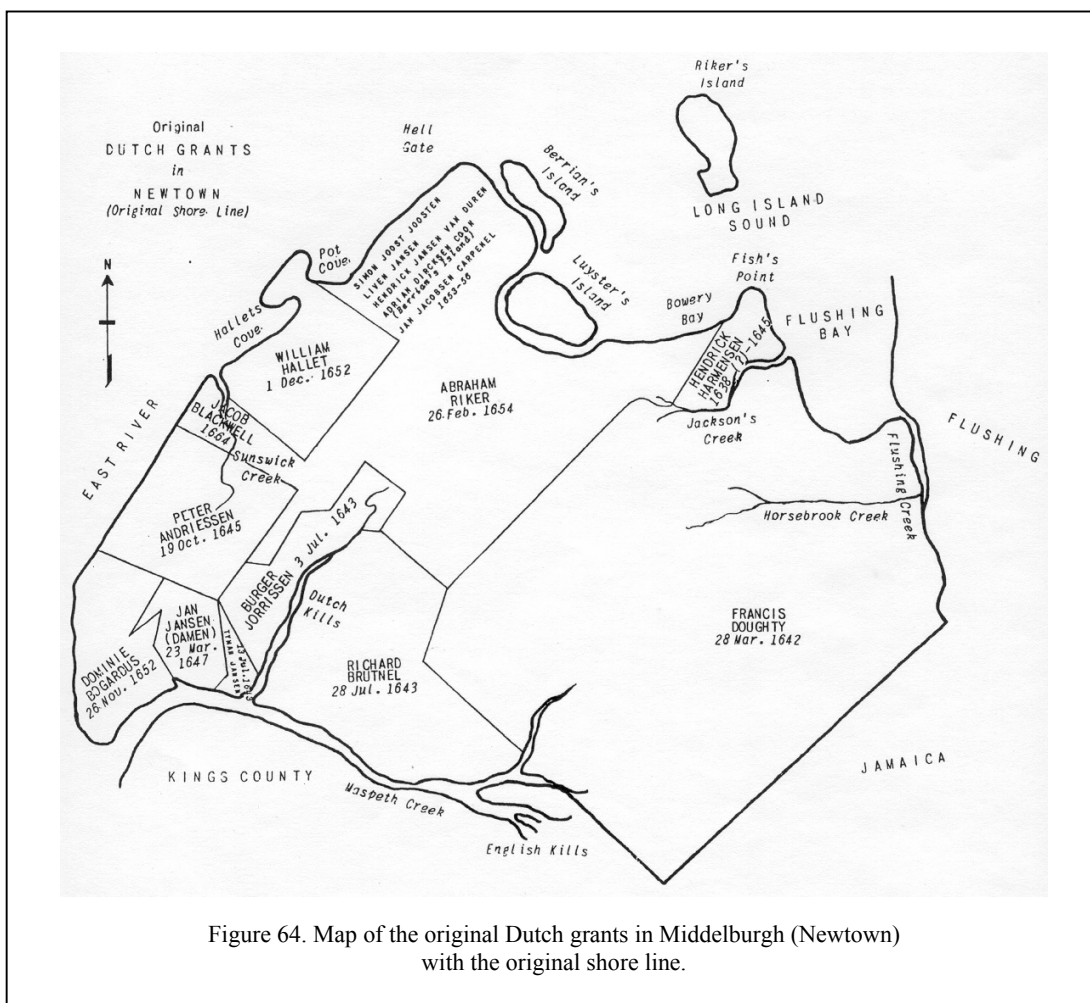


Figure 64. Map of the original Dutch grants in Middelburgh (Newtown) with the original shore line.

The 'power of nominating and presenting....some of their community' to the Director-General was an arrangement that persisted throughout the periods of Dutch administration in New Netherland. Towns had to nominate double (or sometimes treble) the number of town officers needed and the Director-General and Council made its appointments from amongst those nominated. Two sets of officers were involved - a schout or sheriff and several schepens or magistrates for each town.

The peace that Underhill, Hutchinson and Doughty initially enjoyed was soon interrupted by the outbreak of widespread hostilities between the Amerindians and the British and Dutch settlers, and farms at the western end of Long Island were destroyed. Doughty and others fled to New Amsterdam whilst some of the Dutch residents returned to the Netherlands. Roger Williams went to New Amsterdam in March 1643 to catch a ship to Europe and eleven years later in a letter to the Massachusetts Bay General Court he described how

mine eyes did see that first breaking forth of the Indian War, which the Dutch begun (upon the slaughter of some Dutch by the Indians) and they questioned not to finish it in a few dayes, in so much that the name of peace (which some offered to mediate) was foolish and odious to them. But before we waighed anchor their bowries were in flames, Dutch and Eng[lish] were slaine. Mine eyes saw their flames at their townes end and the flights and hurries of men, women and children, the present remoovall of all that could for Holland.¹¹

Hutchinson, six of her children and others with her were killed in September 1643 and her nine-year old daughter Susanna was captured. Thomas Weld commented on their deaths near the end of the preface to Winthrop's *A short story of the rise, reign and ruine of the Antinomians* published in London in 1644:

I never heard that the Indians in those parts did ever before this, commit the like outrage upon any one family, or families, and therefore Gods hand is the more apparently seene herein, to pick out this wofull woman, to make her and those belonging to her, an unheard of heavie example of their cruelty above al'others.¹²

Underhill was commissioned by the Dutch authorities in September 1643 to undertake military action against the Amerindians, but six months later he had to deal with a dispute at his Stamford house. One of the Dutch soldiers had shot and killed Daniel Patrick, a British settler who had served with Underhill in the Pequot War and was a close associate of Underhill's future parents-in-law, Robert and Elizabeth Feake. The soldier was briefly held a prisoner, but escaped, and the record of the episode provides an insight into the interior of Underhill's house:

Captaine Underhill perswaded them to lett him [the soldier] goe to bed in a chamber, and tolde them thatt if they did butt lock the dore of the chamber wherein the prisoner lay, they might sitt by the fire in the lower roome att the foote of the staires, which they did, and had no company butt the Captaine and his wife, who stayed nott long with them before they departed to their lodging, and about 2 or 3 howers after, they missed the prisoner and then they called up the magistrate.¹³

Conditions were sufficiently settled for Robert Fordham and John Carman to purchase land at Heemstede (Hempstead) on Long Island from the Amerindians at the end of 1643 (figure 65). However, a rumor that some Amerindians were planning an attack on the Heemstede settlers led Underhill to make a surprise attack on them in February 1644 and over one hundred were killed. Then he landed at Greenwich on the mainland and led an attack on an Amerindian encampment where there was a much larger massacre. Peace was finally restored by a treaty signed by Underhill, Doughty and others on August 30, 1645 and Susanna Hutchinson was released. Underhill then moved to New Amsterdam, where he was elected a member of the town's council on May 14/24, schout for Vlissingen in 1648 and a schepens for the town in 1651.¹⁴



Figure 65. The purchase of Heemstede in 1643, a mural in Hempstead Village Hall painted by Robert Gaston Herbert in 1947.

The Dutch governor granted a charter for the town of Heemstede to Robert Fordham, John Strickland, John Ogden, John Carman, John Laurence and Jonas Wood on November 6/16, 1644. They were given a guarantee in case the grant should 'be controverted by any other prince or state', an important provision in view of Forrett's work for the Earl of Stirling, but they were subject to loyalty to the Dutch government, to payment after ten years of an annual quit-rent of one-tenth of all revenue from the soil or pastureage and to the use of Dutch weights and measures and the Dutch new-style calendar. The towns of Vlissingen (Flushing) and s'Gravesande (Gravesend) were established by similar charters on September 30/October 10 and December 9/19, 1645. The English towns established both on Long Island and in Connecticut and New Haven during the 1640s are shown in figure 66.¹⁵

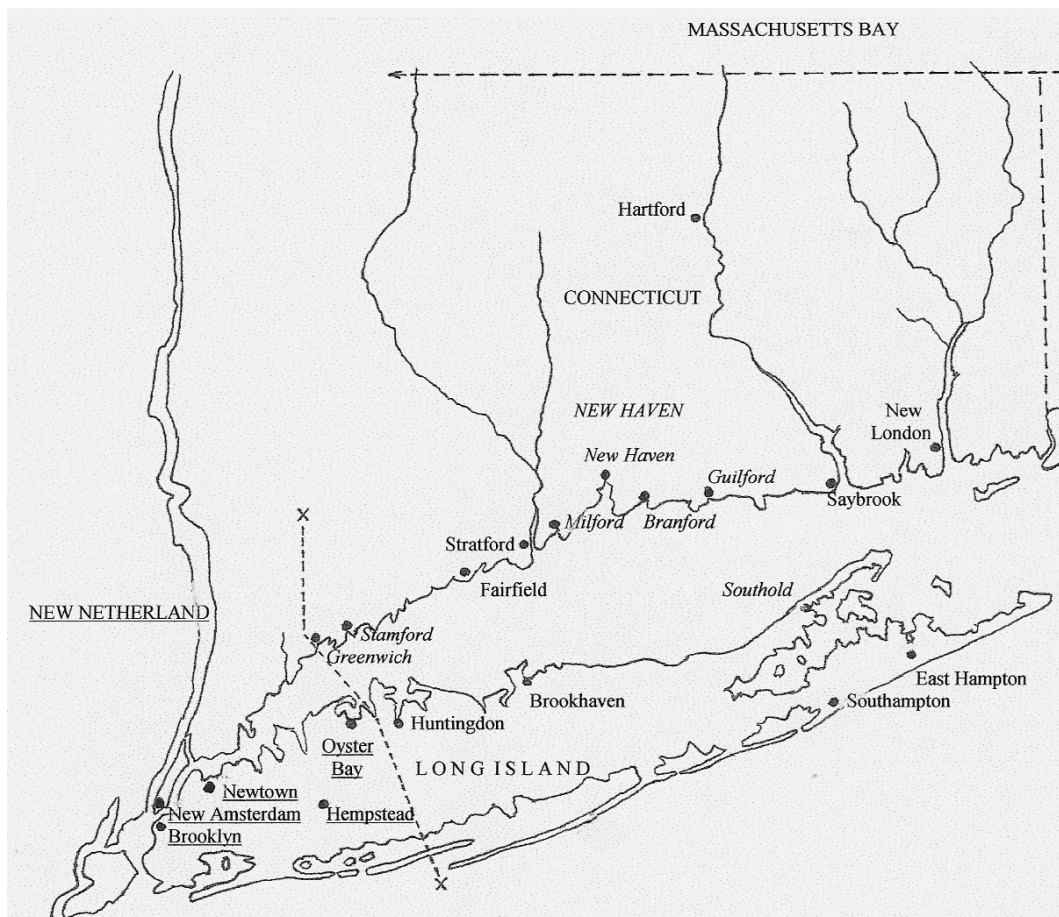


Figure 66. Map of the English towns in Connecticut, New Haven and New Netherland. The towns that were part of New Haven are shown in italics and those in New Netherland are underlined. x ---- x marks the approximate boundary between the British and Dutch areas agreed in the Treaty of Hartford of 1650.

Pieter Stuyvesant replaced Kieft as Director-General of New Netherland in May 1647 and on the last day of the month he made an ordinance restricting what settlers could do on the Sabbath. He soon had to deal with a new threat to the colony. Andrew Forrester arrived in Long Island in September declaring that he was acting on behalf of Mary Steerlings, the widow of the 3rd Earl of Stirling. Forrester was arrested and interrogated by Stuyvesant and the New Netherland Council, and it was decided to send him to the Netherlands. However, he escaped when the ship he was deported on stopped at an English port and the Directors in the Netherlands subsequently censured Stuyvesant for having sent him to Europe.¹⁶ Underhill's last letter to John Winthrop Sr was written from Amersfoort on December 22 and he was appointed schout or sheriff of Vlissingen on April 27, 1648. Doughty had returned to Middelburgh but there were quarrels between himself and the other settlers. Stuyvesant sought to avoid the difficulties by encouraging Vlissingen to accept him as its minister, but one of Underhill's early actions as schout was to close the meeting-house when Doughty was charged with preaching against the government and Doughty left for Virginia soon afterwards.¹⁷

The Dutch settlers were conscious of their insecure position in New Netherland and sent a remonstrance to the States-General on July 18/28, 1649. They recognized that their small numbers compared to the British settlers threatened their position and described the towns on Long Island:

In short, 'tis thus far with the English, that they are very willing to recognize the Netherlanders, and make use of them as a cloak in time of need, but again when this is past, they regard them not and make fools of them. This proceeds entirely from having neglected to people the country, or to speak plainer and more correctly, from a desire, through motives of selfishness, to scrape all the fat into one or two pots, and therefore to continue trade and neglect population. Long Island, which is a crown of the province by reason of its great advantage of excellent bays and harbors as well as convenient and fertile lands, they have also entirely usurped, except Breukelen and Amersfoort, two Dutch villages of little moment on the west end; and some English settlements, such as Gravesend, Greenwich, Mespatt whence the people were driven away in the war and which was afterwards confiscated by Director Kieft, but the proprietor appealed and so it yet remains, and there are very few people in the place now. Flushing, which is a handsome village and tolerably stocked with cattle. The fourth and last is Heemstee, which is superior to all the rest for it is very rich in cattle.¹⁸

The remonstrance was published as *Vertoogh van Nieu-Neder-Land* by Adriaen van der Donck at The Hague in 1650. He was known as Younkers van der Donck and his estate to the north of New Amsterdam is the modern Yonkers. He had married Doughty's daughter Mary at the Dutch Church in New Amsterdam in 1645 and wrote about his father-in-law in the second edition of his *Beschryvinge van Nieuw-Nederlant* (Description of New Netherland), which was published in Amsterdam in 1656 and contained a revised version of the Visscher map of New Netherland with a view of New Amsterdam (figure 67).¹⁹

Cornelis van Tienhoven was sent in 1649 from New Amsterdam to the Netherlands, where he urged the importance of settling the boundary between the Dutch and British areas in a report presented to the States-General at The Hague on February 12/22, 1650 (document 13). He gave a fuller description of the area where William would subsequently settle in a second report on 'information relative to taking up land in New Netherland' that he presented to the States-General on February 22/March 4. The information for settlers also gives a clear picture of the conditions that Europeans had to be prepared to face when they entered a new area (document 14).²⁰ The reports show that the Dutch distinguished three bays - Oyster Bay in the east, Martin Gerritsen's Bay in the center and Schout's Bay in the west. It is less clear exactly what bays were being referred to, but it seems likely that Oyster Bay referred to the area now known as Cold Spring Harbor and Martin Gerritsen's Bay to what is now called Oyster Bay Harbor. The coastline of the area has remained largely unchanged since at least the publication of a British naval chart of Oyster Bay and Huntington in 1778 (figure 68).²¹ Defining the names of the bays soon became important. Whilst Tienhoven was in the Netherlands, representatives of New Netherland and the Commissioners of the United Colonies met at Hartford on September 19, 1650 to discuss the boundary between the British and Dutch territories and agreement was reached on a line to the west of New Haven which gave almost everything to the British and little to the Dutch and used words whose meaning was subsequently disputed by the two communities:

That upon Long Iland a lyne runne from the westermost part of the Oyster Bay, soe, and in a straight and directe lyne, to the sea, shalbee the bounds betwixt the English and Duch there, the easterly part to belong to the English, the westermost part to the Duch.

The bounds upon the mayne[land] to begine at the west side of Greenwidge Bay, being about 4 miles from Stanford, and soe to runne a northerley lyne twenty miles up into the cuntry, and after as it shalbee agreed by the two goverments, of the Duch and of Newhaven, provided the said lyne com not within 10 miles of Hudsons River.

And it is agreed that the Duch shall not at any time heerafter build any house or habitacon within six miles of the said lyne. The inhabitants of Greenwidge to remayne tell further consideracon thereof bee had under the goverment of the Duch.

That the Duch shall hold and enjoy all the lands in Hartford that they are actually possessed of knowne or sett outt by sertayne marks & bounds and all the remaynder of the said land on both sids [of] Conecticott River to bee and remayne to the English there.

And it is agreed that the aforesaid bounds and lymites both upon the island and mayne shalbee observed and kept inviolate both by the English of the United Collonies and all the nacion without any incoachment or molestacon untell a full and finall determinacon bee agreed upon in Europe by the mutuall consent of the two states of England and Holland.

This Treaty of Hartford was ratified by the States-General on February 12/22, 1656, but not by Great Britain, though the States-General was still pressing for this in January 1664. It was not long, however, before the real intentions of the British and Dutch settlers were put to the test, for war between Great Britain and the Netherlands was declared in July 1652. The Amsterdam directors of the West India Company wrote to Stuyvesant in August and expressed the hope that he might be able to arrange a 'league' or 'closer union' between the two groups of settlers, but urged him to make precautionary military preparations.²²

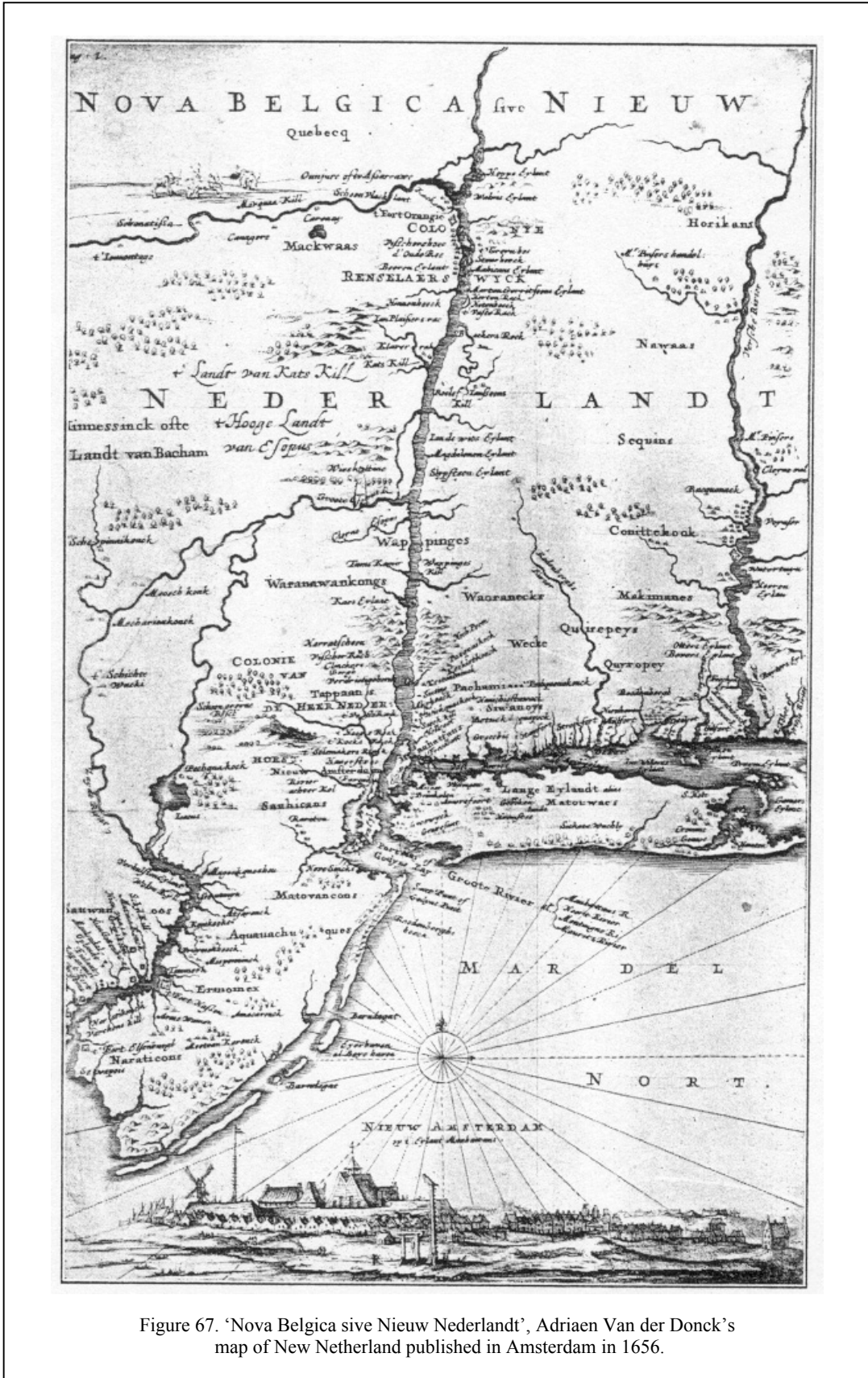


Figure 67. 'Nova Belgica sive Nieuw Nederlandt', Adriaen Van der Donck's map of New Netherland published in Amsterdam in 1656.

Early in the following year the Massachusetts Bay authorities heard rumors of Dutch plans to encourage some of the Amerindians to attack the British settlers and called an emergency meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies. This was held at Boston on April 19 and there was a further meeting in May and June.

The Commissioners sent Captain John Leverett and Lieutenant William Davis of Boston and Francis Newman of New Haven to New Amsterdam to make inquiries, but little was achieved. Underhill issued an indictment of Stuyvesant and the Dutch authorities on May 20 and then set out for Rhode Island where on May 24 he received a commission from Providence Plantations which appointed him 'commander-in-chief upon the land' and Captain William Dyre 'commander-in-chief at sea'. Underhill seized the Fort of Good Hope on June 27, thus bringing Dutch influence along Connecticut River to an end. Meanwhile William Leverich was involved in the purchase of land from some of the Amerindians at the western end of Long Island.²³

The settlement of the boundary is highly necessary in order to avoid, in future, all difficulties with those of New England and Virginia; it will also promote the quiet of the Dutch nation in New Netherland, as many would be thereby encouraged to undertake colonies, bouweries and plantations in that country. This settlement of the boundary was, in my opinion, not easy to be obtained before the present time, in consequence of the troubles in England; the rather, as those of Virginia declare for Charles the Second, and those of New England for the Parliament. In order then to block the further progress of the English, I would suggest (under correction), that we should provisionally set about hitching on to New Netherland the most distant lands lying between the Dutch nation and the English, which are yet vacant and in no one's possession, by the occupation thereof in manner hereinafter described.

1st. Having been plainly tricked by the English out of the Fresh River, notwithstanding a block house called the Hope had been erected 21 leagues up the river in the year 1633, long before the English had been there - a sign of first and earliest possession - nothing could, at first, be done in that quarter, except to repair said house, the Hope, and keep it as heretofore occupied by a suitable garrison, for the purpose of maintaining prior possession of the most remote boundary.

2nd. The village of Greenwich belonging to their High Mightinesses, being the furthest place where the Director and Council exercise authority, in the name of their High Mightinesses the States-General and of the West India Company, is separated from the English village Stamford by a small stream; so that the English along the main north coast cannot approach nearer New Netherland without being obliged to settle between Greenwich and New Amsterdam, where there is an interval of about seven leagues of country: and to prevent that, Director Stuyvesant purchased these lands last summer from the native and right owners thereof, and paid for them, on account of the West India Company.

3rd. For the security of the beautiful North River, on which New Amsterdam stands, it would not be unwise to take possession, first of the land situate on the west bank of the East River, between Greenwich and New Amsterdam, establishing villages, bouweries and plantations there; this done, there need be no dread of the further progress of the English on that side, and the North River, whence most of the peltries are brought down, would also be protected. The North River is about eight leagues west of the East River at Greenwich.

4th. Long Island which extends in length from the heights opposite Staten Island, is washed on the south side by the Great Ocean; on the north, by the East River, which divides it from New Amsterdam and the aforementioned lands. It is a full thirty leagues long from the west to the northeastern point, and at the west end 2, and further eastward 4, 8, 12 and 15 leagues broad. It is the levellest and finest soil in New Netherland; very well adapted for agriculture and the rearing of all sorts of cattle; furnished with beautiful valleys, navigable harbors, rivers and bays, the chief of which are Hempstead Bay, Martin Gerritsen's Bay, Oyster Bay, the Crooked Country, being a considerable inland sea, (whose shores are inhabited by Indians), and in which are various other fair and fertile islands. The greatest part of the wampum, for which the furs are traded, is manufactured there by the natives.

The English of the colony of New Haven settled two villages at the bight of the aforesaid inland sea, about three leagues from the east point of the said island; one called Southampton, containing about 10 to 12 houses, [the other] Southold, about 30 houses.

The undernamed towns are planted on [the] said island, and are all under the jurisdiction of their High Mightinesses the Lords States-General of the United Netherlands, vizt Hemsteede, Gravesend, Flushing, Amersfoort and Breukelen, with divers bouweries and plantations. The further progress of the English on Long Island would, in my opinion, under correction, be prevented and estopped, without the settlement of the boundary, by the following means:-

First, by the purchasing from the natives the lands situate on the east point of Long Island, not already bought; that done, by taking possession of the east point which is about three leagues from Southampton, and by securing its possession, at first by a redoubt and a small garrison, or settling it by means of a colonie. The west point of the aforesaid sea being taken possession of in like manner, the villages of Southampton and Southold would be shut in. After this is accomplished, Siketue Hacky, Oyster Bay and Martin Gerritsen's Bay must also be taken possession of. The whole of Long Island would be thereby secured to New Netherland, and the design of the English in regard to the domination of said convenient harbors, be rendered fruitless and null.

Document 13. Extract from the report presented by Cornelis van Tienhoven to the States-General on February 12/22, 1650.

Information relative to taking up land in New Netherland in the form of colonies or private bouweries.

Oysterbay, so called from the great abundance of fine and delicate oysters which are found there, is about a short league across, or in width at the mouth; deep and navigable, without either rocks or sand, runs inland nearly west, and divides itself into two rivers, which are broad and clear, on which lie some fine maize lands, formerly cultivated by the Indians, some of which are still worked: they could be had for a trifle. This land is situate on such beautiful bay and rivers, that it could, at little cost, be converted into good farms, fit for the plough: there are here, also, some fine hay-valleys.

Martin Gerritsen's Bay or Martinnehouck, is much deeper and wider than Oyster Bay, and runs westward in, divides into three rivers, two of which are navigable: the smallest stream runs up in front of the Indian village, called Martinne Houck, where they have their plantations. This tribe is not strong, and consists of about 30 families. There were formerly in and about this bay great numbers of Indian plantations, which now lie waste and vacant. This land is mostly level, and of good quality, well adapted for grain and rearing of all sort of cattle; on the rivers are numerous valleys of sweet and salt meadows; all sorts of river fish are also caught there.

Schout's Bay, on the East River, is also very open and navigable, with one river running into it. On said river are also fine maize lands, level and not stony, with right beautiful valleys. Beyond said river is a very convenient hook of land, somewhat large, encircled by a large valley and river, where all descriptions of cattle can be reared and fed, such convenience being a great accommodation for the settlers, who otherwise must search for their cattle frequently several days in the bush.....

Before beginning to build, 'twill above all things be necessary to select a well located spot, either on some river or bay, suitable for the settlement of a village or hamlet. This is previously properly surveyed and divided into lots, with good streets according to the situation of the place. This hamlet can be fenced all around with high palisades or long boards and closed with gates, which is advantageous in case of attack by the natives, who heretofore used to exhibit their insolence in new plantations.

Outside the village or hamlet, other land must be laid out which can in general be fenced and prepared at the most trifling expense.

Those in New Netherland and especially in New England, who have no means to build farm-houses at first according to their wishes, dig a square pit in the ground, cellar fashion, six or seven feet deep, as long as broad, as they think proper, case the earth inside all round the wall with timber, which they line with the bark of trees or something else to prevent the caving in of the earth, floor this cellar with plank, and wainscot it overhead for a ceiling, raise a roof of spars clear up and cover the spars with bark or green sods, so that they can live dry and warm in these houses with their entire families for two, three and four years, it being understood that partitions are run through those cellars which are adapted to the size of the family. The wealthy and principal men in New England, in the beginning of the colonies, commenced their first dwelling-houses in this fashion for two reasons; first, in order not to waste time building and not to want food the next season; secondly, in order not to discourage poorer laboring people whom they brought over in numbers from [the] Fatherland. In the course of three or four years, when the country became adapted to agriculture, they built themselves handsome houses, spending on them several thousands.

Document 14. Extracts from the report presented by Cornelis van Tienhoven to the States-General on February 22/March 4, 1650.

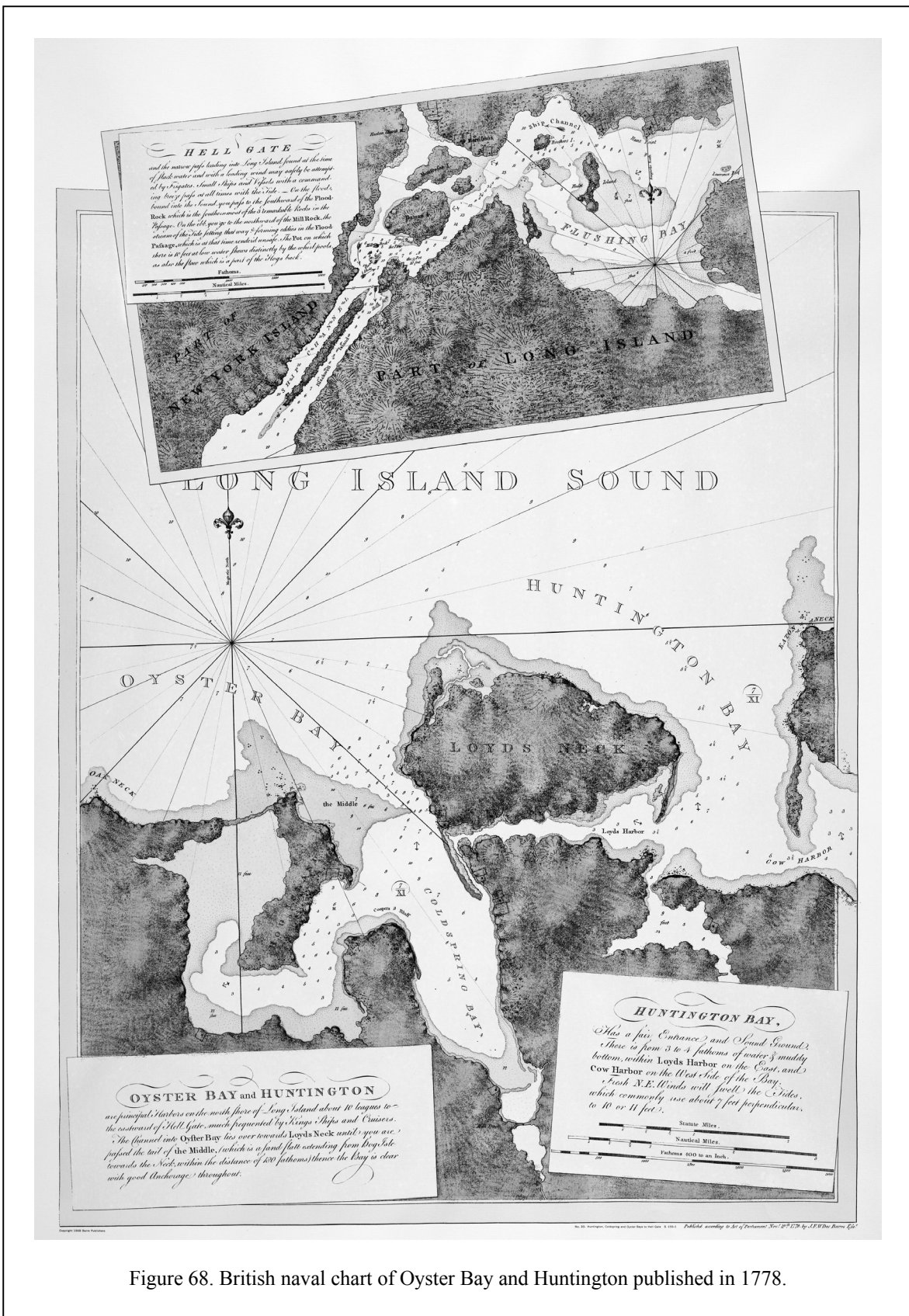


Figure 68. British naval chart of Oyster Bay and Huntington published in 1778.

7 - Oyster Bay

A large bay which lies on the north side of the Great Island.

David Pietersz. de Vries, Journal, 1639.¹

A group of British settlers made a series of land purchases from Amerindians on the north side of Long Island during the war of words between the Dutch and English settlers in 1653. On April 2 Richard Holdbrook, Robert Williams and Daniel Whitehead purchased from Raseokan Sagamore of Mattinicoke ‘a certain quantitie of land, lying and being upon Long Island, bounded upon the west side with a river commonly called by the Indians Nachaquetack, on the north side the sea and going eastward to a river called Opcatkontycke, on the south side to the utmost part of my bounds’. They then assigned all their interest in the land to a group of proprietors who established the town of Huntington.² A similar purchase of land at Oyster Bay was made by William Leverich, Peter Wright and Samuel Mayo on behalf of themselves and others:

Anno Domini, one thousand, six hundred & fifty th[ree]. This writing witnesseth that Asiapum, alias Mohenes, have sold unto Peter Wright, Samuell Maio, William Leverich, their heys, executors, administrators & assignes, all his land lying & scituate upon Oyster Bay, & is bounded by Oyster River to the east side & Papaquatunk River on the west side, with all the woods, rivers, marshes, uplands, ponds, & all other the appurtenances lying betweene the bounds afore named, with all the islands lying to the sea ward, excepting one island, comonly called Hog Island, & bounded neere southward by a point of trees called Canteaiug; in consideration of which bargaine & sale he is to receive as full satisfaction, six Indian coates, sixe kettles, sixe fathom of wampum, sixe hoes, sixe hatchetts, three pair of stocking, thirty auln-blades, or muxes^a, twenty knives, three shirtes, & as much peague^b as will amount to foure pounds sterling. In witnes whereof he hath set to his marke, in the presence of

William Washborne
Anthony Wright
Robert Williams

Asiapum or Mohenes X his mark

a heads for eel spears

b black wampum

The three purchasers added an endorsement to the back of the deed:

We within named Samuel Maio, Peter Wright & William Leverich, doe accept of, as joint purchasers with ourselves, the persons under specified, to the like right privileids as we have ourselves in the lands purchased of Asiopum, & particularly mentioned in the writeing made & subscribed by himselfe & other Indians respectively interested, & in the names of such as were absent, acted by him & them all. Witnes our hands.

William Leverich

Samuell Mayo

Joynt purchasers with us: Mr Washbourne, Thomas Armitage, Daniel Whitehead,
Anthony Wright, Robert Williams, John Washbourne, Richard Holbrooke.³

This deed of purchase was just dated ‘1653’, but was probably made after the Huntington purchase as the year began on March 25. It was followed by the purchase by Mayo, Whitehead and Peter Wright on September 20, 1654 of the land between Huntington and Oyster Bay that became known as Horse Neck or Lloyd’s Neck, and Jonas Wood, William Rogers and Thomas Wilkes purchased land on the eastern side of Huntington on July 30, 1656. Then Mayo, Whitehead and Peter Wright sold Horse Neck to Samuel Andrews on May 6, 1658.⁴

The Commissioners of the United Colonies declared in April 1653 that ‘the English before or when they began to build, seat or plant in these parts did generally purchase to themselves from the Indians, the true propriators, a just right and title to the lands they meant to improve, if they found not the place a *vacuum domicilium*’.⁵ The Oyster Bay deed that William signed is the only purchase of Amerindian land that he is known to have been involved with. Both it and the other mid-seventeenth century deeds of purchase of Amerindian land are similar to those of conveyances of land between European settlers in New England and New Netherland at that time, but it is simplistic to regard the transactions just as sales of land. In practice they were much more. From the settlers’ viewpoint they were acknowledgments of European sovereignty and jurisdiction, so that henceforth their own rules would supercede Amerindian law and custom.

The many purchases that the European settlers made on Long Island suggests that they did not regard it as vacant land, but it is difficult to judge how the Amerindians interpreted the ‘sales’. They seem to have viewed them rather as leases, especially as some deeds allowed them to continue their use of the land, and in the process they gained European goods that had a short-term value in exchange for the permanent alienation of their land. Their presence was, nevertheless, important to the economy of the settlers, since as Adriaen van

der Donck wrote, 'the Indians without our labour or trouble bring us their fur trade, worth tons of gold, which may be increased, and is like goods found'.⁶

William and the Wright brothers had come from Sandwich. Samuel Mayo was a son of John Mayo, the minister at Barnstable, and had come to New England with his parents and his brothers John and Nathaniel. Most of the other purchasers had links with Heemstede, but it is not known how they reached an agreement with the purchasers from Sandwich. However, Thomas Armitage had lived in Sandwich until about 1641 and would have known William and the Wright brothers, and Samuel Mayo was a ship-owner and may thus have acted as an intermediary. Probably only the Wright brothers and Robert Williams became long-term residents of Oyster Bay. William moved to Huntington in about 1658. Mayo did not settle in Oyster Bay, but returned to New Plymouth or Massachusetts Bay, where he died in 1663. Armitage continued to own land in Oyster Bay, but retained an interest in his Heemstede estate. Richard Holdbrook had moved to Milford in New Haven by 1658. William Washborne and his son John died in Heemstede in 1658. Daniel Whitehead had probably moved to Newtown by 1660.⁷ Thirty years after the Oyster Bay purchase was made, Nicholas Simkins, then aged about fifty-six and an inhabitant of Musketocove, declared on December 20, 1683 that he was present at the first settlement of Oyster Bay and described the start of the town. The purchasers

immediately proceeded to the laying out allotments; but first they laid out all the highways in the town, by joint consent. Secondly, beginning at the Mill River, from, and so eastward to the harbor side, they laid out upward of twenty lots, granting equal privileges to every lot; and next year, Will Smith and old John Titus, with several others, were accepted of as inhabitants, and had their allotments laid out to them, by Peter Wright, by consent of the purchasers. But so it happened, that the purchase-money being not paid, the Indians began to be very unruly and dissatisfied; whereupon the purchasers with the rest of the inhabitants then settled, desired William Smith and John Titus to prepay for the goods, to pay the Indians, which they did, to Mr Briant of Milford, and paid it in beef, and I killed the cattle and paid the debt; and when we came to levy the rate for the purchase, it came to eighteen shillings and ten pence. And to my knowledge, Samuel Mayo was at two town meetings, at the first settlement of the place, and was always forward in joining and granting of allotments to each one that was free to settle amongst them, as far forth as any of the rest of the purchasers, or people settled..... Richard Holbrook was the first man, as a purchaser, that got up his house in Oyster Bay.⁸

The year 1653 was a very controversial time for William and his associates to have settled as close to the boundary between New England and New Netherland as Oyster Bay, but the initial problem came from the British side. William's goods were transported from Sandwich to Oyster Bay in the *Desire* captained by John Dickenson and owned by Mayo, but the ship was seized by Thomas Baxter, who claimed to be acting under a commission from Rhode Island. Mayo complained about this to the Commissioners of the United Colonies at their meeting in Boston in September 1653 and they sent Lieutenant William Hudson to Rhode Island on September 13 with a letter of inquiry:

Gentlemen. Sundry offences and affronts have been given and offered to some of the United Collonies both in their harbours and on shore by some of those whoe have received comissions from you to acte against the Duch. Our interest and sence in and of that nationall quarrell betwixt England and the unthankfull Netherlands, besides many wronges ourselves have sustained, have made us hetherto slow to any severe course, but att this meeting wee have received information and complaint from Mr Samuell Mayo of Barnstable within the collonie of New Plymouth, that his vessell called the *Desire* then intrusted to the care and charge of John Dickenson, marriner, and onely employed in transporting the goods of Mr William Leverich of Sandwich in reference to a new plantation hee intended to begine and settle att a place called Oyster Bay on Long Island within the English lymetts and line, was seized as a prise by Thomas Baxter, whoe hath received a comission from the Assembly of Providence Plantation, in Hempsteed Harbour whether the vessell was bound to sett some cattle on shore whence they might bee att any time eazely driven by land to Oyster Bay aforesaid, and to house other goods for their preservation in order to the said removall, there being as yett noe house reddy att the said bay to receive them.

The letter went on to ask the Rhode Island authorities to explain the action against Mayo's ship. Four days later the Commissioners issued instruction to the colonies they represented that Dutch vessels should be prevented from coming into or remaining in any of the New England harbors. Hudson returned from Rhode Island on September 20 with a letter from Eston Newport dated September 16. Newport explained that he was writing on his own behalf as the Rhode Island Council was not present and stated that there was no commission and that the intention of the authorities there was to act only against the Dutch. His statement is confirmed by the Rhode Island records, which refer to the commissions given to Underhill and Dyre, but not to Baxter. Mayo had also gone to Rhode Island with Hudson and was dissatisfied with the response. He urged the Commissioners to act and they issued him with the following statement:

Upon further consideration of the complaint of Mr Samuell Mayo that his vessell was unjustly without comission seized by Thomas Baxter, and upon returne of the messenger sent to Road Island wherin they owne not any such seizure, the Comissioners upon the request of the said Mr Mayo thought fitt to advise the collonies of Conecticott that if his late vessell the *Desire* of Barnstable bee in any of their harbours shee bee upon his proposition stayed and brought to a due

tryall, Mr Paddy and Mr Mayo having engaged themselves to pay all just dammages if the said vessell bee found a just prise by any comission Providence Plantations have received from the Commonwealth of England.⁹

On March 8, 1654 the governor of New Haven Colony informed its General Court that Underhill ‘desires some advice concerning a horse which hee seized at Southhold, which was taken from the Duch by Thom Baxster’, but the court declared that it ‘would not medle with’ the matter. Action against Baxter was, however, taken by the General Courts of New Haven and Connecticut for his seizure of the *Desire*. This reached its conclusion at the Connecticut court on April 6, but unfortunately the court records do not say what happened to William’s belongings:

This court upon the complaint of Mr Sam: Mayo against Tho: Baxter for his unjust seizure of his vessell, the *Desire*, of Barnstable, & his goods therein, under a pretence of a commityon receved from Roade Iland, having duely weighed the premeses & considered all that the said Baxter can or will say in his owne defence for his soe doing, doe finde, adjudge & declare, that the sayd Baxter hath not acted therein according to his commission or instructyons, & therefore his seizure is unjust, whereby the sayd vessell, with all that belongeth unto her, is adjudged of right to belong unto the sayd Mr Sam: Mayo; & doe also adjudg the sayd Tho: Baxter to pay unto Mr Mayo, for dammage in severall respects sustained by him, by reason of the aforesaid unjust seizure, one hundred & fifty pounds, and the cable at Mr Briants to be deducted to Mr Mayo, & the said Baxter is to deduct in to Mr Mayo the 2 bonds, one of 40/ & another of 1000/ given him by Dickenson & Karman, of Hempsted, in reference to the seizure; the perticulars are as followeth:-

Imprimis	For 3 mens wages & himselfe from 18 August last	68	0	0
	For waring cloaths & bedding	10	0	0
	For swords & gunns	6	0	0
	For 1 <i>bb</i> of tarr	1	4	0
	For expences in travell in pursuance	10	6	0
	For sayls & ropes that are lost	12	0	0
	For a hh. of meale	2	10	0
	For the loss of the use of the vessell	<u>40</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
		150	0	0

Only it is provided & explained that if the said Baxter shall returne with the vessell to the sayd Mayo the sayls & ropes, with two swords and 4 gunns which are taken from the vessell, they are to be discounted as part of payment out of the 150/ damage, at the price of 18/.¹⁰

It is now difficult to identify the intended boundaries of Oyster Bay in the deed of 1653. Oyster River on the east side is almost certainly the river that enters Coldspring Bay in figure 68. The location of ‘Papaquatunck River’ on the west side is much less certain. Oyster Bay now extends on the west to Hempstead Bay, but only the eastern side of the town was purchased in 1653. It is more likely that the original western boundary was at Mill Neck Bay at the western side of the bay to the east of Coldspring Bay, but this does not account for the exclusion of what is now Center Island in the middle of the area. Much perhaps depends upon whether Center Island then had a land connection to the western side of Oyster Bay as it has since at least 1778. Though the boundaries of the purchase are uncertain, William and the other purchasers settled at Town Spot, or Oyster Bay village, on the south shore of Oyster Bay (figure 69).

The settlement at Sandwich that William had left was within the boundaries of a well-established colony, whereas Huntington and Oyster Bay were politically isolated settlements that needed support from outside. For this the settlers looked northwards across Long Island Sound to New Haven Colony, and their settlements may have been made with the knowledge and encouragement of the colony. The town of New Haven itself was nearly fifty miles north-east of Oyster Bay, but Greenwich and Stamford, the colony’s westernmost settlements, were only ten miles to the north. New Haven also had links with Long Island as Southold at the eastern end of the island sent deputies to the colony’s General Court. New Haven’s laws were modeled on those of Massachusetts Bay and Connecticut and they contained a series of ‘Ecclesiasticall Provisions’ which supported its churches (document 15).¹¹ John Davenport and William Hooke were still the ministers of the church in the town of New Haven, but Hooke’s wife and children returned to England in 1654. He joined them in 1656 and became a chaplain to Cromwell. He died in 1678 and was buried in Bunhill Fields, a non-conformist cemetery in north London where William Blake, John Bunyan, Daniel Defoe and Susannah Wesley, the mother of Charles and John, were also buried. George Fox, the founder of the Quakers, was buried nearby.¹²

Links between the Oyster Bay settlers and New Haven Colony began soon after their arrival. Captain Nathaniel Silvester of Shelter Island at the eastern end of Long Island was involved in three cases before the Court of Magistrates at New Haven on May 29, 1654. In the first two he was the plaintiff and in the third the defendant in an action brought by William. Silvester’s first case was ‘an action of defamation against John Scott, wherein John Youngs was included, and John Youngs entered an action of defamation against Capt. Sivestr, but afterward they all made a private agreement amongst themselves and so ceased to prosecute any

further'. Both Scott and Young would later become prominent in Long Island affairs. In the second case Silvester 'entered an action against John Peakin of Southold for entertayning some of his servants, but when he came to plead, [he] failed in his prooffe and was content his action should fall, and the ten shillings received for entry of the action' before the court was returned. William's case against Silvester was much more complicated:

Mr Leveridg declared that he had bought a certaine debt of Mrs Carman of Hempsted, due from Capt. Silvester by bill and deteyned by him, to the vallew of five & forty pounds, and doth now desire the justice of the court, that he might have the saide debt with just damages for none-payment when first due.

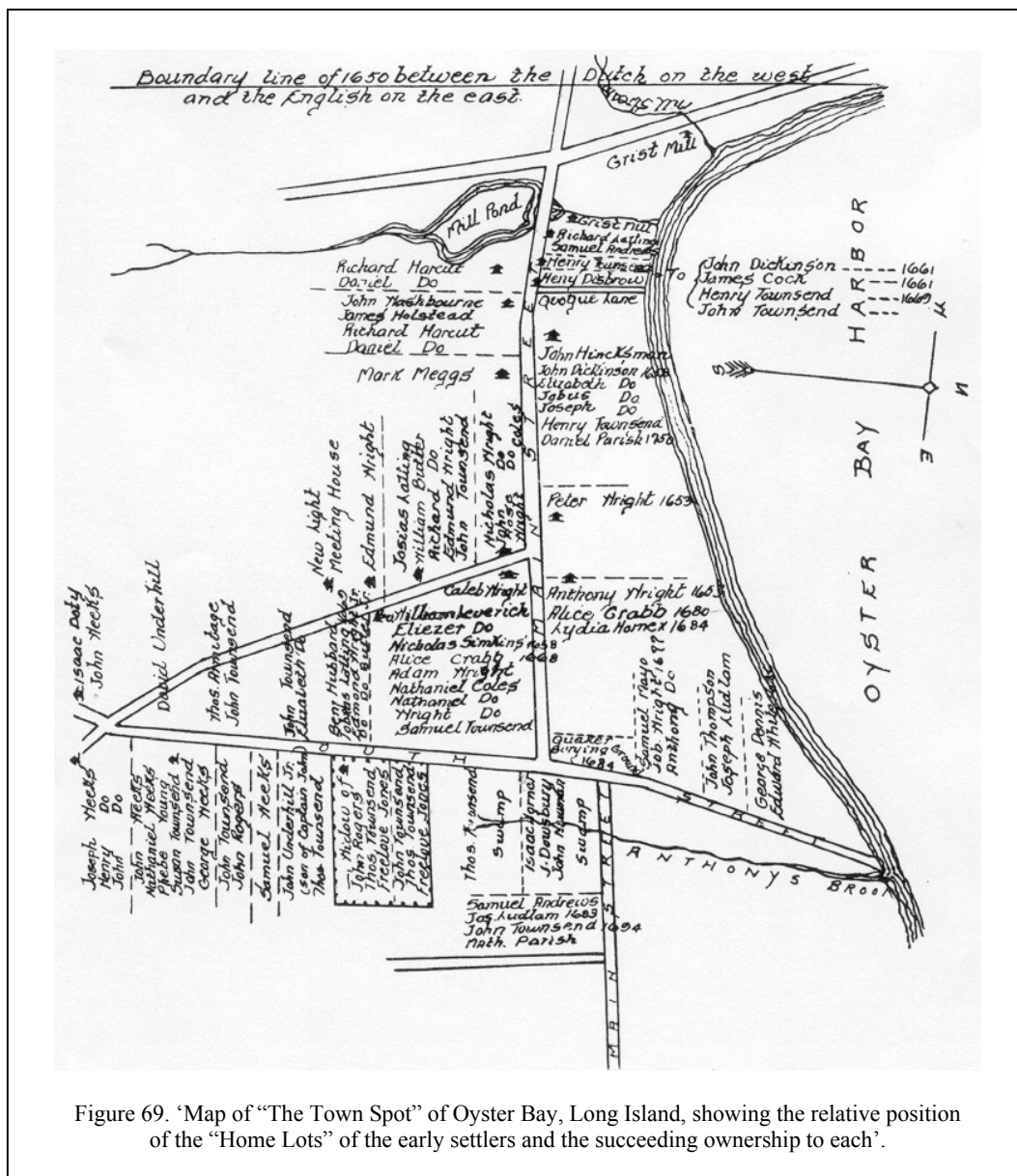


Figure 69. 'Map of "The Town Spot" of Oyster Bay, Long Island, showing the relative position of the "Home Lots" of the early settlers and the succeeding ownership to each'.

Captaine Silvester said that he owed Mr Leveridg nothing, but to Mrs Carman hee owes foure & forty or five & forty pound, which is to bee paide in strong water, salt beefe and other goods, with first conveniency, but no time is sett, and that hee did endeavour to send it quickly after the debt was made, by Joseph Alsop, but he would not cary it, and after by Lieutenant Seely, but he refused also, and some of the commodities being leaky, he thought it best to dispose of them, and John Ogden coming to his island, and being willing to buy the goods, and for his paye would turne over a bill he had of Mrs Carmans for fifty pounds, to be paid in beavor; so they agreed, and he sent Mrs Carman word of it, and she returned answer that she had sold her bill to Mr Leveridg, but which was don first did not cleerly appeare to the the court, though Mr Leveridg by some circumstances endeavoured to prove that he bought the bill of Mrs Carman first, and one Mr Washborne of Hempsted, now in court, said he could testify that Mrs Carman had sold her bill to M. Leveridg, but whether before John Ogben sold his to the Capt. he cannot tell.

And some questions being put to Mr Leveridg concerning the buying this bill, what consideration was given for it, or whether it were not a matter in trust, could not be sufficiently cleered, Mr Leveridg having said that he expected not to meete the Capt. here, and so hath not some wrightings ready, which did necessarily occasion a respite of the cause, that things may be further cleered and issued at the court of magistrats, to be held at Newhaven the third Wednesday in October next, unless they doe in the meane time issue it betweene themselves in a private way. And Capt. Silvester and M. Giles Silvestr, his brother, ingage themselves in forty five pound sterling to answer M. Leveridg here at Newhaven at the time before mentioned, which Mr Leveridg accepted.

Ecclesiasticall Provisions

Forasmuch as the word of God, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures, is a pure and precious light, by God in his free and rich grace given to his people, to guide and direct them in safe paths to everlasting peace. And for that the preaching of the same, in a way of due exposition and application, by such as God doth furnish and send, is through the presence and power of the Holy Ghost, the chief ordinary mean appointed of God for conversion, edification and salvation, it is ordered, that if any Christian (so called) shall within this jurisdiction, behave himself contemptuously toward the word preached, or any minister thereof, called and faithfully dispensing the same in any congregation, either by interrupting him in his preaching, or falsly charging him with errour, to the disparagement and hindrance of the work of Christ in his hands, every such person or persons, shall be duly punished, either by the Plantation Court, or Court of Magistrates, according to the quality and measure of the offence, that all others may fear to break out into such wickednesse.

And it is further ordered, that wheresoever the ministry of the word is established within this jurisdiction, according to the order of the Gospel, every person according to the mind of God, shall duly resort and attend thereunto, upon the Lords dayes at least, and also upon dayes of publick fasting or thanksgiving, ordered to be generally kept and observed. And if any person within this jurisdiction, shall without just and necessary cause, absent or withdraw from the same, he shall after due means of conviction used, for every such sinfull miscarriage, forfeit five shillings to the Plantation, to be levied as other fines.

It is further ordered, that all the people of God within this jurisdiction, who are not in a church way, being orthodox in judgement and not scandalous in life, shall have full liberty to gather themselves into a church estate, provided they doe it in a Christian way, with due observation of the rules of Christ, revealed in his word; provided also that this Court doth not, nor hereafter will approve of any such company of persons, as shall joyn in any pretended way of church fellowship, unlesse they shall first in due season, acquaint both the magistrates, and the elders of the churches within this colony, where and when they intend to joyn, and have their approbation therein. Nor shall any person being a member of any church, which shall be gathered without such notice given, and approbation had, or who is not a member of some church in New-England, approved by the magistrates, and churches of this colony, be admitted to the freedome of this jurisdiction.

And that the ordinances of Christ may be upheld, and comfortable provision made and continued for a due maintenance of the ministry according to the rule, 1 Cor. 9. 6 to 12, Gal. 6. 6, it is ordered, that when and so oft as there shall be cause, either through the perversenesse or negligence of men, the Particular Court in each plantation, or where no court is held, the deputies last chosen for the Generall Court with the constable or other officer for preserving peace, &c. shall call all the inhabitants, whether planters or sojourners before them, and desire every one particularly to set down what proportion he is willing and able to allow yearly, while God continues his estate, towards the maintenance of the ministry there. But if any one or more, to the discouragement or hindrance of this work, refuse or delay, or set down an unmeet proportion in any and every such case, the Particular Court, or deputies and constable as aforesaid, shall rate and asseesse every such person, according to his visible estate there, with due moderation, and in equall proportion with his neighbours. But if after that, he deny, or delay, or tender unsuitable payment, it shall be recovered as other just debts. And it is further ordered, that if any man remove from the Plantation where he lived, and leave or suffer his land there, or any part of it, to lye unimproved, neither selling it nor freely surrendring it to the Plantation, he shall pay one third part of what he paid before, for his movable estate and lands also. And in each Plantation where ministers maintenance is allowed in a free way without rating, he shall pay one third part of what other men of the lowest rank, enjoying such accomodations, doe pay: but if any removing settle near the said Plantation, and continue still to improve his land, or such part of it as seems good to himself, he shall pay two third parts of what he paid before, when he lived in the Plantation, both for moveable estate and land, or two third parts of what others of like accomodation pay.

Document 15. The 'Ecclesiasticall Provisions' of the New Haven Colony's laws published in London in 1656. The marginal references to the Bible in the published text have been omitted.

However, William did not appear when the court met on October 18 and judgement was given in favor of Silvester. Meanwhile on May 31 Theophilus Eaton, the Governor of New Haven Colony, had informed its Court of Election

that Mr Leveridge had bine with him and propounded to know whether their plantation at Oyster Bay might not joyne and be admitted a member of this colony; he also propounded some objections, aboute a pattend, aboute publique charges in this jurisdiction above others, with some thing aboute keepinge courts at their owne plantation, all which was answered so as he objected no further, but desired to know if upon further speech with their towne they desire to be received, whether it might be done without the generall courts meeting againe. The court considered of what was propounded, and declared, that if, upon their full understanding the fundamentall lawes and orders for government here established, they shall desire to joyne, and that they doe upon their admittance take the oath of fidelitie as before ordered, and in a wrighting subscribed by them solemnly ingage themselves to a full observanc thereof, they may be received as a member of this jurisdiction.¹³

The war between Great Britain and the Netherlands was ended by a treaty signed at Westminster on April 5/15, 1654. Its third article provided that 'all offenses, injuries, charges and dammages, which either party hath sustained by the other since the 5 of May [1652], shall be taken away and forgotten, in such manner as that hereafter neither party shall pretend any matter against the other for or upon occasion of any the aforesaid offences, injuries, charges and dammages, but that there shall be a perfect abolition of all and every of them untill this present day' and the Fort of Good Hope thus remained part of Connecticut. Underhill moved to Southold. He regarded part at least of the Fort as his private property, but disagreements about this continued for many years.¹⁴

Roger Williams wrote in his letter to the Massachusetts Bay General Court on October 5 that he 'never was against the righteous use of the civill sword of men or nations', but he asked it to consider 'whether it be not only possible but very easie for the English to live and die in peace with all the Natives of this countrey' and urged the Court to remember why the British settlers were in New England :

Are not all the English of this land (generally) a persecuted people from their native soile, and hath not the God of peace and Father of mercies made these Natives more friendly in this wildernes then our native countrimen in our owne land to us? Have they not entred leagues of love, and to this day continued peaceable commerce with us? Are not our families and townes growne up in peace amongst them? Upon which I humbly aske how it can suite, with Christian ingenuitie to take hould of some seeming occasions for their destructions, which (though the heads be only aimed at) yet all experience tells us, falls on the body and the innocent.¹⁵

The British-Dutch treaty did not solve the problem of the boundary between New Haven Colony and New Netherland nor that between the British and Dutch areas on Long Island. The New Netherland government objected to the Oyster Bay settlement and Stuyvesant sent a letter of protest to his New England neighbors on October 16/26:

We are in duty bound to remind and inform your Noble Honors in a neighborly and friendly way, that some of your Noble Honors' subjects are beginning to settle and establish villages far within our boundaries on land, bought and paid for by us a long time ago, both on Long Island at Schouts or Martin Gerritse's Bay and on the mainland opposite to the White Stone not quite two leagues from Manhattas Island. We do not know by whose authority and under whose commission they do this, nor whether with or without the knowledge of the Honorable Commissioners for New-England, but we hope it is without their knowledge, for it would be quite contrary to the convention made at Hartford between them and our deputies.

We dislike very much to enter upon anything which might increase the jealousies between the two nations in this country, but our honor and oath forbid us to let pass and allow such unlawful encroachments on and usurpation of lands bought, paid and partly settled and inhabited by us, without doing something to prevent it. Pursuant to special orders and instructions, given by the Lords-States-General, our Sovereigns, and the Lords-Directors, our Masters and Patroons, we are further compelled to resist these unlawful encroachments and appropriations with all our available forces and means, if the Government of New-England, herewith once more kindly requested thereto, does not interfere.

Before we undertake this, we have resolved, in order to prevent further troubles, first to let the law officer of the Honorable Company, our Fiscal, issue an interdict to all these usurpers, ordering them to desist in their proceedings and remove. We request your Noble Honors as neighbors, most kindly and earnestly to assist us herein and favor us with an answer, offering our poor services in similar more or less important matters.¹⁶

It is not clear whether the Commissioners of the United Colonies or perhaps New Haven Colony was the intended recipient of Stuyvesant's letter, but no reply was apparently received and the High Council of New Netherland decided on January 9/19, 1655 that

as soon as the waters are free from ice and the land from snow, some members of the Council with one of the magistrates of the city [of New Amsterdam] shall go to Long Island and where else it may be necessary to inquire civilly and secretly into the matter, using as a pretext a visit to Oyster Bay in the limits of New Netherland to order the withdrawal from this jurisdiction of the Englishmen, who have settled there during the troubles of last year, and in case of refusal to protest against them in due form.

The 'long winter and the impassability of the roads' prevented any further action before the Council met on March 6/16. The Fiscal, Cornelis van Tienhoven, and two others were then appointed to arrange a protest

to the Oyster Bay settlers. The Council recognized on March 23/April 2 that circumstances prevented Tienhoven serving the protest himself and the court messenger, Claes van Elslant, was authorized to deliver the protest on his behalf:

Cornelis van Tienhoven, as Fiscal of New Netherland, constitutes and empowers, as he hereby does, Claes van Elslant, court messenger in this City of New Amsterdam, to proceed to Mattinnekonck Bay, also called Martin Gerritsen's Bay, where some Englishmen have settled, because the same is west of Oyster Bay and to direct there Mr Levent and all whom it may concern, to remove; in case of refusal, to protest against them pursuant to the foregoing order and protest.

There are two similar copies of the protest. The copy in the New York State Archives is the text that was agreed upon in advance by the Council, whilst the copy in the Netherlands archives shows that it was served on William, though it was described as a 'Copy of a protest served on Johan Levereth, who hath settled on Marten Gerritsen's Bay, by him called Oyster Bay', an error that may have resulted from confusion with the Captain John Leverett of Boston, who had represented the Commissioners of the United Colonies a year earlier:

Cornelis van Tienhoven, in quality of Fiscal of the Province of New Netherland and legal conservator of authority and jurisdiction, by commission of the High and Mighty Lords States-General of the United Netherlands and Honorable Directors of the Incorporated West India Company, Lords and Patroons of New Netherland, given and granted to the Right Honorable Petrus Stuyvesant, Director-General, and the Supreme Council of New Netherland.

Being instructed by the aforesaid Director-General and Council to repair to you, William Levereth, here and to notify and make known to you and all whom it doth concern, that you have settled within the limits of New Netherland, on land named Marten Gerrit's Bay, purchased from the natives, the right owners and proprietors, and paid for and long possessed by the Netherland nation and by the subjects of New Netherland. Therefore do I, in the name and on the behalf of the said High and Mighty, the Lords States-General, and the Honorable Directors of the Incorporated West India Company, warn you, on these aforesaid, our long since purchased, possessed and paid for lands, not to proceed with building, clearing, cattle-feeding or hay-mowing, or whatever appertains to agriculture or farming, but that, within thirty days after the service hereof, you do depart beyond the jurisdiction of New Netherland with your people, servants or slaves, furniture, implements, and every article of property you and your nation brought thither, on pain, if you or any of yours, after the expiration of the time aforesaid, be found to have acted contrary hereunto, of my being compelled, against you and whomsoever it may concern, to proceed as circumstances may require. Meanwhile I protest against all damages, injuries, mischiefs and losses which may arise herefrom, whereof I declare, before God and the world, our innocence.

This 2d April [March 23], 1655, in New Amsterdam, New Netherland.
Cornelis van Tienhoven.¹⁷

The Oyster Bay settlers responded by again seeking the protection of New Haven Colony. William may have been present at the Court of Magistrates there on May 28 when evidence was given in a case of sexual misbehavior on board ship about what he had overheard whilst on board Mayo's ship. The case was followed by another case about sexual behavior and the editor of the court records then omitted about three pages 'as containing matters of a nature deemed unfit for publication'. Two days later the governor reported to the General Court that he had received a letter from the planters at Oyster Bay and a second letter from William dated at Milford on May 28

desiring that their plantation may be admitted a member of this colony, upon severall conditions therein exprest which will need weighty consideration, but because there is none of that plantation here to interpret their meaning in sundrie things propounded, and answer to such queries as the court should make, they cannot at present give any other answer but to deferr it for a time, and the rather because, if all other things were cleered, the consent of the commissioners must be obtayned, to which they are bound by one article in the confederation.¹⁸

Meanwhile plans were being made to establish a college at New Haven. The General Court had supported the recommendation of the Commissioners of the United Colonies in 1644 that individuals be encouraged to support the college at Cambridge, Massachusetts Bay. However, Davenport wanted the colony to have its own college and on March 23, 1648 the General Court asked the individuals it had appointed to deal with some vacant lots of land 'to consider and reserve what lott they shall see meete & most commodious for a colledg, which they dissire maye bee sett up so soone as their abillitie will reach thereunto'. Four years later the New Haven town of Guilford supported the idea of a college providing Connecticut would join the undertaking.¹⁹ Two years later still when the General Court met at New Haven on May 22, 1654 the town 'was informed that there is some motion againe on foote concerning the setting of a colledg here at Newhaven, which if attayned will in all likelyhood prove verely beneficiall to this place, but now is onely propounded, to knowe the townes minde, and whether they are willing to further the worke by bearing a meet proportion of charge'. There was further discussion at General Courts held at New Haven on May 21 and 30, 1655 and then a special meeting of the General Court was held there on July 4 when the

Governor informed the towne that this meeting had not bine called but for furtheranc of the colledg worke, a buisenes of much concernment for the good of posteritie, and there hath bine a comfortable experienc had of the readiness of this towne to further the same. The other townes in the jurisdiction have also contributed to it, and amongst them have raised a somme of aboute two hundered and forty pound, which the committee have considered and thinke that will buy a house and set it in repaire and fitt it for that employment. Now there wants a yearly aneuetie of sixty pound a yeare, that may be for the president and some other small occasions if it will reach it.

and the court went on to consider how this could be raised.²⁰ William appears to have been offered the post of college president, for the youthful John Haynes Jr wrote (probably from Hartford) on October 1 to his equally youthful relative Fitz-John Winthrop (a son of John Winthrop Jr, who was probably at Pequod), 'that there is hope you & I may live together this winter. I hear you are to be at New-Haven & I think so shall I, because there is a colledg to be settled there: Mr Leveredg is chosen president'. William's wife had other ideas, as Davenport recorded in a letter to Winthrop on November 22 - 'Mr Leverets wifes violent aversenes from his settling in the colledge, he saith, causeth him to desist from that buisenes. So, that worke must waite for a better season'.²¹

Davenport managed to attract a donation of nearly 100 books for a college, but another five years elapsed before a short-lived college-school was established in New Haven. Abraham Peirson or Pierson Jr became the first rector of the Collegiate School in Connecticut from which Yale University sprang, but it was not until 1718 that the 17-year-old Yale College moved to New Haven. The books had an important part to play in the foundation of the College and many of them are still in the library of Yale University. Nearly three centuries later, Dr Alison Richard, Provost of Yale from 1994 to 2002, became Vice-Chancellor of William's *alma mater*.²²

Though William and Ellen remained on Long Island, Davenport was able to attract the Winthrops to New Haven in 1656, but they stayed for little more than a year before the post of governor attracted John Winthrop Jr back to Connecticut. He remained Governor of Connecticut until the end of his life, but he also had wide scientific and technological interests, especially in chemistry, medicines and mining, and a large library that already contained over 1,000 books when his father wrote about it in 1640:

About this time there fell out a thing worthy of observation. Mr Winthrop the younger, one of the magistrates, having many books in a chamber where there was corn of divers sorts, had among them one wherein the Greek Testament, the Psalms and the Common Prayer were bound together. He found the Common Prayer eaten with mice, every leaf of it, and not any of the two other touched, nor any other of his books, though there were above a thousand.

Savage suggested that 'the mice, not liking psalmody, and not understanding Greek, took their food from another part of the volume'. More recent examination of this volume has, however, shown that these well-educated Puritan mice only consumed about half of the Prayer Book.²³

Winthrop's uncle and future father-in-law, Thomas Fones, had had an apothecary's shop in London near where he was a law student at the Inner Temple in the 1620s and he developed an interest in pharmacy. When one of his father's hands was very painfull in 1628 he sent him some yellow and black plasters which he had 'receyved from a woman that is very scilfull, and much sought unto for these thinges' and he continued his medical work in America. A lot of Winthrop's correspondence in the 1650s concerned medical matters and the records that he made of his prescriptions from 1657 to 1669 show that he treated at least 700 different individuals during this period. He was well-known for one particular remedy called 'rubilla', a red powder that probably consisted of or contained 'diaphoretic antimony'. The preparation of this perspiration-producing potion was described in Richard Bradley's English revision of Noel Chomel's *Dictionaire æconomique* which was published in London in 1725.²⁴

Roger Williams wrote to Winthrop in 1649 that 'my wife prayes a litle of your powder for Mrs Weekes daughter of Warwick, who is every winter afflicted by occasion of such obstructions and breakes forth to lamentable effects'. Underhill sought help from Winthrop for his wife Helena in a letter from Southold in 1656:

As God hase made you an instrument of the gud of mani disesed, so I hombli request his gudnes to mofe youer hart to be an instrument of reliefe unto my wife, who dayli continnuse in gret payne, resefing last yere a payne in her back with alift of a wayti stone, and dayli increses her payne, and desense in to her left hip, so that shee can not torn her[self] in bed, nor gooe up rit in the daye. If bi the barer, Mr Herbert, I shall obtayne youer helpfull dereckchon, I shall efer rest obbliged and reddi to serfe you to my power.

and he continued that 'I wase latli at Flushing. Hanna Feke is to be marrid to a verri jentiele young man, of gud abilliti, of a lovli fetture, and gud behafor'. Hannah was the second daughter of Elizabeth Feake, 'The Winthrop Woman', and the 'jentiele young man' was John Bowne, a Long Island settler with whose life William subsequently became involved.²⁵ Most of Davenport's letters to Winthrop in 1653 and 1654 included references to his or other people's health. In the letter that referred to William's wife's 'aversenes' to going to

New Haven, he told him that ‘my wife complaineth of a paine in the soles of her feete, especially in the evening, sometimes it burnes. Yet in the day, and after she hath bene a while in bed, it doth not trouble her’ and he wrote in 1659 to thank him ‘for the powders you sent to my wife’. Elizabeth Davenport carried out a lot of her own medical work, work that was typical of many women in early New England, and Ellen Leverich may herself have undertaken similar work.²⁶

William would have been to the New Haven meeting-house during his visits to the town. The seats there were re-allocated in 1656 when ‘the committee appointed to seat people in the meeting-house acquainted the towne with what they had done therein, which was read in court and the notes left with the Marshall, that people might come theither and know their severall seats’. The seats were allocated to named individuals with men and women on opposite sides of the central ‘ally’ of the meeting-house (table 16).²⁷

Table 16. Summary of the allocation of seats in the New Haven meeting-house on February 11, 1656.

<i>Seats for men</i>		<i>Seats for women</i>	
Long seats in the middle for men		The long seates	
Seat 1. Governor	Seat 6. 7 men	Seat 1. 1 woman	Seat 6. 6 women
Seat 2. Magistrate	Seat 7. 7 men	Seat 2. 5 women	Seat 7. 6 women
Seat 3. 3 men	Seat 8. 7 men	Seat 3. 4 women	Seat 8. 6 women
Seat 4. 4 men	Seat 9. 5 men	Seat 4. 4 women	Seat 9. 5 women
Seat 5. 5 men		Seat 5. 5 women	
The cross seats at upper end:		Cross seates:	
Seat 1. 4 men	Seat 4. 3 men	Seat 1. 2+ women	Seat 4. 3 women.
Seat 2. 4 men	Seat 5. 8 men	Seat 2. 3 women	Seat 5. 7 women
Seat 3. 4 men		Seat 3. 3 women	
In the little seats: 4 men		In the short seat & the seat before them: 4 women	
In the seats on the stile on both sides the dore:		In the side seates, all alonge:	
Seat 1. 4 men	Seat 6. 4 men	Seat 1. 4 women	Seat 6. 4 women
Seat 2. 4 men	Seat 7. 4 men	Seat 2. 4 women	Seat 7. 4 women
Seat 3. 3 men	Seat 8. 4 men	Seat 3. 4 women	Seat 8. 4 women
Seat 4. 4 men	Seat 9. 4 men	Seat 4. 4 women	
Seat 5. 4 men		Seat 5. 4 women	
Against the souldiors seats:		Before Mrs Eatons seate: 4 women	
Seat 1. 5 men	Seat 3. 3 men	Before Mrs Allertons seate: 3 women	
Seat 2. 4 men		Before Deacon Miles his seat: 3 women	
On the bench before the little seat: 2 men		Before the pillar: 2 women	
Before the governors seate: 4 men		Permitted to sitt in the ally (upon their desire) for convenience of hearing: 2 women	
Before Mr Gilbert: 4 men			
Before Mr Tuttils seat: 4 men			
Before the pillar: 1 man			

A church with William as its minister was presumably set up at Oyster Bay soon after the settlers arrived. Samuel Titus, whose father was one of the early purchasers at Oyster Bay, declared in 1684 that ‘I well remember, that after the Indians had their pay, now quiet and well contented, and then the inhabitants, with the purchasers, now agreed, and was to give Mr. Leverich fifteen pounds a year, as minister among them’.²⁸ William also received money for his missionary work on Long Island. When the Commissioners of the United Colonies met in September 1655 they ordered that ‘Mr Leverich bee allowed five pounds more for his former service’ and Pierson was allowed fifteen pounds. A year later they received a letter from Pierson and ‘some parte of a cattichisme by him framed and propounded to convince the Indians by the light of nature & reason that there is onely one God who hath made and governeth all thinges’. They advised

that it bee perfected and turned into the Narragansett or Pequott language that it may bee the better understood by the Indians in all partes of the countrey and for that purpose they spake with and desiered Tho: Stanton to advise with Mr Pearson about a fitt season to meet and translate the same accordingly without any unnessary delay that it may bee fitted for and sent to the presse and they promised him due satisfaction for his time and paines: it was agreed that Mr Pearson bee allowed fifteen pounds for his paines hee shall take in this worke the yeare insuing.²⁹

Doughty’s settlement of Mespath to the west of Oyster Bay was superceded in 1652 by a new grant that extended the privileges of his patent to new settlers. Their settlement to the east of Vlissingen was named Middelburgh after the town in the Netherlands that was on the east side of the Vlissingen there; it was not officially called Newtown until 1664. Three of the early Middelburgh settlers were Francis Swain, Thomas Cornish and John Moore. Swain had moved to Middelburgh by July 12, 1655 when he purchased land from Robert Coe for £100. Moore became the minister at Middelburgh but left the town in 1655 and went to

Barbados. The consequences of his departure concerned Johannes Megapolensis and Samuel Drisius, the ministers at New Amsterdam, who reported to Stuyvesant and the New Netherland Council

that they have been informed by several persons living at Middelburgh in this Province, that since the removal and during the absence of Mr Moore, lately preacher there, some inhabitants of that place and unqualified persons have ventured to hold conventicles and gatherings and assumed to teach the Gospel, from which nothing but quarrels, confusion and disorders may be expected in church and communalty, not only in that place, but also, by giving a bad example, in other places of this Province.

Stuyvesant and the Council responded on January 5/15, 1656 by making an order against conventicles and teaching by unqualified persons and asking Megapolensis and Drisius 'to proceed to Middleburgh when convenient, to inquire with the advice of the magistrates and some of the best informed inhabitants for a person fit to act as reader there'.³⁰ Then two weeks later on January 22/February 1 Stuyvesant and the Council passed an ordinance to

expressly forbid all such conventicles and meetings, whether public or private, differing from the customary, and not only lawful but scripturally founded and ordained meetings of the Reformed Divine Service, as this is observed and enforced according to the Synod of Dortrecht in this country, in our fatherland, and other Reformed churches in Europe, under the penalty of one hundred pounds Flemish to be forfeited by all those who, being unqualified, take upon themselves, either on Sundays or other days, any office whether of preacher, reader or singer, in such meetings, differing from the customary and legal assemblies, and 25 like pounds to be forfeited by every one, whether man or woman, married or unmarried, who is found in such meetings. The Director-General and Council do not, however, hereby intend any constraint of conscience in violation of previously granted patents, nor to prohibit the reading of God's Holy Word, family prayers and worship, each in his household, but all public and private conventicles and meetings, whether in public or private houses, differing from the repeatedly mentioned customary and ordained Reformed religion.³¹

A new challenge to the religious stability of both the Dutch and British colonies in America came from the Quakers, one of the groups that had arisen in the religious ferment in England by 1651 when Thomas Hall wrote that we 'have many sects now abroad: Ranters, Seekers, Shakers, Quakers, and now Creepers, such as creep into pulpits and creep to conventicles, deceiving others, and being deceived themselves'. The Quakers developed particularly in the north of England as the result of the work of George Fox and others. They placed less emphasis than the Puritans on the sufficiency of the Bible for salvation and developed the doctrine of a 'light within' or 'inward light' of Christ that dwelt in those who were 'convinced'. They had no organized ministry and their beliefs led to conflict with both church and civil authorities. They rejected set forms of worship and the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, but held their own services to which both men and women could contribute. They organized their own weddings and refused to raise their hats as a mark of respect, to swear oaths, to take part in military training or service and to pay church or military taxes. They referred to themselves as Friends, but their religious fervor led to the name Quaker and in the early years they sometimes challenged other ministers during their services. They traveled widely to propagate their faith, putting into practice Fox's words written whilst in Launceston Prison in Cornwall in 1656:

Let all nations hear the sound by word or writing. Spare no place, spare no tongue nor pen, but be obedient to the Lord God. Go through the work, and be valiant for the truth upon earth. Tread and trample all that is contrary under. Ye have the power, do not abuse it; and strength and presence of the Lord, eye it, and the wisdom, that with it you may all be ordered to the glory of the Lord God.³²

The American Quakers derived their faith from missionaries; they were not home-grown like the Anabaptists. The first Quaker to enter North America was probably the Richard Smith who returned to Southampton, Long Island in 1654 after a visit to England. The Quakers Anne Austin and Mary Fisher traveled in the *Swallow* from England via Barbados and arrived in July 1656 at Boston, where they were imprisoned and then sent back to Barbados on August 5. Two days later the *Speedwell* reached Boston with eight Quakers from England as well as Richard Smith, who had joined the ship at Long Island or New Amsterdam. They were examined before the Massachusetts Bay Court of Assistants on September 8 before being sent back to England (document 16). When the Commissioners of the United Colonies met at Plymouth on September 4 they received a letter from the Massachusetts Bay governor and magistrates stating that they had imprisoned the Quakers and sent Smith back to Southampton. The Commissioners recommended 'to the severall general courts that all Quakers, Ranters and other notorious heretiques bee prohibited [from] coming into the United Collonies and if any shall hereafter come or arise amongst us that they bee forth with ceured or removed out of all the jurisdictions'.³³

All four colonies responded by making orders against the entry of Quakers. On October 2 the Connecticut General Court ordered 'that no towne within this jurisdiction shall entertaine any Quakers, Ranters, Adamites, or such like notorious heritiques, or suffer to continue with them above the space of 14 dayes' and that any

shipmaster who brought them to the colony was to take them away or be fined. On October 14 the Massachusetts Bay General Court ordered that shipmasters who brought Quakers into the colony were to remove them and be fined, that the Quakers themselves were to be 'committed to the howse of correction, and at their entrance to be severely whipt, and by the master thereof to be kept constantly to worke, & none suffred to converse or speake with them dureing the time of their imprisonment, which shalbe no longer then necessity requireth' and that anyone who imported or concealed Quaker books was to be fined. On May 27, 1657 the New Haven General Court ordered 'that no Quaker, Ranter or other herritick of that nature' be allowed to enter or stay in the colony and 'if any such rise up amonge ourselves, that they be speedily supressed'. Then on June 3 the New Plymouth General Court ordered that anyone who 'shall bring any Quaker, Rantor or other notoriouse heretiques' into the colony was to remove them or pay a fine for every week they stayed.³⁴

Nicholas Upshall, a Boston resident who had supported the *Speedwell* Quakers and objected to the Massachusetts Bay law against Quakers, was expelled from the colony. He found temporary sanctuary in Sandwich, but was expelled from there by the New Plymouth General Court and went to Rhode Island before eventually returning to Massachusetts Bay. He was partly responsible for the town that William had left three years previously becoming an important Quaker center with the oldest continuous Meeting in America.³⁵

The questions of church membership and infant baptism had not been resolved by the Cambridge Platform of 1649, and in 1656 the Connecticut General Court sent 'several questions of practical concernment' about church membership and baptism to the Massachusetts Bay General Court and asked its help in resolving them. Massachusetts Bay responded on October 14 by calling for a ministerial assembly to meet in Boston in the following June and invited ministers from New Haven Colony and New Plymouth as well as Connecticut and Massachusetts Bay. However, New Haven declined the invitation and New Plymouth may not have responded. The assembly completed its work in less than two weeks and this time its *A disputation concerning church-members and their children in answer to XXI questions*, again written by Richard Mather, accepted a wider role for infant baptism:

It is the duty of those infants when grown up to years of discretion, though not yet fit for the Lords Supper, to own the covenant they made with their parents [i.e. at their infant baptism], by entring thereinto in their own persons, and it is the duty of the church to call upon them for the performance thereof..... In case they understand the grounds of religion, are not scandalous, and solemnly own the covenant in their own persons, wherein they give up both themselves and their children unto the Lord, and desire baptism for them, we (with due reverence to any Godly Learned that may dissent) see not sufficient cause to deny Baptism unto their children.³⁶

Meanwhile the dispute between Oyster Bay and New Netherland continued. Stuyvesant made a visit to Oyster Bay, but the settlers were still unsure of its outcome when they wrote to him on January 23/February 2, 1657. William was not one of the eight Oyster Bay settlers who signed the letter and the style of English suggests that he did not write it:

Honored Syr. Synce youre last beeing att Oysterbay, wee have reseved nether lyne nor leter from you. Wee dout not but you styll beare in mynd the proposyshons then mayd, namly, that yould ether make oute the ryght and tytele of the place to be youre or give us under youre hand to free us from insuing damige of a leter sent from governor Eyeton [Theophilus Eaton of New Haven], whych leter was produced and parused by Myster Leveryge at youre being there, and since that tyme wee have reseved noe more. It is not oure desyre to lyve from under government.

If therefore it may in meshure stand wyth your worshypes pleshure to manifest what you intend concernyng the playce, wee shall wyth a wyllinge redines atend your worshype wyth our ansquers. Soe not further to trubele at present, wee humbly take our leave and reste. Youre ever loveinge frendes from Oysterbay, the 23th of January 1657.

To the Right Worshypfull Pieter Steavenesant Dyrektor Governer of the New Netherlands these present	Thomas Armatag Peter Wright Nicholas Wright Anthony Wright	Daniel Whythead Roberd Wylliames Nycklas Symson John Dickinson
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These in the name of the rest.

Moore probably returned to Middelburgh in 1656, but a new concern soon arose there. Seven of the inhabitants, including Francis Swain and a Thomas Hornish who was probably Thomas Cornish, wrote a letter dated January 22 [*sic*], 1657 to the Director-General to express their concern that

in respect of the house bulded here by the towne of Midleburrough for publicke use for a minester for continewance and some of the towne hath given it away to Mr More for his owne proprietie, and his offer him, wherein we thinke we are wronged & the towne left destitute if Mr More please to leave us or if he should die, for we know men ar mortall, then we are to seke both for minester & house to entertaine him into.

1. Quest. Whither you oune yor selves to be such as are commonly knowne or called by the name of Quakers?

Answer. Wee are all so called. Wee are all of one minde.

2. Quest. Whither yow brought not over hither severall bookes wherein are conteyned the severall opinions of that sect or people.

[Answer by] Mary Prince and another. Yea, those that were taken from us.

3. Quest. Wherefore came yow into these parts?

Answer (by all). To doe the will of God whatever he should mak knowne to be his will.

4. Quest. How doe yow make it appeare that God called yow hither?

Answer (Dor. Wawgh) [Dorothy Waugh]. He that believes hath the witness in himself. (Brend) [William Brand]. By the power of the spirit of the Lord. It was a crosse to my will. I would not have come but the Lord hath brought me downe to ob[e]y him in his call.

5. Quest. Doe yow acknowledg the light in every man's conscienc that comes into the world is Christ and that that light would save him if obeyd? The answer to this in thiere bookes is, The light is but one which is Christ, who enlightnes one, and all are enlightned with one light, as in the 3d pag of that booke, and in the close of the booke. Ad: that this is called the light of your conscienc, the true teacher, and sayd to be the first step to peace, *ult verba*. Mary Prince, Do yow oune the letter yow sent me?, which was sheu [blot] hir.

Answer. Yes, and sayd it was the eternall word of the Lord wich must stand for ever, and should stand; and sayd further, she wrote this as a prophet, one of the Lord, and was guided by the infallible spirit of the Lord.

6. Quest. Whether yow oune that the scriptures are the rule of knowing God and living to him?

Answer. The eternall word is the rule of there lives, and not the written word, and in answer to the question propounded from them: That if yow had not the scriptures to direct yow yet yow have that wich was before scripture, that would guide you aright. To which Mary Prince answd, yea, and that it was a sufficyent guide.

7. Quest. Doe yow acknowledg that Christ is God and man in one person?

This they will not acknowledg.

8. Quest. Doe yow acknowledg one God subsisting in three persons - Father, Sonne and Holy Ghost?

Answer. They acknowledg no Trinity of persons.

9. Quest. Whither yow acknowledg that God and man in one person remayne forever a distinct person from God the Father and God the Holy Ghost and from the saints, not withstanding there union and communion with him?

This they will not acknowledge.

10. Quest. Doe yow acknowledge your self a sinner?

This they will not acknowledge.

11. Quest. Doe yow acknowledg baptisme with water to be an ordinance of God?

This they will not acknowledg.

Document 16. The examination of the *Speedwell* Quakers before the Massachusetts Bay Court of Assistants on September 8, 1656.

They asked him to take action and he replied on January 5/15:

Whereas wee were informed that the house off the minister (being bild for a publicq use and successively for the ministerij) by som off the inhabitance off the towne of Middleborch was disposed off, and given unto Meester More for his private use, it beeing soo, as wee doe not hope, or thinke, then this are to require the magistraats off the said towne, to make their appijrance before us, for to give information and reasons, uppon wath grounds, and wherefore it was done alsoo. In the mayntyme the magistraats are required and ordered to proceed no further against the bearer John Layton.³⁷

Ten years before, the Massachusetts Bay General Court had authorized towns to raise money to ‘grant or purchase’ a house for a minister ‘provided alwayes that such graunt be.....to the use of a present preaching elder & his next successor, and so from time to time to his successors’. However, the gift of money to a minister for a house in 1657 provoked a case that has been remembered in United States legal history. When the Ipswich town meeting levied a tax in order to give its minister ‘£100 towards building a house’, George Giddings, one of the residents, refused to contribute and some of his goods were seized by the constable. Giddings successfully argued before the local magistrate that it was illegal to force someone to contribute towards a gift, but the Essex County Court reversed the magistrate’s decision and its view was upheld by the General Court.³⁸

The issue of whether land granted to a minister became his private property or was also for the use of his successors might have been an important one for William, but as the first minister in several places he was in a special position. Unlike his successors he would often have been granted land as a settler rather than just as a minister. The shortage of ministers was a constant problem for both the Dutch and the British settlers. On July 26/August 5 Stuyvesant sent a report from Megapolensis and Drisius to the Classis of Amsterdam, the governing body of the Dutch church, about the state of the churches in New Netherland in which they referred to the situation in Middelburgh and the other British villages in Long Island. They described Moore as one ‘who preaches there, but does not serve the sacraments. He says, he was licensed in New England to preach, but not authorized to administer the sacraments’ and they added a comment on the lack of missionary work amongst the Amerindians (document 17).³⁹

The arrival of Quakers on the *Woodhouse* was recorded by Megapolensis and Drisius in a postscript to their letter and they continued on the same subject in their next letter of October 15/25, which also reported the death of Moore on October 3/13 ‘of a pestilential disease, which prevailed in several of our English towns, and in New England’. The *Woodhouse* had set out from England for Boston on June 11/21 with six of the Quakers previously expelled from Boston and four other Quakers. Five of them disembarked at New Amsterdam and the remainder traveled on to Rhode Island. Two of the Quakers, Dorothy Waugh and Mary Weatherhead, were imprisoned in New Amsterdam before being expelled, and another Quaker, Robert Hodson, was arrested in Heemstede and imprisoned, whipped and put to work ‘with the negroes’ before he was also expelled. The *Woodhouse* Quakers who continued to Rhode Island were joined there by three Quakers from Barbados. Seven of them traveled overland to Massachusetts Bay, where they were imprisoned and whipped (document 18).⁴⁰

When the Commissioners of the United Colonies met at Boston on September 3, 1657 they urged Rhode Island to take action against Quakers, but its Governor and Court of Trialls replied that freedom of conscience was protected by the colony’s charter. Humphrey Norton, ‘one of those commonly called Quakers’, was summoned before the New Plymouth General Court on October 6 and he was ‘found guilty of divers horred errors’ and sentenced to be expelled from the colony. The Massachusetts Bay General Court increased its penalties for Quakers on October 14. Anyone bringing a Quaker into the colony was to be fined and additional penalties ‘if any Quaker or Quakers shall presume, after they have once suffered what the lawe requireth, to come into this jurisdiccio[n]’ were specified. A male Quaker was to have one of his ears cut off for a first offence and the other ear for a second offence, and a woman Quaker was to be whipped. Then ‘for every Quaker, he or she, that shall a third time heerin againe offend, they shall have their tongues bored through with a hot iron & kept at the house of correction, close to worke, till they be sent away at their oune charge’. Then on May 19, 1658 the General Court extended its law to deal with ‘Quakers and such accursed haereticques arising amongst ourselves’.⁴¹

In London the Society for Propagation of the Gospel had been conscious of a lack of information from New England, since its court was meeting weekly but the Commissioners only met annually. It therefore sought more information and on September 27, 1656 decided

that a lettre bee prepared to bee sent to Mr Eliot & Mr Mahew that in regard of these various reportes that are heere concerning this busines they would send lettres signed by themselves & elders to attest the truth of this busines & to send lettres to Mr Dr Seaman, Mr Calamy and the rest of the ministers, Mr Carroll, Mr Ash, Mr Cra[], and that a transcript of the same bee sent unto us.

On Long Island there are seven villages belonging to this Province, of which three, Breuckelen [Brooklyn], Amesfoort [Flatlands] and Midwout [Flatbush], are inhabited by Dutch people, who formerly used to come here [New Amsterdam] to communion and other services to their great inconvenience. Some had to travel for three hours to reach this place. Therefore, when Domine Polheymus arrived here from Brazil, they called him as preacher, which the Director-General and Council confirmed.

The four other villages on Long Island, viz. Gravensand [Gravesend], Middelburgh [Newtown], Vlissingen [Flushing] and Heemstede [Hempstead] are inhabited by Englishmen. The people of Gravesand are considered Mennonites. The majority of them reject the baptism of infants, the observance of the Sabbath, the office of preacher and any teachers of God's word. They say that thereby all sorts of contentions have come into the world. Whenever they meet, one or the other reads something to them. At Vlissingen, they formerly had a Presbyterian minister [Francis Doughty] who was in agreement with our own church. But at present, many of them have become imbued with divers opinions and it is with them *quot homines tot sententiae*^a. They began to absent themselves from the sermon and would not pay the preacher the salary promised to him. He was therefore obliged to leave the place and go to the English Virginias. They have now been without a preacher for several years. Last year a troublesome fellow, a cobbler from Rhode Island in New England [William Wickenden], came there saying, he had a commission from Christ. He began to preach at Vlissingen and then went with the people into the river and baptized them. When this became known here, the Fiscal went there, brought him to this place, and he was banished from the Province.

At Middelburgh, alias Newtown, they are mostly Independents, and have a man called Joannes Moor of the same way of thinking, who preaches there, but does not serve the sacraments. He says, he was licensed in New England to preach, but not authorized to administer the sacraments. He has thus continued for some years. Some of the inhabitants in this village are Presbyterians, but they cannot be supplied by a Presbyterian preacher. Indeed, we do not know that there are any preachers of this denomination to be found among any of the English of New England.

At Heemstede, about seven Dutch miles [twenty-one British miles] from here, there live some Independents. There are also many of our own church, and some Presbyterians. They have a Presbyterian preacher, Richard Denton, a pious, godly and learned man, who is in agreement with our church in everything. The Independents of the place listen attentively to his sermons, but when he began to baptize the children of parents who are not members of the church, they rushed out of the church.....

We can say but little of the conversion of the heathens or Indians here, and see no way to accomplish it, until they are subdued by the numbers and power of our people, and reduced to some sort of civilization; and also unless our people set them a better example, than they have done heretofore

a as many opinions as men.

Document 17. Extract from Johannes Megapolensis and Samuel Drisius's letter of July 26/August 5, 1657 to the Classis of Amsterdam.

When the Society's court met again on November 25, it heard that Eliot 'hath 5 sons att the college' [Harvard] and had sought additional financial support, but a proposal that he and Mayhew be each given an annual payment of £20 was not approved.⁴²

The Commissioners of the United Colonies considered missionary work amongst the Amerindians when they met on September 3, 1657 and 'being informed by Mr Elliott and other elders that Mr Blin[d]man, Mr Newman and Mr Leverich were willing to aply themselves to the Indian worke, did for their incuragment therin write unto them'. Their letter to William stated that

Since you being with us wee understand that som of the elders in the Bay betrusted to consider of & procure meet instruments to cary on the great worke of God amongst the Indians have amongst others spoken to youer selfe and found you not altogether adverse unto the same, which hath occasioned us thuse fare to impart our minds unto you, that if it shall please God soe to dispose of you in regard of the place of youer habitation and shall incline youer speritt to this worke soe as you may bee healfull to the Mantackett and Carchauge Sachems and their people or any other Indians within the English limetts in teaching them the true knowlidge of God in Jesus Christ, the Comissioners will not bee wanting to give you due incuragement proportionable to youer indeavors and for the present are willing to allow twenty pounds for this yeare to intertaine an interpretor, that may bee constantly with you and bee healfull unto you for the gaining of their language (if God shall move youer hart to employ youer paines that way) and will att the next meeting consider of a meet recompence for any time or labour you shall improve heerin, and if for want of due informacion of former service done by you in this kind you have not bine recompenced accordingly, it may then bee alsoe remembred.

The Commissioners also considered a letter dated April 11 from the Society, which amongst other things asked 'that the names of such persons as are employed in this good worke, with an account of their severall salleries and allowances might bee sent over unto us (as they have bine this year) to the end wee may

understand by the number of instruments employed how the worke doth prosper and may bee able to satisfy others therin'. In their reply the Commissioners queried a payment authorized for Thomas Stanton:

Wee heare that Thomas Stanton is taken notice of and posibly recorded as a very able interpreter for the Indian language, which is certainly true, and that a sallarie of 50// per annum is appointed for him in England, which hee may take up heer and charge upon you. This may bee a mistake, but if true wee marvill att it. The Comissioners doe imp[lo]y him as interpreter betwixt themselves and the Indians in civill occations of the colonies and doe afford him convenient recompence for the same. Wee have alsoe improved his skill in healing Mr Person, an able and usefull instrument for other Indians sperituall good in translateing a catchisme Mr Person hath made for theire use and instruction, and as the account will shew have given him a suitable allowance; but for any settled anuall sallery much lesse soe large as is mencioned wee yett see noe cause.

[Postscript dated August 4/14 to letter dated July 26/August 5, 1657]

Just after closing our recent letter of August 5th, it happened that on August 6th a ship came from the sea to this place, and approached the Fort, having no flag flying from the topmast, nor from any other place on the ship; only from the foremast a small burgee floated to indicate the wind. We could not decide whether she was Dutch, French or English. They fired no salute before the Fort, as is usual with ships on their arrival. When the Fiscal went on board, they tendered him no honor or respect. When the master of the ship came on shore and appeared before the Director-General, he rendered him no respect, but stood still with his hat firm on his head, as if a goat. The Director-General could with difficulty get a word from any of them. He only learned that they had come from London in about eight weeks. When he asked as to the condition of Holland, France, etc., hardly a word could be drawn from them. At last information was gained that it was a ship with Quakers on board. The following morning early they hoisted anchor and sailed eastward, towards Hellgate, as we call it, in the direction of New England. We suppose they went to Rhode Island; for that is the receptacle of all sorts of riff-raff people, and is nothing else than the sewer of New England. All the cranks of New England retire thither. We suppose they will settle there, as they are not tolerated by the Independents in any other place. Last year there also arrived at Boston, in New England, several of these Quakers, but they were immediately put in prison and then sent back in the same ship. Probably fearing the same thing, these Quakers came this way, and then passed on. But they did not pass from us so hastily, as not to leave some evidences of their having been here, for they left behind two strong young women. As soon as the ship had fairly departed, these began to quake and go into a frenzy, and cry out loudly in the middle of the street, that men should repent, for the day of judgment was at hand. Our people, not knowing what was the matter, ran to and fro, while one cried 'Fire' and another something else. The Fiscal, with an accompanying officer, seized them both by the head, and led them to prison. On their way to jail, they continued to cry out and pray according to their manner, and continued to do the same when in prison. We perceive from this circumstance that the devil is the same everywhere. The same instruments which he uses to disturb the churches in Europe, he employs here in America. We trust that God will baffle the designs of the devil, and preserve us in the truth, and bring to nothing these machinations of Satan.

[Letter dated October 15/25, 1657]

Lately we have been troubled by others. Sometime since, a shoemaker, leaving his wife and children, came here and preached in conventicles. He was fined, and not being able to pay, was sent away. Again a little while ago there arrived here a ship with Quakers, as they are called. They went away to New England, or more particularly, to Rhode Island, [a place] of errorists and enthusiasts. It is called by the English themselves the *latrina* of New England. They left several behind them here, who labored to create excitement and tumult among the people - particularly two women, the one about twenty, and the other about twenty-eight. These were quite outrageous. After being examined and placed in prison, they were sent away. Subsequently a young man at Hempstead, an English town under the government, aged about twenty-three or twenty-four years, was arrested, and brought thence seven [Dutch] miles. He had pursued a similar course and brought several under his influence. The magistrate, in order to repress the evil in the beginning, after he had kept him in confinement for several days, adjudged that he should either pay one hundred guilders or work at the wheelbarrow two years with the negroes. This he obstinately refused to do, though whipped on his back. After two or three days he was whipped in private on his bare back, with threats that the whipping would be repeated again after two or three days, if he should refuse to labor. Upon this a letter was brought by an unknown messenger from a person unknown to the Director-General. The import of this was, Think, my Lord-Director, whether it be not best to send him to Rhode Island, as his labor is hardly worth the cost.....

On Oct. 13, Mr Moore of Middleburg, which is another town here, died of a pestilential disease, which prevailed in several of our English towns, and in New England. He left a widow with seven or eight children.

Document 18. Extracts from Johannes Megapolensis and Samuel Drisius's postscript of August 4/14 and their letter of October 15/25, 1657 to the Classis of Amsterdam.

They also reported that they were 'now sending to Mr Leverich, Mr Blindman, Mr Newman, Mr Tompson and besides Mr Elliotts son already entered to fitt themselves by improveing interpretors to gitt skill in the Indian language that they may bee instrumentall in this great worke' and enclosed a copy of their accounts (document 19). At the end of their meeting they approved a request from New Haven Colony that Oyster Bay and Huntington be received under its jurisdiction and 'alowed to Mr Leverich for his former labour to the Indians unsatisfyed' five pounds, but nothing more seems to have been heard by the New Haven courts from the Oyster Bay settlers.⁴³

This yeares account concerning the Indian stocke was presented by Mr Rawson to the Comissioners
the ballance wherof is 067 - 03 - 05

which is thuse to bee disposed of:

In clothing for the Indian boys	030 - 00 - 00
In corn to Mr Elliott	015 - 00 - 00
To his brother Francis Elliott	010 - 00 - 00
The other 12// 3 5 to those that diett the Indian boyes	012 - 02 - 05
This besides 20// in tooles left in his hands to bee destrubuted unto well deserveing Indians by order of the Comissioners	
Coming alsoe in Mr Ushers hand of the 500// bill yett undesposed of	032 - 00 - 00
Besides what is due by advance for what was paied in money after 6// per c[ent], Besides 20// to bee paied by Mr Usher as in the account appeers to Francis Elliott for which as yett noe bill hath been charged by the Comissioners	

A note of the persons employed in the Indian worke and their sallaries per anum

Mr John Elliott	050 - 00 - 00
To five Indian interpretors and scoolmasters employed by Mr Elliott	050 - 00 - 00
To Mr Elliotts son	020 - 00 - 00
To Mr Thomas Mayhew	050 - 00 - 00
To an English scoolmaster employed by him	020 - 00 - 00
To 2 Indian interpretors employed by him	020 - 00 - 00
To Mr Mayhew senior	010 - 00 - 00
Richard Bourne) all these have been incuraged to the worke	
Mr Blindman) though noe certaine allowance bee stated on	
Mr Leverich) them, but accordingly as they apply them-	
Mr Newman) selves soe that wee know not but that the	
Mr Tompson) charge may amount to	150 - 00 - 00
To Mr Person	020 - 00 - 00
The charge of diett of 9 Indian children	085 - 00 - 00
Theire clothing	050 - 00 - 00
John Stantons diet and clothing	
Mr Rawsons whole imployment wilbee reconed and accordingly his sallery	020 - 00 - 00
Mr Elliott and Mr Mayhew move either of them for incuragment for two new Indian townes now to begine, the charge wherof may bee	080 - 00 - 00
Besides guifts and accedentall occations which may arise, the charg wherof is uncertaine	
And a parcell of drugs bought of Mr Nane to the vallue of was graunted him to bee prepared and distributed to sick Indians as there is or shalbe occation	10

Document 19. Expenditure on missionary work amongst Amerindians reported
by the Commissioners of the United Colonies in September 1657.

At the end of 1657 New Netherland issued a proclamation that anyone entertaining a Quaker for a single night was to be fined fifty pounds and that vessels bringing Quakers into the province were to be confiscated. This led a group of Vlissingen residents on December 27, 1657/January 6, 1658 to send the New Netherland Council a remonstrance declaring that they refused to persecute them, 'for out of Christ God is a consuming fire and it is a feareful [thing] to fall into the handes of the liveing God' and added 'wee desire therefore in this case not to judge least wee be judged, neither to condem least wee been condemned but rather let every man stand and fall to his own'. The schout Tobias Feake was arrested when he went to New Amsterdam to deliver the document, and the Vlissingen magistrates, who had both signed the remonstrance, and the town clerk who had written it were also imprisoned. Feake was dismissed as schout and sentenced to a fine of 200*fl*

or banishment if he did not pay. Action was also taken against Quakers in Rustdorp (Jamaica) and s'Gravesande, action that was supported by at least twelve Rustdorp inhabitants.⁴⁴

A copy of the bilingual catechism that Pierson and Stanton had been preparing was sent to England but the ship carrying it failed to arrive and it was printed in Boston as *Some helps for the Indians* in 1658. One of the two known copies of this printing stated on the title-page that it was 'examined and approved by Thomas Stanton, Interpreter-General to the United Colonies for the Indian language and by some others of the most able interpreters amongst us', whilst the other with an apparently false title-page that it was 'examined and approved by that experienced gentleman (in the Indian language) Captain John Scott'. Copies of the catechism were sent to England and a single copy exists of a printing made in London.⁴⁵

William's last income for his missionary work came when the Commissioners authorized the payment of five pounds to 'Mr Leverich for his paines and incurragment' at their meeting on September 2, 1658. By this time he had moved to Huntington and there is no evidence that he was involved in any more missionary work amongst Amerindians, nor apart from the payments any evidence of him undertaking missionary work on Long Island. The Commissioners concluded their meeting by recommending that Quakers who would not stay away from the colonies should be executed. This was too much for Winthrop Jr, who only subscribed to the minutes by 'looking att the last [item] as a query and not an act'. However, the Massachusetts Bay General Court decided on October 19 that those who refused to leave the colony or returned after having been expelled should be executed. The Court also decided that 'for the further prevention of infection, & guiding of people in the truth, in refference to such opinions, heresies or blasphemies by them expressed in their bookes, letters, or by words openly held forth by some of them.....there be a writing or declaration drawne up & forthwith printed, to manifest the evill of their tenets and dainger of their practises' and entrusted the task to Norton, by then the minister of the First Church in Boston.⁴⁶

No reason for William's move from Oyster Bay to Huntington has been identified. It is possible that he moved away from the Dutch area of Long Island for political reasons, but the other Oyster Bay settlers remained where they were. It seems more likely that he moved away from Oyster Bay for religious reasons. Anthony Wright, and Peter and Alice Wright with some at least of their children had become Quakers. Their adoption of Quaker beliefs and practices would have come from the Quakers they heard or the Quaker pamphlets they read in Long Island and they remained in Oyster Bay after William left. William's attitude to Quakers can be guessed from the punishments that New Haven Colony's General Court ordered at its meeting in May when, as mentioned in the next chapter, he applied for Huntington to join the colony.

William witnessed the deed of sale of his son Eleazer's 'house, land & medo at Oyster Bay withall my right & propriety in the said place' to Nicholas Simpkins on January 29, 1659 and he sold 'two lotts [of land at Oyster Bay] with the midows and all other apertinances there unto be longing' to John Richbell on December 3, 1660. Over forty years later on March 7, 1708[?/9] Hope Williams made a statement that he and his brother John

having bought of Caleb Leveridge all the right of land that did belong to William Leveridge in the township of Oysterbay & wheras Nathaniel Coles junior died in possession of a certain home lott in the town that was formerly the said William Leveridges & nothing appearing under the said Leveridges hand for the conveying the same, therefore for divers good causes & considerations, me the said Hope Williams.....do remise, release & for ever quitt claim unto Wright Coles, the son & heir unto the said deceased Nathaniell Coles all the said lott of land with what is upon the same.⁴⁷

After William left Oyster Bay, there appears to have been a dispute about the terms of the purchase agreement of 1653 and he made a statement in 1664 in which he acknowledged that the wording of the agreement was defective, but that the intention of both sides had been that it should apply to both Asiapum and his heirs:

March 22, 63 [1664]: Whereas I understand there is some controversie about a sale of lands made by Assiopum, otherwise Mohenus, made to Samuel Mayo, Peter Wright & my selfe, for want of some formalitys usuall in English deeds, and being desired to expresse what I understand about the promises, I do therefore testifie that the intention of the said Assiopum &c., was to convey not onely his right, but the right of his heires, executors, &c., which though not expressed is easilie proved: 1st for that the Indeans so far as I understand have never made any sales for lives, but of custome which is their lawe, pass the right of theirs, heires, &c. with their owne, unless they make any expresse exception, 2dly &c. there is enough in the writing to prove this to have been his intention, vitz the words interlined, heires &c., wee must put a barre against his heires, executors, &c. which if it may help such as are in diffarence to a better intelgence I shall be glad, if otherwise, I shall be sorry that such as profess themselves Christians shall teach heathens less honesty under pretence of teaching them more law. This is the testimony of me

Wm Leverich.⁴⁸

The boundaries of Oyster Bay were defined and disputed in later years. An agreement between representatives of Hempstead and Oyster Bay on the boundaries between the towns was recorded on October 25, 1677. Suscaneman alias Runasuck, 'the chief proprietor of the lands of Matenacock within the pattend &

township of Oysterbay and true owner of the said lands' made a declaration on December 20, 1678 about the Oyster Bay purchase from his father Asiapum in 1653, but this was disputed by a town meeting held on May 12, 1692.⁴⁹ Today's residents of Oyster Bay are reminded of William's time there by a colorful, though not necessarily authentic, mural in the Post Office (figure 70). It is one of five murals at the post office that were painted by Ernest Peixotto and Arthur A. Sturges in 1937 as part of the Federal Art Project. This project was a division of the Works Progress Administration, which was established by the federal government in 1935 as a work program for the unemployed during the Great Depression and was renamed the Work Projects Administration in 1939.⁵⁰

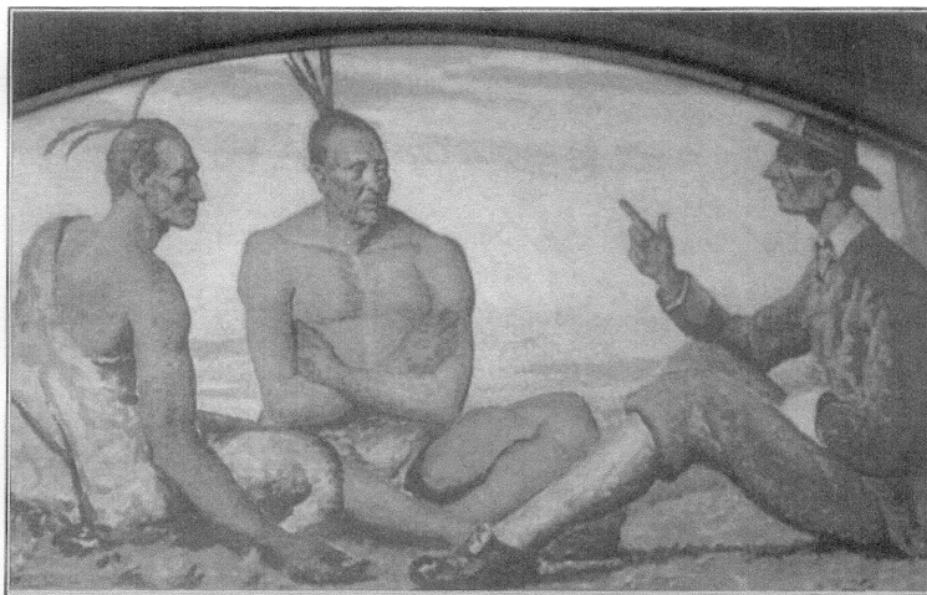


Figure 70. 'William Leverich discusses the Treaty with the Indians, 1653', a mural at Oyster Bay Post Office.

8 - Huntington and Newtown

The benefits of God are to be kept in fresh memory and propagated to posterity.

Attributed to William Leverich in James Riker, *The annals of Newtown*, 1852.¹

Huntington and Newtown had quite separate origins and distinct early histories - Huntington immediately east of Oyster Bay in the British part of Long Island and Newtown twenty miles south-west in the Dutch part - but William moved between the two towns several times during the 1660s. He had moved from Oyster Bay to Huntington by May 17, 1658 when he, William Smith and Thomas Bennidick signed a letter asking that the town of Huntington be placed under the government of New Haven Colony. Two Jonas Woods were appointed to represent the town when the New Haven General Court met on May 26, but as with the application by Oyster Bay they sought special terms for the town (document 20).²

Earlier in the year a Quaker, Humphrey Norton, had been arrested in Southold on Long Island and taken to New Haven where he was sentenced to 'bee severly whipped and branded on the hand with the letter H for spreading his herritticall opinions'. He was also to be 'excluded out of this jurisdiction, not to returne any more into the same' and fined ten pounds. The General Court endorsed this action against him and went on to authorize punishments for Quakers that were similar to those approved by the Massachusetts Bay General Court eight months before, punishments which William may or may not have supported. For second and third offences men were to be branded and women were to be whipped, whilst for a fourth offence 'they shall have their tongues boared through with a hot iron, comitted to prison & kept at worke till they are sent away at their own charge'. Five days later Richard Crabb of Greenwich appeared before the New Haven General Court to answer for the his and his wife's Quaker-like conduct, and he was ordered to pay a fine of 30 pounds and to give a 100 pound security for his good behavior. He moved to Oyster Bay in 1660 and married Alice Wright after her husband Peter's death in Virginia in 1663.³

Humphrey Norton returned to New Plymouth and when he refused to take an oath of fidelity to the colony in June 1658 he was whipped and left the colony. On October 7 the Connecticut General Court widened its anti-Quaker legislation. On January 11/21, 1659 Stuyvesant and the New Netherland Council organized a day of prayer for March 3/13 in order to ward off the 'spirit of error' which scattered 'its injurious poison amongst us', but the fasting and praying against the 'new, unheard of, abominable heresy called Quakers' did not make it disappear. In January 1661 a request was received from residents at Rustdorp for their children to be baptized and they objected to Quaker activities in the area.⁴

The New Haven Colony, New Plymouth, Connecticut and New Netherland responses to Quakers were very restrained compared to those of Massachusetts Bay. The first two executions of Quakers took place there on October 27, 1659, when William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson were hanged. A third Quaker, Mary Dyer, was sentenced to death at the same time, but she was reprieved on condition she left Massachusetts Bay. The sentences against the three Quakers were publicized and justified in *A declaration of the General Court.....concerning the execution of two Quakers* and in John Norton's *The heart of N-England rent*, both of which were published in Massachusetts Bay and in London. Norton wrote that it

concerneth N.-E. alwayes to remember, that originally they are a plantation religious, not a plantation of trade. The profession of the purity of doctrine, worship & discipline is written upon her forehead. A spot of this vast Jeshimon, converted into corn-fields, orchards, streets inhabited and a place of merchandize, cannot denominate New-England.⁵

Francis Swain's father Richard had remained in Hampton, but on November 12 the Massachusetts Bay General Court ordered 'that Richard Swayne, for his entertayning the Quakers shall pay as a fine the somme of three pounds & be disfranchised'. He and his son John then moved to Nantucket Island and this became the home of many generations of their descendants.⁶ Mary Dyer went to Rhode Island, but returned to Boston in May 1660 and was hanged on June 1. Her execution was followed by that of a fourth Quaker, William Leddra, on March 14, 1661, and a fifth, Wenlock Christison, was sentenced to be hanged on June 13. The executions drew protests from other Quakers, including Peter and Alice Wright's daughters, Mary aged 18 and Hannah aged 14, who traveled from Long Island to Boston, where they were imprisoned with Christison and twenty-five other Quakers. Meanwhile on May 22 the General Court 'probably occasioned by some intelligence from London of complaints against them' passed a law providing that Quaker 'vagabonds' were to be tied to the back of a cart and whipped from town to town out of the colony. Those in prison were to be informed of the law and expelled, and Mary and Hannah were thus able to return to Long Island.⁷

George Bishop had served in the parliamentary army during the English Civil War and became a government official, but he retired to Bristol in the 1650s, became a Quaker and wrote many Quaker pamphlets. In 1661 he replied to the Massachusetts Bay *Declaration* in the first part of his best-known work, *New England judged*, in which he publicized the colony's responses to the *Swallow*, *Speedwell* and *Woodhouse* Quakers and the executions of Robinson, Stevenson and Dyer, and added 'A few words to the

King and both Houses of Parliament' and an appendix describing Leddra's execution. On September 9 the King sent a letter to Massachusetts Bay ordering the colony to send any condemned Quakers to England and the General Court suspended its anti-Quaker laws when it met to receive the letter on November 27.⁸

Jonas Wood & Jonas Wood, both of Huntington on Longe Island, as agents for the inhabitants of the same, presented to the court the desires of their towne to joyne in combination with this colony, to which purpose they presented a writeinge subscribed by three of the inhabitants thereof, whereby it appeared that the said agents were authorized to treat of & to finish this business with the court, the contence of which writeing is as followeth,

To the honoured court of magistrates & deputies now sitting at Newhaven

May it please this honoured court to understand that a motion being made by one of our towne of Huntington, at the court of commissioners sitting in Boston the last year, that our towne might be put under Newhaven government, and that motion being consented to by the honoured commissioners there present, our towne of Huntington aforsaid, in pursuance of their desires, have thought good to make their addresses to this honoured court by their deputies, viz., Jonas Wood (O) & Jonas Wood (H), for the obtaining of their proposed ends, having given unto them full power & authority to treat of & finish this business with the court in their names, humbly desireing therein acceptance of us, & further that you will be pleased, (considering the remotenes of the place, the great charges that such infant plantations are used to be attended with), to condescend to such moderate propositions we have ordered them to commend to the court in our behalf, in hopes whereof we rest.

William Smith,
Thomas Bennidick
William Leverich, in
the name & with the
consent of the rest.

Yours in all due observance,

17 of 3 [16]58.

Which being read they were desired to give in, in writeing, what they had to propound in the pursuance of this business, which accordingly they did in 5 propositions, 4 of which proper to the case in hand, which were as followeth,

1. That the towne of Huntington may have liberty to determine all civill controversies by such magistrates as they shall chuse & the honoured court may see cause to confirme, with power to punish all criminall offences, except capitall, in all which cases reserving liberty of appeales to the complainants upon sufficient security given to the magistrates here at home.
- 2ly. That they may have a liberty to send to the general court by way of proxys, unles some urgent & necessary occasions shall require deputies, & we have timely & seasonable notice thereof.
- 3ly. That we desire freedom from the charge of warr, unles what we shall occasion ourselves by craveing assistance from you for our pay against Indians or otherwise.
- 4ly. That in refference to the great disbursements we have beene at in purchasing our plantation & lands at home upon the north side, as well also for our meadows & land at the south, besides other great disbursements in other respects, we desire of this honoured court freedom from rates for the space of 5 yeares.

Which propositions being considered by the court & debated with the said agents, the court returned this answer, that they are willing to receive them upon the same tearmes as Southold & other plantations in the jurisdiction were admitted, which our booke of lawes declare, but to vary from that they were not willing, only in refference to the fourth proposition they would thus far condescend, that they shall be freed from payment of rates for two yeares, but for any longer time they would not engage, but it should remaine in the power of this court to determine as they shall see cause when they shall see the providences of God towards them.

Unto which answer of the court, the said agents replied, that for the present they saw not any thing wherein we were like to differ, except it were in refference to their first proposition, which they would consider off & give in their answer, but no more was done at this time.

Document 20. Huntington settlers seek admission to New Haven Colony in May 1658.

The surviving minutes of the Middelburgh town court begin on August 21, 1659 and they record a total of 517 cases of various types during the next thirty years. Most of them were actions between town residents which led to arbitration or a decision in favor of one of the parties. The first three cases on August 21 were decided in favor of the plaintiff. The record of the fourth case is incomplete, but it appears to have been action by John Forman against Francis Doughty [Jr?] because 'he had stollin his chees'. The witnesses included Francis Swain and Thomas and Mary Cornish, who were described as Goodman and Goodwife Cornish, and the case ended with an apology by Doughty:

Ses Mr Doughty, come Goodm[an] Forman, me thinks wee might agree together in a nighborly way. Ses John Forman, how shall wee agree and you will one [i.e. own] nothing that you have charged mee with all. So then thay had many hot words and among the rest they asked Good Wife Cornish concerning the chees and Mr Doughty sayd it is licke he might but hee was sorie for it bacase the chees was found in his how[se].⁹

Whilst the discussions were taking place with New Haven Colony, William was engaged in a series of disputes in Huntington that initially involved a corn mill and the dam for its water supply, but escalated into charges and counter charges of defamation and slander between William and Henry Whitney. The origins of the dispute are not known, but William 'cleared the town of their ingagment consarning thar not doing the dam at the tim be for the cort the 13 of January, 59[/60]'.¹⁰ On January 19 William was the plaintiff in an action against Whitney for defamation and Whitney against William for slander and the verdict may have been given on the following day:

Mr Leverig plantive against Henary Whitne defendant: the vardit of the cort they find it no slander but find both fallyt, Mr Leverig in not paying acording as it was don and Good[man] Whitne no charge in haf a yere when it dos not so apere to the cort. This is the vardit they find for the plantive: that the defendant for not performing covenant ackcording to the tim that he shall pay 58 shillgene and the charg of the cort.¹¹

The trial took place on April 18 of Mary Suten, whose indictment 'for kepeing and all taring the property of the goodes of Lide Higebe and likewise for haveing corispondense with Mr. Mathens his negar in pillfaring' contains one of the few contemporary references to the existence of black slaves in the community. Mary's confession that 'har waskot wase made of cloth broute out of the bay by har mothar and the othar parte of a pese of cloth bouthe of Mr. Leverige' led to a guilty verdict:

The varditt of the corte thay find thraw her own confesion and witnes browt in to the corte, it is ordered that Mary Suten shall make full satisfackcion for the curtain detaineyd according to the worth of the othar curtaynes and that Mary Suten shall be brout forth the next trayning day and that on [the day] to be apinted by the magistrates to proclaym be for the towne the crimes proved against har: 1, her keping away and alltaring the proparty of the goodes of Lide Higbee and, 2, that she hase so testted and used arguments with a manes sarvant to play the thefe and stell from his mastar that she might be the resever.

And the cort se case to find Goodman Suten gilltie in to up houuld his daftar in so sinful and esell a way and mayntayneing har thar in by argumentes of falls hod and for which he is to give publeck satis fackcion befor the trayn band next, or els pay 20 shilling.¹²

On the same day or a later occasion separate depositions by William, his wife 'Ellinor' and their son Caleb were recorded by the court clerk, Thomas Skidmore, 'by the consent of the corte the 18 Aprell of 1660' (Appendix D). William witnessed a deed that Johana Wood made on May 18. The action between William and Whitney appears to have concluded on June 17 when Whitney was ordered to pay damages of six shillings 'with the cost and charg of the cort'.¹³ William sold his interest in the mill to William Ludlam, who obtained verdicts against Whitney on October 25 & 26. Ludlam assigned land that he had bought from William to Mark Meggs on June 13, 1667. Street included the deed in the town records published in 1887 and added a note stating that the mill:

was located at the south-west corner of a lot on the north side of Mill-Dam Lane about five hundred feet westerly from where the brook crosses the highway. The spot where the mill stood and the mill wheel was located was often pointed out to the writer by his grandfather, Gilbert Scudder, nearly fifty years ago, Mr Scudder then owning the land and being about 80 years old. The mill race, though partially filled up, can now be traced. The dam which flooded the lands far to the south was on the same site as that now occupied by the highway - Mill-Dam Lane - and the gate of the mill pond was where the bridge over the brook is now located.¹⁴

The final outcome of the dispute between William and Whitney was recorded by S. Whitney Phoenix, who included in his Whitney family history published in 1878 'the following receipt, a copy of which was furnished by Mr. James Riker of Waverly, N.Y., from the original, yet preserved by one of the descendants of Mr Leverich':

November : 1 : 1660

These presents witness that I Henry Whitne of Huntington doe acknowledge that I have received of Mr William Leverich forty pounds for the building of his mill and doe by these presents fully acquit and discharge the above named Mr Leverich, his eyers, excecetors and assignes from all debts, dues and demands that ever have bin betwixt him and me, from the beginning of the world to this present daye.

Witness my hand Henry Whitney / X / his marke
Witness John Stiklin / X / his marke Thomas Bennydict¹⁵

Huntington remained outside New Haven Colony, but sought admission to Connecticut. Southampton at the eastern end of Long Island had joined Connecticut with the approval of the Commissioners of the United Colonies in September 1644 and the town's articles of combination with Connecticut served as a precedent for later admissions. In 1658 the Connecticut General Court took steps to control the formation of new churches in the colony when on March 11 it ordered 'that henceforth no persons in this jurisdiction shall in any way imbody themselves into church estate without consent of the Generall Court & approbation of the neighbour churches'. Underhill's wife Helena died in 1658. Soon afterwards he married Elizabeth, the elder sister of Hannah Feake whose engagement to John Bowne he had written to Winthrop about in 1656, and they moved from Southold to Setauket, a town seventeen miles east of Huntington. In August 1659 he headed the list of names of a group of residents there who sought admission to Connecticut and on October 6 the Connecticut General Court accepted the town subject to the approval of the Commissioners of the United Colonies. Then on May 17, 1660 the General Court accepted Huntington's request to join Connecticut, again subject to the approval of the Commissioners. The Commissioners met at New Haven in September when liberty was 'graunted to the jurisdiction of Connecticut to take Huntington and Sautaukett, two English plantations on Long Iland, into their government'.¹⁶ Underhill particularly approved of Connecticut's more liberal attitude towards Quakers and in a letter written to Winthrop in March 1661 he described his reactions to Humphrey Norton's *New-England's ensigne*, which had been published in London in 1659:

I insert what I herd and red in a booke com out of Eingland this wintor, caled 'Nueinglanse Bloddi Ensine'. In it [was] declared the horribel soferings of the pepel caled Quakers in Boston, Plimmoth and Nuhaven, but youer slfe and coloni [were] spred thorro the world as moderat and pittifull in youer demenyour to them. Most diere and nobel Sir, as God hase prserfd you from shedding innozent blod, and cept your coloni from acktse of cruelti to that pepel, so I trost you will bee preserved to the end, that you maye not pertake in the aprochching jugsement.¹⁷

The Connecticut Court of Election accepted Setauket into its jurisdiction on May 16, but Underhill moved to Oyster Bay soon afterwards. The admission of Huntington to Connecticut took place when Connecticut's General Court met on March 13, 1662 and on May 15 its Court of Election 'granted the petition from Huntington' and confirmed

Jonas Wood and Thomas Benedick according to their desire, who are impowred to act in point of government according to the liberties granted to that towne by this court, and the secretary is to give them a cobby of the articles with Southampton, upon which termes they are accepted.¹⁸

The deposition made by 'Ellinor Leverich' is the only record of William's wife in America in which her name is mentioned and helps to confirm that the Ellen Johnston he married in Great Bowden in 1629 did go to America. The deposition by their son Caleb is the first of many records that mention his name. The depositions may have been made because William, Caleb and perhaps Ellen as well were planning to travel to Europe, but their decision to go was probably made before news arrived of Charles II's entry to London on May 29, 1660.

Confirmation of the restoration of the British monarchy was received in New England with the arrival in Boston on July 27 of Edward Whalley and William Goffe, who had both taken part in the trial of Charles I and had signed his death warrant. Whalley was a brother and Goffe a nephew by marriage of Hooke's wife Jane and they moved to New Haven where their attempts to avoid arrest caused problems for the colony. They were fortunate to have been able to leave England, where Hugh Peters' close association with the trial and execution of Charles I led to his exclusion from the Act of General Pardon & Oblivion and to his arrest. He was charged with 'compassing and imagining the death of the King', and was sentenced to death on October 13 and executed three days later. He was the only minister to be executed as a result of the restoration of the monarchy (figure 71).¹⁹

The restoration of the monarchy meant that the legislation that had been passed without royal approval during the previous eighteen years was no longer in force, but much of it was replaced by new acts of parliament. The Society for Propagation of the Gospel in New England was re-founded in 1660 as the Company for Propagation of the Gospel in New England and the parts adjacent in America and subsequently

became known as the New England Company, but the new company had to struggle to keep the Eriswell estate and the Society's other property.²⁰

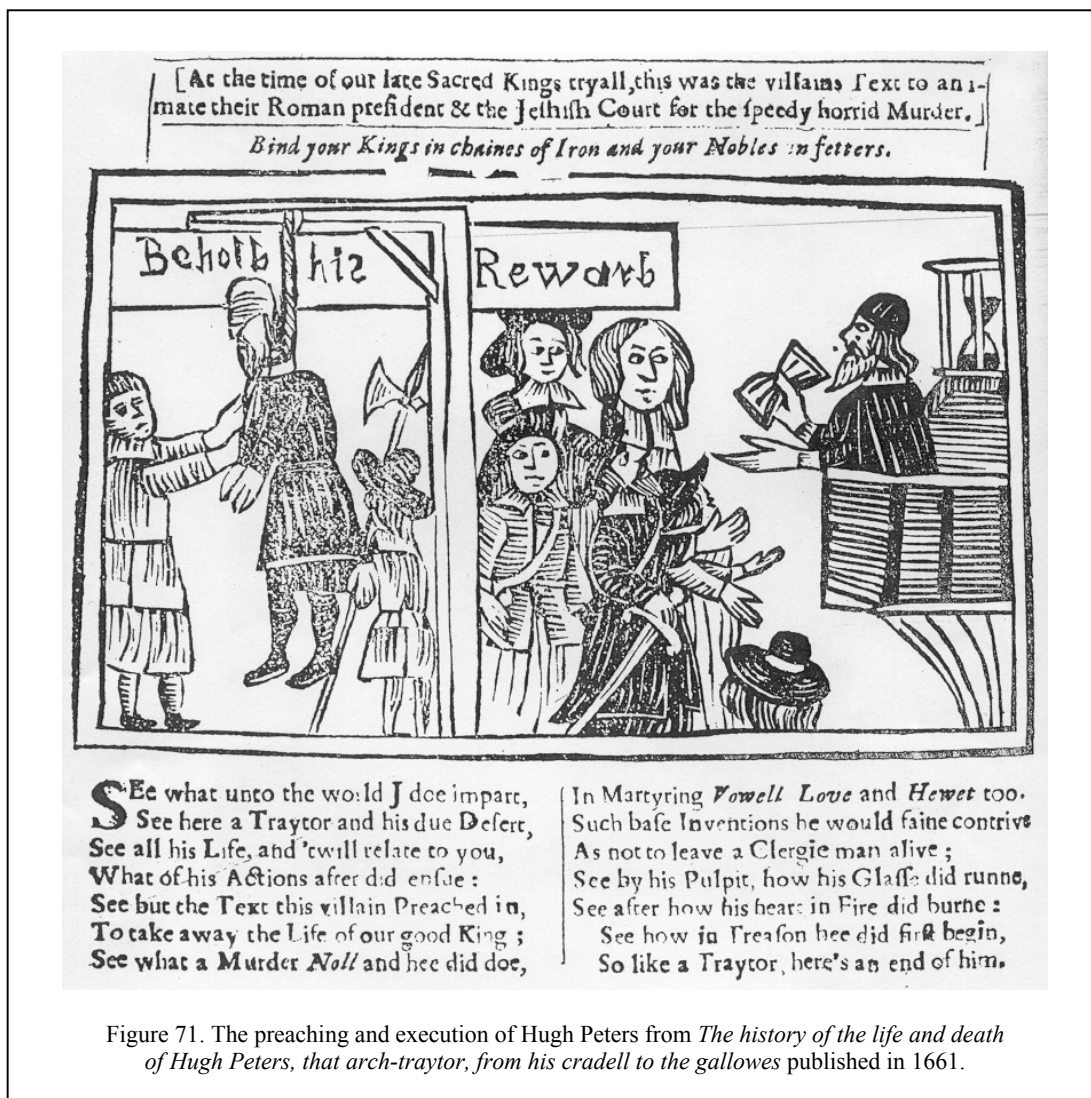


Figure 71. The preaching and execution of Hugh Peters from *The history of the life and death of Hugh Peters, that arch-traytor, from his cradell to the gallowes* published in 1661.

William's departure on the Dutch ship *Bontekoe* was recorded in the documents that Stuyvesant sent to the Directors of the West India Company in Amsterdam on September 26/October 6, 1660 and he also reported on the impact of the Charles II's restoration and the continuing concerns about ministerial shortage:

We hear little or nothing about the threatened invasion by our English neighbors and trust, that the change of government in England has turned their minds from it or at least postponed it for the present. Meanwhile we learn that the restoration of the King has caused less commotion and change among the people of New England than we and many others had expected. As a rule they are now good royalists, as they formerly were Cromwellians or Parliamentarians. We are told, that the three colonies of New Plymouth, Hartford and New Haven have proclaimed the King and do all business in the King's name, which they never did in the old King's time: *quantum mutatus ab illo Hectore*.^a The colony of Boston alone, it is said, remains faithful to its old principle of a free state, depending only upon God.....

Copies of the representations and requests made by the English villages, which have been deprived of religious instruction for some time and now take advantage of the departure by the *Bontekoe* of a minister from New England, Mr William Leverets, are sent herewith and will inform you of their wishes. We have no doubt you will reply as favorably as possible.

The two preachers, lately arrived, Doctors Blom and Selyns, had been placed conform to your directions and their call. In the meantime three or four other villages still need preachers and are deprived of religious services, namely New Utrecht and Gravesend on Long Island, New Haerlem on this island and a newly planted village of about thirty families across the North River. Necessity therefore requires, that two pious and learned candidates be sent over besides the desired English preachers.

a How very different from that earlier Hector [Virgil, *Aeneid*, book II, lines 274-275].

Stuyvesant then added a postscript of the same date that referred to a map and a drawing that he was enclosing:

After closing our letter the Burgomasters have shown us the plan of this city, which we did not think would be ready before the sailing of this ship. In case you should be inclined to have it engraved and publish it, we thought it advisable to send you also a small sketch of the city, drawn in perspective by Sieur Augustin Heermans three or four years ago, or perhaps you will hang it up in some place or the other there.²¹

The drawing by Augustine Heerman is now in the Dutch Government Archives at the Hague. The map had been commissioned from Jacques Cortelyou on May 28/June 7, 1660 and was probably a revision of the surveys ordered on April 19, 1657 and June 30, 1658. The map that Stuyvesant sent in October was used as the basis for the Castello Plan of 1665-70, a plan named because it was subsequently housed in the Villa Castello near Florence in Italy (figure 72).²² A draft of a similar colored map entitled 'A description of the Towne of Mannados or New Amsterdam as it was in September 1661' in the British Library and a 'Description of the Towne of Mannadens in New Netherland as it was in Sept: 1661' in the library of the Royal Society of London may perhaps have traveled to England with Winthrop Jr in 1661. He joined the infant Royal Society during his visit to London and was the only colonial 'original fellow' when the Society received its second charter in 1663.²³

William's journey in a Dutch ship and his probable departure from New Amsterdam were not unusual. Winthrop Jr had written to Stuyvesant from Hartford on June 21/July 1 to inquire about available shipping and Stuyvesant replied on June 25/July 5 that three ships would soon be ready to sail. He recommended *De Trouw*, the largest, 'which I thincke will bee most convenient for your honnor' and said that as all three ships were going together he would hold all three. Winthrop's motive in travelling via New Amsterdam may, however, have been to avoid being asked to act on behalf of New Plymouth, whose governor wrote to him in London on September 29 that 'we ar not a litell greved that we had not the hapynes to know of your gowing for England tell after your departur, and so prevented of communicating our mind unto you, and crave your advise and furtherenc in matters of publik concernment as to our own collony in pertekler'. Winthrop initially went to the Netherlands and William may have gone there as well.²⁴ If Ellen remained in Long Island when William and Caleb went to Europe, her thoughts may have resembled those in the poem that Anne Bradstreet wrote when her husband Simon went to England a few months later:

O Thou most high who rulest all, And hear'st the prayers of thine; O hearken, Lord, unto my suit, And my petition signe.	Lord, bee thou pilott to the ship, And send them prosperous gales; In stormes and sicknes, Lord, preserve. Thy goodnes never failes.
Into thy everlasting armes Of mercy I commend Thy servant, Lord. Keep and preserve My husband, my dear freind.	Unto thy work he hath in hand, Lord, graunt Thou good successe And favour in their eyes, to whom He shall make his addresse.
At thy command, O Lord, he went, Nor nought could keep him back; Then let thy promis joy his heart: O help, and bee not slack.	Remember, Lord, thy folk whom thou To wilderness hast brought; Let not thine own inheritance Bee sold away for nought.
Uphold my heart in Thee, O God, Thou art my strenght and stay; Thou see'st how weak and frail I am, Hide not thy face away.	But tokens of thy favour give - With joy send back my dear, That I, and all thy servants, may Rejoice with heavenly chear.
I, in obedience to thy will, Thou knowest, did submitt; It was my duty so to doe, O Lord, accept of it.	Lord, let my eyes see once again Him whom thou gavest me, That wee together may sing praise For ever unto Thee.
Unthankfullnes for mercyes past, Impute thou not to me; O Lord, thou know'st my weak desire Was to sing praise to Thee.	And the remainder of oure dayes Shall consecrated bee, With an engaged heart to sing All praises unto Thee. ²⁵

The Directors of the West India Company replied to Stuyvesant's letter on December 14/24, 1660:

That you hear no mention made of the threatened invasion by the English neighbors is in accord with our opinion, expressed in our last letter, here enclosed. We are still more confirmed in our opinion, since we learn, that the said English profess now to be good royalists. The king will not, we believe, support them in their unjustified claims, much less encourage them to usurpation, as the preceding government has undoubtedly done.....

We shall also consider the request for two or three suitable candidates or ministers, to be located in the English and Dutch villages. We are inquiring for such persons, that both nationalities and churches may soon be properly provided.

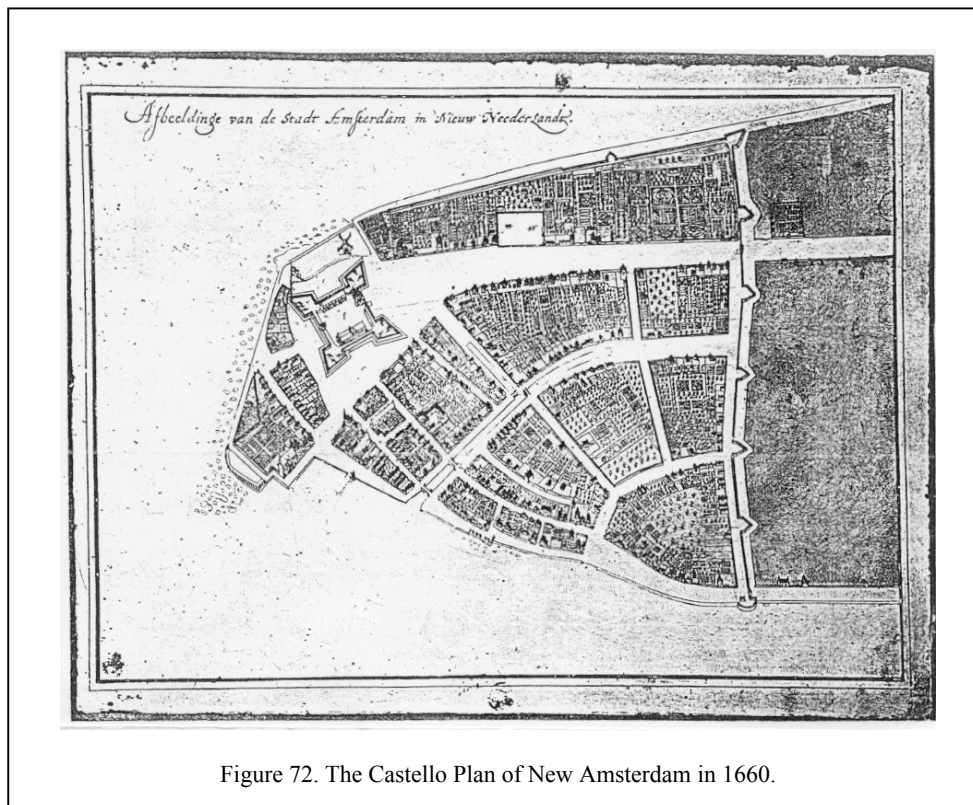


Figure 72. The Castello Plan of New Amsterdam in 1660.

They went on to reply to several points in a separate private dispatch from Stuyvesant who had asked 'what to do, if it should happen, that in consequence of the change of government in England, many people of that nationality were to remove into the jurisdiction of the company'. They stated 'that we do not believe they will come in such number that danger may be apprehended from them, because your general letter informs us that the English at the north unexpectedly profess to be good royalists', but that the general conditions were to be imposed on those that did. The West India Company's directors were correct in their prediction and neither the restoration of Charles II in 1660 nor the Act of [Religious] Uniformity of 1662 encouraged any significant number of ministers to emigrate from England. Henceforth, the European settlers had to look to their own children to supply the next generation of ministers.²⁶

William and Caleb's presence in London in February 1662 was recorded in a deposition that John Orpe, citizen and scrivener of London, made in the Mayor of London's court on 10 May 1667. He declared that 'hee was present & did see William Leverich & Caleb Leverich by the names of William Leverich of Huntington on Long Island in New England, Clerk, & Caleb Leverich of the same place, yeoman, signe, seale & as shewn act & deed deliver...one bond or obligacon...now produced and shown to the deponent'. Orpe's deposition went on to refer to John Fish, citizen and fletcher of London, who may have been one of Ellen's relatives.²⁷

Moore's widow married Doughty's son, Francis Doughty Jr, in 1660. Middelburgh remained without a minister and in early 1661 the dispute about Moore's house resurfaced when Francis Swain, Thomas Cornish and eight other inhabitants of Middelburgh sought permission from Stuyvesant to use the house for the schoolmaster Richard Mills:

That whereas God hath bene pleased off laet years to deprive us off Middleborrow, of Longeylandt, off the publyck meanes of grace and salvation and alsoe off education off our children in scholasticall discipline, the way to true happinesse, but yet God in mercy off laet hath provided for us a helpe meete for the discipline of education of our children and by the same person helpe in the Saboth exercys. Wee therefore, who never gave nor consented to the giveinge of the howsinge and lands, built and fenced in, and alsoo dedicated for the use of the publyce dispensation off God's word unto us, wee humbly intreate your Honorable Lordshipe that this our sayde schoolmaster, Richard Mills by name, may bee by

your Lordships order be possessed of the sayde housinge and lands, for his use and ours also, for our childrens education and the Saboths exercyse, the which God doeth requier, and wee have neede for us and our children thereof. As the housinge now stand it is licke all to goe to racke and ruyne, the fences faelling downe, the house and barn decayinge and wanteth repayre, and Francis Dowtye doeth not repayre it, nor the towne, as it stands betweene him and them will not repayre it, and by this meanes is licke to come to nothing in a shorte time.

On February 8/18 Stuyvesant ordered Doughty 'to give and graunt a quyett possession' to Mills and that 'it may nor cannot be given and transported for a privaet heerytadge, provyded if hee either his wyfe, hath to demand any remaynder of meanes or wages, of her deceased husband, Mr John Moor.....these presence doeth order the magistrates and inhabitants of the sayde towne to give unto the heyres what is done unto them'. Moore's heirs were granted some land in Middelburgh on which his son Samuel built a house that remained in the possession of their descendants for many years and was still standing in 1928. Lord Howe had his headquarters there during the War of Independence and the future William IV was a guest there at that time (figure 73).²⁸

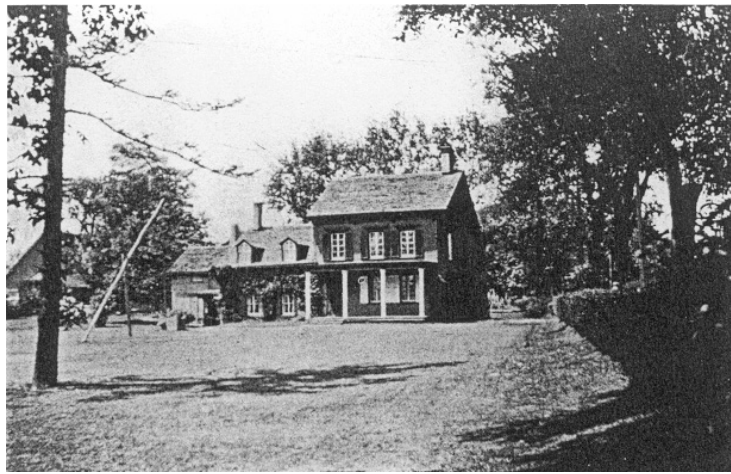


Figure 73. The Moore family house, Newtown in 1928.
The central part is the original house of 1661

A reminder of the rural nature of Middelburgh in the seventeenth century is provided by 'a voluntary agreement of the towne of Medlborough about the killing of woulles' on March 9, 1660[?/1], an agreement that was recorded on 'February the 10, 1662, stile nova'. The 35 inhabitants who made contributions ranging from 1 guilder to 4 stivers included Thomas Cornish (12 stivers), Francis Swain (12 stivers), John Moore (4 stivers), Francis Doughty (12 stivers) and Jonathan Fish (12 stivers). Jonathan Fish, Ellen's cousin, had moved from Sandwich to Middelburgh by August 12, 1659 when he was a witness of the will of Peter Mecocks/Mecoke. He was also a witness in a court case on December 5 and the witness of the will of Richard Bullock on September 20, 1660.²⁹

The restoration of Charles II led some residents of New Haven Colony to look to New Netherland for a continuing opportunity to practice their religion in the way that they thought fit. On February 15, 1661 John Sticklin wrote from Huntington to an unnamed recipient seeking his help to settle at Achter Cull on the mainland to the west of Staten Island and he followed this up with a similar letter to a Brian Nuton [Newton] on April 29. This request was passed on to Stuyvesant and the New Netherland Council, who decided on May 23/June 2 that the New Haven settlers could safely come to view the land in question. Then Mathew Gilbert, the Deputy Governor of New Haven, wrote to Stuyvesant from Milford on November 8 to let him know that a committee had been formed to represent those who wished to settle at Achter Cull. On the same day the representatives of the committee sent Stuyvesant a series of six propositions about their religious freedoms, their civil administration and their liberty to trade with both the Dutch and the British. Stuyvesant and the New Netherland Council accepted most of the ideas on November 18/28 but suggested that consultation between New Haven and New Netherland ministers would be better than holding a synod and that the appointment of magistrates should follow the New Netherland pattern of nomination of double numbers from which the colonial government could make a selection.

The New Netherland government made a further response on March 1/11, 1662 which included an oath that Gilbert and those with him would need to subscribe to, an oath that William would probably have needed to subscribe to when he moved to Middelburgh:

Wee doe in the presence of the Almighty God heereby acknowledge, declare and sweare, that wee shal be true and faithful unto the High & Mighty Lords the States-Generals of the United Belgicq Provinces, the Right Honourable the Lords Bewinthebbers [Directors] of the West India Company, theire Governour & Counsel in tyme beinge all fittinge & due obedience accordinge as other inhabitants of this province in duty are bound to doe; that wee shal not acknowledge any other prince or state to have dominion over us, soo longe as wee shal live and continue in this theyre province and jurisdiction off the N. Netherlands. Soe help my (or us) the God Almighty.

There was a discussion on May 20/30 at Stuyvesant's house between the New Haven and New Netherland representatives and then the enthusiasm for a move from New Haven seems to have abated as concern about the impact of Charles II's restoration on the colony eased. In the same month the New Netherland Council dealt with a request for advice from John Hicke and Robbert Jackson of Heemstede about non-payment of contributions towards the ministerial salary there and it made a firm response on May 16/26:

Our humble request to your honnours is, that your honnours would be pleased to helpe us with your advice. Whereas the towne of Heemstede for the continuance of the Gospel amongst them have concluded at a towne meetinge by the major parte of the towne, that there should be given to the minister seventy pounds sterlinge by the yeare, and whereas the towne have called Mr Fourdum, and hee have continued with us one yeare, and a rate beinge made by the towne and notice given to every man what he should paye, sum particular parsons amongst us refuseth to pay towards the maintiancy of the minister. Our humbel request to you honnours is that yow wil be pleased to helpe us with your advice, what way to proseed against such persons as refuse to paye accordinge to the towne order.

The Council decided that the non-payers must be compelled to pay and issued a warrant authorizing the magistrates 'not only to constraine those that are unwilling, but by further denyal to punish them as they in equity shall thinke meete'.³⁰ Long Island residents also had general rates to pay. A Middelburgh rate list was made on March 16, 1662[?/3] and a 'fair agreement' about the rates there was reached at New Amsterdam on June 30/July 10:

Today his honor, the Director-General on the one side and the magistrates of the village of Middelburgh on the other side agreed that the said village should pay as tenths for this year and bring to the edge of the water near the house of Thomas Wandell eighteen schepels, one half of wheat, the other of peas, and it is further provisionally agreed that the belownamed persons and plantations shall be under the jurisdiction of Middelburgh. These persons are hereby ordered to submit to the taxation for tenths by the said magistrates or to make a fair agreement with the same: Jan Schooder, Lawrens Mott, Jovis Sergeant, Jan Denman, James Wey, François Douthy, William Blomvil, Francois Swyn, Samuel Too, the widow of Edward Stevenson, Thomas Hont, Raeff Hont for two lots, John Lynten, James Lawrensen, Thomas Riet, Jonathan Hazard, John Laurens, John Borres, Edward Joseph, Jan Ramsdain for two lots, Hendrick Jansen Smit, Thomas Robbersen, Jan Coe, James Krist two lots, Thomas Pettis senior, Nicolas Karter, Jan Forman, William Laurens, Jan Cockren, Thomas Laurens two lots, Richard Smit two lots, Richard Fydon, Jonathan Fyn, Elias Belly, Jan Roo, Thomas Wandell and Joost van der Linde, Nicolas Junige, John Haert, Samuel Too, Joris Jewel, Daniel East, Richard Bets, John Too, William Britten.³¹

Some of the names are easy to recognize from their Dutch spellings, such as those of Francis Doughty Jr and Francis Swaine; others are less obvious. 'Jonathan Fyn' was probably Jonathan Fish, but Thomas Cornish's name was missing from the list as he had recently died. He had been a witness in a court case heard earlier in the year on February 7 and probate of his will made on February 14 was granted on November 7:

Midleburrough, Februarie 14, 1662. These presents witnesseth that I Thomas Cornish of the place Midleburrough on Long Island in the New Nether Land, beinge weake in body but parfect in sence & memory, praised be Allmightie God, I doe ordaine this my last will and testiment as followeth. I do commend my soule into the hands of All Mightie God my saviour & redemer & if the Lord shall take me out of this world my mind and will is that my body be desently & honerably buried. Also my will is that all debts as are due of right to any man be fully satisfied & paid. Further my will & mind is that my well beloved wif Mary Cornish shall have my whole estate in her possession to bring up my children till they com of age & to be devided the one half to my beloved wif & the other half to my children into their possession as they com of age. Further I give my beloved son John Cornish all my tooles besids his part over & above the rest of my children, but in case my children can not agree about my tooles that my son John Cornish shall have them; then my beloved wif doeth agree that out of her part of the estate according as they shall be vallued by men they be mad good. Further I doe make my beloved wif my whole & sole executrix of this my last will & testement. Disclaiming all other willes, gifts, grants or legasies formerly made, in wisse where of I have set to my hand the day and yere above written.

Jonathan Fish, John Coe and Edward Jesop compiled the inventory of Thomas's estate on August 12, an inventory that Jessica Kross stated in her history of Newtown was the only surviving one from these years, and she has analyzed both the inventory and the will (document 21).³² Thomas's daughter and son-in-law Martha and Francis Swain referred to his death in a letter that they wrote to Francis's sister Elizabeth and her husband Nathaniel Weare (Wyer) in New England on October 20:

Midleburrough August 12, 1662

An inventorie of the estate of the lat deseased Thomas Cornish of the place above said taken by us whose names are under written. Cattell & goods as followeth are prised as silver or beaver.

	£	sh	d
Item in swine	8	- 11	- 8
It in cattell old & yonge*	52	- 0	- 0
It in horse flesh	4	- 10	- 0
It in furniture for a hors	1	- 2	- 8½
It in housing and lands	37	- 10	- 0
It in bees	3	- 15	- 0
It in carts, plow & tackling	2	- 13	- 9
It in hakes & tongs	0	- 4	- 0
It in pots & hookes	0	- 12	- 0
It one pott & skilit	0	- 13	- 4
It one frieng pan	0	- 2	- 6
It in peuter	0	- 7	- 3
It for wooden ware	1	- 9	- 9
It for a whele	0	- 2	- 6
It for a chest & a box	0	- 8	- 0
It in bottells & pots	0	- 3	- 0
It for iron toles	0	- 16	- 8
It forke tines	0	- 1	- 0
It alanthorne	0	- 1
It a betel	0	- 1
It a chaire	0	- 2
It a table	0
It in sickels	0
It sithes & tacklin	0	- 1
It a sadle & bridle	0	- 6	- 8
It one sut & hat	2	- 2	- 0
It in bags	0	- 12	- 0
It in beding	8	- 7	- 0
It a forke	0	- 1	- 0
It for corne & to baco in house & barn	12	- 0	- 0
which we judg but half, the other half unprised in consideration of keping her family			

the som	138	- 4	- 5
Jonathan Fish			
Debts due out of this estate:			
In silver pay	26	- 7	- 0
In wompom	2	- 3	- 7½
More due in silver	1	- 13	- 4
More for recording the will & invoice	0	- 5	- 0
	6		

	36	- 8	- 11½

Midleburrough November 7, 1662. The court of the place above said upon the revew of this inventory, severall considerations moving here unto, thought mete to rectifie the above said som of twelve pounds spesefied in corne & to baco & to alow but six pound of it to the above said estate.

by John Coe, Edward Jesop, Johnathan Fish

Document 21. Inventory of the estate of Thomas Cornish, 1662. *The cattle were valued at £82 in the original document, but following Kross, *Evolution of an American town*, (1983), 283n15, this has been reduced to £52 so that the inventory total is correct.

Loving Brother and Sister, My love with my wives presented unto you hoping in God that you are in good health, as blessed be God we are at the writing hereof. The occasion of my writing at this time is to let you understande I have formerly writ unto you and have given order to dispose of that land as I have therewith you as if it were your owne, and whether you have received that letter or noe I know not. Therefore I give you order againe in this letter for to doe with it as you please; I freely give it to you and my sister your wife. My fatherlaw Cornish is dead and my motherlaw is married againe unto Daniell Estelle that was Mr Wosters searvant of Salsberye, and we have much defrance in respect of our devition, being both upon one farme. I thinke I shall remove shortly. I wold very gladly hear from you by this barer, Thomas Tayler. He have promised me to doe any curtisy for me in that nature when he comes backe againe to us. I pray remember our love to our brother John Swaine and his wife. I am very sorry to hear that he is a Quaker. I pray remember me to my sister Bowlter and to her children and to my brother Willyam Swain's wife and her children. I wold intreat you to send me worde who she is married to that so I may know how to write to her. I have writ seavrall letters to her for one or tow of her children for to have lived whit me, but I cannot hear an answer from her. If I have them I hope I should deall with them lik a kindsmen. Loving Sister Wyer, my wife have sent a tolken to you, for the yongest child you have. We wold be very glad, if it were Gods will to order it, so we lived nearer one to another. Thus with our kind love and respects unto you Sister and Brother Wyer, we rest your loving Brother and Sister until death.

Francis & Martha Swaine³³

A large gathering of Massachusetts Bay ministers and laymen met at Boston in March 1662 and they supported the decisions that the ministers had made six years before when they agreed the statement that a century later was called the Half-Way Covenant. In their report they accepted a proposition which opened the way for wider church membership and more open infant baptism but it was not fully accepted until the following century:

Church-members who were admitted in minority, understanding the doctrine of faith, and publicly professing their assent thereto, not scandalous in life and solemnly owning the Covenant before the Church, wherein they give up themselves and their children to the Lord and subject themselves to the government of Christ in the Church, their children are to be baptized.³⁴

Unfortunately William's name is not on any of the published passenger lists for return voyages from Europe and it is not known when he and Caleb came back. O'Callaghan stated in 1865 that

A supply of drugs was sent from Holland in the spring of this year [1663] for an English clergyman, 'versed in the art of physick and willing to serve in the capacity of physician'. The Rev. William Leverich is supposed to be the clergyman alluded to. He had sailed in October, 1660, from New Amsterdam for Holland, in the ship Spotted Cow [*Bontekoe*], and returned in the fall or winter of 1662.³⁵

However, William had probably returned earlier in 1662 as at a Huntington town meeting on June 7 'it was agreed and by vote granted, that Mr Leverich shall have all the meddow that lyes aboute Cowharbor on boeth sides the creeke for his yerly benifit, so lang as he continue the minester of Huntington'. Then William headed the list of those appointed on July 6 to approve new purchasers of houses or lands in the town:

It is this day ordered by the townsmen of Huntington that no man poss[ess]ing house or lands in this town shall not at any time sell or lett or any way alinate any part of such houses or lands to any man or woman but such as shall be approved of by such men as the towne have chosen for that purpose provided they receipt not such men as are honest as are well approved of by honest and xpditionous men; only such men as have bene freely entertained into the towne as inhabitants have thar libertie to by and whomsoever shall breake this above mentioned order shall pay ten pound to the towne. The men chosen by the towne to approve of such as shall be presented to them are as followeth.

Mr Leverage	Will Smith
Thos Weekes	John Lum
Goodman Jones	James Chichesler
and Jonas Wood ³⁶	

At about the same time Newtown had an unwelcome visitor to consider and its town meeting also dealt with dead animals and the payment of taxes:

May the 15, 1662. At a towne meeting.....voted that whosoever hath catts or dogs or hogs lying dead in any place to offend there neighbours they must either burie them or throw them in to [the] creke or else if any other be forced to take them out of the way they shall have three gillders for their pains.....

May the 23, 1662. A towne meting voated that the man coming into the towne eregulerly at the Cell [Kill] there shall be the best course may be taken to remove him, being a man of an evell reporte.

July the 7th. A towne meting where it is voated that Edward Jesop, Richerd Beets & Frances Swaine shall goe downe to the Governer and agree with the Governer for the tithes for the present yere, both for towne and Kell.³⁷

Meanwhile arrangements were being made in England that would soon affect not only Long Island but the whole of New Netherland. Winthrop Jr had gone to London to obtain a charter for Connecticut and this was achieved on April 23, 1662. The charter defined the boundaries of Connecticut as

all that parte of our dominions in Newe England in America bounded on the east by Norrogancett River, comonly called Norrogancett Bay, where the said river falleth into the sea, and on the north by the lyne of the Massachusetts Plantation, and on the south by the sea, and in longitude as the lyne of the Massachusetts Colony, runinge from east to west, that is to say, from the said Narrogancett Bay on the east to the south sea on the west parte, with the islands thereunto adjoyneinge.³⁸

These new boundaries extended like those of Massachusetts Bay to the Pacific Ocean and included half of Providence Plantations & Rhode Island and the whole of New Haven Colony and New Netherland. When the charter was read to the Commissioners of the United Colonies on September 4 the New Haven representatives wrote in the margin of the record of the meeting that 'wee cannot as yett say that the procurement of this pattent wilbe acceptable to us or our collonie'. Connecticut prepared to implement the charter and it was formally received by its General Assembly or Court of Election on October 9. The assembly accepted Captain John Young as deputy for Southold, received Guilford, Stamford and Greenwich into the colony, laid claim to Westchester and appointed a committee to negotiate with New Haven. The Court then sought to extend its authority over the whole of Long Island:

This court orders the secretary to send to the plantations of Huntington, Setauk, Oister Bay, that they choose constables in their respective townes, and to take their oaths, administred to them by Capt. Yong for the discharge of their respective offices - Thomas Wicks at Huntington, John Ketchum at Setauk, Mr Rigebell at Oister Bay.

It is ordered, that all the plantations, on the island as well as on the maine, shal attend the established law of this colony for the rule of rateing, unless they mutually agree to the contrary.

C. Yong is desired to give notice to C. Silvester and Lt Gardner, with the other plantations on the island, that they attend the Generall Assembly on the 2d Thursday in May next, to doe their duty to the court.

This court appoints that Wednesday come fortnight be set apart, throwout this colony, for a solemne day of thanksgivinge for the mercies that God hath extended to this colony the yeare past, and particulerly for the good success God hath given to the indeavours of our Honored Governor in obtaineing our charter of His Majestie our Sovereigne; as also for his gracious answer of our prayer in the late draught, in sending raine; and for abatement of the sicknes; and for the hopes we have of settlement in the waies of peace and righteousnes.³⁹

Young visited the British towns in the Dutch part of Long Island and both verbally and in writing told them that they were under Connecticut's jurisdiction. One of his letters dated October 27 was sent to William Lawrence of Hempstead:

Mr William Lowrance. Whereas it hath pleased His Magesty to involve Long Island within Connectecut patten[t], by virtue whereof the Generall Assembly at Hartford have ordered mee to give notice to every towne upon Long Island, that they are under the jurisdiction of Connectecut. Therefore which said Generall Assemble's pleasure is, that all the inhabitants of Long Island aforesaid shall forebears from taking any oath that may bee imposed upon them by any other prince or state whatsoever. Therefore my desire is that you would informe your neighbours concerning the premises as you shall have occasion.

Lawrence passed a copy of the letter to the New Netherland authorities. Stuyvesant sent Resolved Waldren to the other British towns to collect the letters sent to them and he obtained ones from Gravesend, Vlissingen, Middelburgh and Rustdorp. Stuyvesant then sent to Connecticut a letter of protest, which though dated October 13 was probably written later:

I can not omit to acquaint yow, (which should [have] be done soener iff my absence had not hindered it), that one John Younge, whether uppon your orders (as he pretends) I doubt, had undertaken as by his seditious letters may appeare to divert & revoake the English towns in this province under the protection off the High & Mighty Lords, the Estaets Generall off the United Belgick Provinces, and in the jurisdiction off the Right Honourable Lords off the West India Compagnie settled, off their oath & due obediance unto us their lawful gouvernour, which his unlawful proceedings amongst the silly & common people without any acknowledgment or addresses unto us, as gouvernour off this province. Iff you wil nowne as we doe not hope, you may take notice that [this] is a absolute breach & a nullification off the agreement about the limits 1650 made at Hartford.

Stuyvesant reported Young's activities to the Directors of the West India Company in Amsterdam on December 29, 1662/January 8, 1663 and urged them 'to make all possible endeavors before it is too late, that

the long desired settlement of the boundaries be seriously taken up and determined, so that we and your well meaning subjects and good inhabitants may know what to do'.⁴⁰

Meanwhile William was involved in the affairs of John Bowne, who had become a Quaker and had in 1661 built a house in Vlissingen that still exists (figure 74). On August 14/24, 1662 the New Netherland Council received a visit from the magistrates of Rustdorp who 'in form of complaint reported to the Director-General, that the majority of the inhabitants of their village were adherents and followers of the abominable sect called Quakers, and that a large meeting was held at the house of John Bound [Bowne] in Vlissingen every Sunday' and they requested 'that this might be prevented one way or the other'. The Council responded on August 29/September 9 with an order, which though not mentioning Bowne was clearly directed against him and the other Quakers:

By these presents are all magistrates and inhabitants oft the English townes in the jurisdiction of the New Netherlands ordered & required to assist the bearer, our schout Resolved Waldron, for to imprisson all such persons which shall be found in a prohibited or in a unlawful meeting.

and made an ordinance against conventicles on September 11/21.⁴¹ Bowne described in his journal his arrest and transport to New Amsterdam. His account of his imprisonment and subsequent trial is confirmed by the New Netherland records, which give the sentence passed on him on September 4/14:

Whereas John Bowne, now a prisoner, residing at Flushing, on Long Island, has dared, in contempt of our orders and placards....to provide with lodgings some of the heretical and abominable sect named Quakers and even permitted that they keep their forbidden meetings at his house.....[we] condemn the aforesaid John Bowne to an amende [fine] of twenty-five pounds Flanders [Dutch guilders] and to pay all costs....for the second time he shall pay double amende, and for the third time to be banished out of the province.

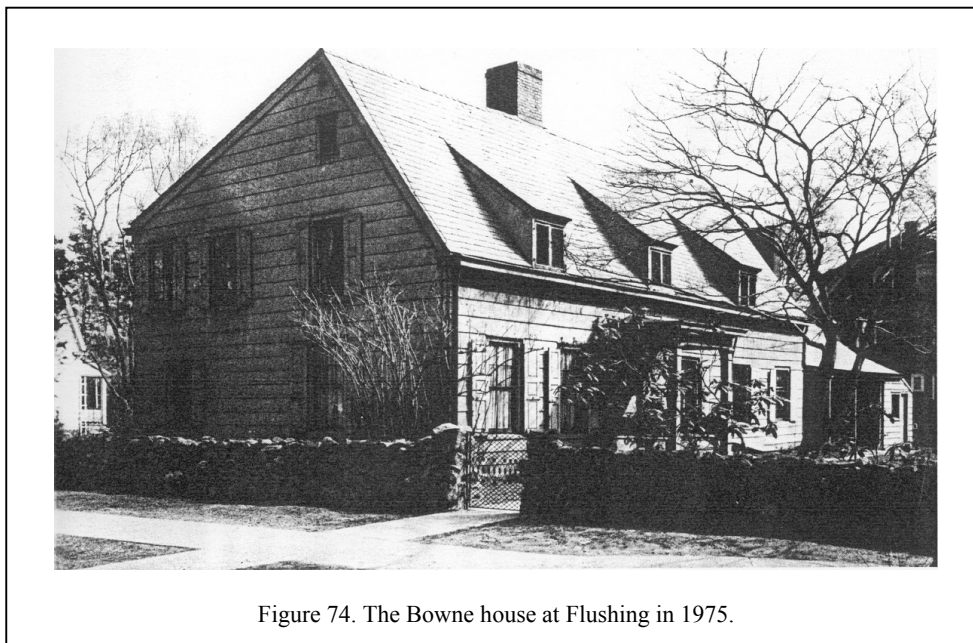


Figure 74. The Bowne house at Flushing in 1975.

When informed of the sentence, Bowne told the schout that he 'could pay nothing upon that account' and he remained in prison. A stalemate ensued and on December 4/14 'came Resolved and tould mee hee came then from the Governor and Cort to tell mee that if I would not pay the fyne and charges they was resolved to send mee out of the country, ether to Holland or some where'. Bowne received several other visitors, including William on December 16/26:

Then on the 16th of the mont, the 3[rd] day of the weeke, at night came William Leveridg to aske mee if I would exsepte of the Governers profer, which was to goe out of the juriedicktion in 3 months tim, which if I would promis to doe hee would engage I should bee set free the nex day. I tould him the Governer had made no such profer to mee, but if I might come to the speech of him then if hee did aske mee a qestion I should be like to make anser, for I did desier to speke with the Governer my selfe; soe hee sead hee would speke with the Governer a gene the next morning and in the mar[n]ing sead soe a genn at Gorge Wolsies, and did goe too him as him selfe sead, and being asked by Robert Terie and Gorge Wolsie of it hee sead hee had for got it and soe went away home. Now whether hee lyed in saying hee would and did not or whether in doeing and seaying hee had not don but forgot I know not, but at the best it was ad innough and that marning betimes Cornelias Stinwick tould Robert Terie that the secretary him selfe had tould him that marning that I

was free but presently after I was kept closer thin ever I was before in this roume. Whether William Leveridg was the case of it I cannot tell.

Though Bowne claimed to have heard nothing, the Council resolved on December 27, 1662/January 6, 1663 that

whereas John Bowne obstinately declines to submit to the judgment of the Director-General and Council, so he is in conformity to the resolution of the 14th of December last commanded to depart from here in the ship the *Fox* now ready to sail, while he is once more left to his choice either to obey and submit to the judgment in paying the amende imposed upon him, or otherwise at sight of this to depart in the aforesaid ship.

Willingly or otherwise, Bowne went to Europe in the *Fox* and in his journal he described the voyage and his journey via Ireland and England to the Netherlands, where he had a conversation with Jacob Pergens, a director of the Amsterdam Chamber of the West India Company:

But wee thinke seaid hee you was best to stay heare and sen[d] for your wife and children, for wee doe not give liberty there. I sead liberty was promised to us in a patent given by vertue of a commision from the Prince, the Stats Generall and the Westindea Companie. Hee seaid, who gave that patent. Governor Kifiet. Oh seaid hee, that was before any or but few of your judgment was harde of. I said wee are known to bee a peseable people. Hee seaid, but if you bee a pesable people and willnot bee subject to the laws and plakados which are published, wee cannot sufer you in oure jurediction.⁴²

On May 17, 1663 New Netherland passed an ordinance against ships bringing ‘vagabonds, Quakers and other fugitives’ into New Netherland without first obtaining permission from its government, but Bowne’s arguments in the Netherlands produced results and his return to New Netherland in March 1664 with the consent of the Company marked the end of religious persecution there. The Directors of the West India Company had in their letter to Stuyvesant on April 6/16, 1663 adopted a pragmatic approach:

Your last letter informed us that you had banished from the Province and sent hither by ship a certain Quaker, John Bowne by name. Although we heartily desire, that these and other sectarians remained away from there, yet as they do not, we doubt very much whether we can proceed against them rigorously without diminishing the population and stopping immigration, which must be favored at a so tender stage of the country’s existence. You may therefore shut your eyes, at least not force people’s consciences, but allow every one to have his own belief as long as he behaves quietly and legally, gives no offence to his neighbors and does not oppose the government. As the government of this city has always practised this maxim of moderation and consequently has often had a considerable influx of people, we do not doubt that your Province too would be benefitted by it.

In the same letter the Directors sought to allay Stuyvesant’s concerns about the Connecticut charter and placed their trust in the treaty of peace and friendship between Great Britain and the Netherlands which was signed in London on September 4/14, 1662 and ratified by Charles II four months later:

As to your anxiety over the patent lately obtained by Governor Winthrop for the colony of Hartford, and the proceedings resulting therefrom, in which they have endeavored by notifications and warnings to draw the English in the village of Long Island from our jurisdiction into theirs, we admit that such proceedings by more powerful neighbors are suspicious. You will have learned since that time, that the peace between England and our State has been concluded and therefore such attacks from the English are not to be expected henceforth, but for the sake of greater safety we consider it highly necessary and have recommended in the enclosure that proper attention be paid to the safety and protection of the mouths of the rivers on Long Island and Staten Island.⁴³

William’s presence in New Amsterdam in December 1662 and his probable residence in Middelburgh led to some uncertainty about his position both there and in Huntington. A Middelburgh town meeting on January 9, 1663 chose seven men to undertake the town’s affairs, which included ‘repairing the towne howse for the comfort of the minister’:

Januarie the 9th 1663..... Voated that the seven men chosen for this yere to carry on towne affaires are John Laiton, Frances Swaine, William Blumfield, John Cockrin, Sameuell Too, Richerd Beets, Ralph Hunt. It is forther ordred by the inhabitantes that the above said seven men shall have power to act for this present yere beginge att the date above said in such afares of the townn as concerns its publike good, as buldinge a meetinge house, repairinge the towne howse for the comfort of the minester or what eve else shall concern the publick good; only the the deposition of lands remains in the towns handes that is to new coneres [?comers].

Then on February 10 a Huntington town meeting ‘ordered that Thomas Weekes and Thomas Joanes should doe their best to by a house and land in the towne to be and continue the townes for the use and beniffit of the ministrey there in to enttertain a minisster’.⁴⁴ Whilst William was in Huntington he met several

Quaker missionaries who had recently visited his old church in Dover, where Rayner was still the minister. The second part of George Bishop's *New England judged* was published in London in 1667 and recorded that in the year 1662

Mary Tomkins and Alice Ambros, who came from Old England with George Preston and Edward Wharton of Salem aforesaid, came to Piscotaqua-River, and passing up, landed at the town aforesaid [Dover]; whither to go, it was with them from the Lord, where they had a good opportunity in the inn where they were, with the people that resorted to them; who reasoned with them concerning their faith and hope, which to the people being made manifest, some of the Truth thereof confessed; and others, being not able to gainsay the Truth, ran to Rayner their priest, and told him, that such a people were come to town, and that they had much discourse with them about their religion, and were not able to contradict what they said, and therefore desired him to come forth, and help them, or else, said they, we are like to be run on ground. At this the priest chafed and fretted, and asked his people, why they came amongst them? To which they answered, Sir, it is so, we have been amongst them, and if you come not forth to help us, we are on ground. And said the priests wife, which do you like best, my husband, or the Quakers? Said one of them, we shall tell you that after your husband have been with them.

After this somewhat equivocal comment Bishop recorded a long discussion that was held about the Trinity. The Quaker missionaries traveled to other parts of New England and to Long Island, where Bishop recorded their encounter with William:

Priest Leveridg having a dispute at his house at Huntington, on Long Island, with George Preston, Mary Tomkins and Alice Ambrose, he denied that there was any Revelation in these dayes. George Preston demanded, From what then did he minister in himselfe, and to what? He answered, From the Spirit of the Lord, to the souls of the people. And yet he denied Revelation. Mary and Alice demanded of him, What did he profit the people, seeing Revelation he denied? He answered, He thought as much as the Quakers, which he said, was nothing at all. George, Alice and Mary kneeled down in the court of the priest's house, and Mary prayed among the people. The priest ran upon her, and pulled her down. His sons, being ashamed of his brutishness, pulled him off her. The priest's madness and folly was hereby made manifest to the people.

It is not of course possible to tell how accurately this account of William's meeting with the Quakers was recorded and relayed to Bishop, but the events of that day might have contributed to William's move to Middelburgh, for at a Huntington town meeting on October 2 'Calebe Cornell and Tho. Skidmor were chosen to make the rate for the pay for the house [which] wase bouete of Mr Leveridg'.⁴⁵

New Netherland had passed an ordinance on June 17/27, 1656 that warned people who 'by patent or deed are liable for tenths' not to remove their crops from the harvest field without first compounding for them with the provincial officials. These tenths or tithes were negotiated with town representatives and on June 22/July 2, 1658 Gravesend agreed to pay each year 160 schepels (a Dutch dry measure), half in wheat and half in peas. Vlissingen, Middelburgh and Heemstede all made agreements in July 1663. Vlissingen agreed to pay 100 schepels, half in wheat and half in peas, Heemstede to pay 100 schepels, all in wheat, whilst on July 9/19 three deputies from Middelburgh appeared before the New Netherland Council

to agree with the Director-General and Council about the tenths for this year. The Director-General and Council of New Netherland on the one part and the said deputed persons on the other part agree, that the village of Middelburgh shall pay as tenths for this year one hundred schepels, one-half in wheat, the other in peas, and it is further stipulated, that the deputies shall endeavor to have the tenths for last year paid at the same time, if possible.⁴⁶

In spite of the treaty of September 1662 Great Britain and the Netherlands were involved in an undeclared naval war in 1663 and encouraged by Connecticut the British towns at the western end of Long Island began to rebel. Stuyvesant visited Boston in September to meet the Commissioners of the United Colonies and object to violations of the Hartford treaty of 1650, but he obtained no redress. The Connecticut delegates in particular wanted to defer the matter to the Commissioners' next meeting in Hartford a year later as they said that they had had no notice of Stuyvesant's visit. Whilst he was away from New Amsterdam, James Christy, a Middelburgh resident, was arrested in Gravesend on September 14/24 when he attempted to deliver a message from Hartford, and Middelburgh representatives immediately objected. On September 16/26 the New Netherland Council wrote to the inhabitants of Vlissingen, Middelburgh, Rustdorp, Gravesend and Heemstede warning them to make arrests if 'mutinous spirits & troublesome persons should come into your towne'. Then New Netherland sent three commissioners who met the Connecticut General Assembly on October 8/18, but they were unsuccessful in opposing Connecticut's claims to Long Island and Westchester, and at the end of 1663 several of the British towns changed their names. Middelburgh became Hastings, Oyster Bay became Folestone, Rustdorp became Crafford and Vlissingen became Newark.⁴⁷

At about this time the John Scott who William would have met at New Haven ten years previously became involved in the affairs of Long Island, though his precise role is difficult to discern. Scott had recently been in England, was named in a royal letter addressed to the governors and assistants of the New England

colonies on June 21 and complained at a meeting of the Council for Foreign Plantations on July 6 about the intrusion of the Dutch into New England. He was involved in various discussions about Rhode Island and New Netherland, and may have supported the transfer of the whole of Long Island to James, Duke of York and Albany, the brother of Charles II and the future James II. He obtained the support of the Connecticut General Assembly when he returned to New England, but he also supported the interests of the Duke of York. Ignoring the welcome that New Netherland had given to British settlers, he wrote from Hartford on December 14 to Joseph Williamson in London that the

English on the west end of Long Island on the main adjacent for many years having been enslaved by the Dutch, their cruel and rapacious neighbours, have at last asserted the King's interest to his just rights in themselves, though to their utter ruin, had not the gentlemen of Connecticut stepped in and demonstrated themselves a people jealous of His Majesty's concerns then lying at the stake.

and he organized an armed band on Long Island where he was styled president from at least January 4/14, 1664. Scott's role as president of Long Island was endorsed on February 4/14 by a Hastings town meeting that also declared its loyalty to the British crown:

To all Christian people in any partes of the world. Knowe that we the inhabitance of Hastin, otherways called Midlborough, on Long Island in the south parte of New England, doe declare that we are by our beirthright privildgs subyeckts of His Magistys Charls the 2nd of England, Scotland, Frances and Ierland Kinge & within the discoveries of his royall predessesors are providenshaly seatted and by right of the name have to soyle an absolute righte of inheritance in free sockete to us and our heyers and asigne for ever....., this very iland being bounded within the letters pattantes granted by King James of glorius memmory the 18th year of his raigne to Gorge, Duke of Buckengam, [and] James, Duke of Lenox, which pattant was bounded betwen 40 and 48 north lattitude with all ilands, and within the sayd lattitude we say our just propriatyes of soyle being invaded and His Magistys rights usurped by the Hollanders.

The meeting authorized two deputies 'to met in an asembly at Hempsted the 20th of February next insueing the date heerof to imbrace a body of laws alreadye established in the Counsell of Connecticute.....& to adde others for the beneficte & advantage of the inhabitance of this iland'. The phrasing of these statements, though not the spelling, suggests that the meeting had received some guidance, guidance that may have come from Scott and Connecticut.⁴⁸

The time that it took for news to cross the Atlantic meant that the States-General was inevitably out of touch with recent events when on January 13/23 it agreed to send a message to those in the New Netherland towns who had given notice to 'withdraw themselves from our allegiance', instructing them 'that in case you, forgetful of your plight, should have repaired under the government of the English, to return again under our allegiance'. Meanwhile, Stuyvesant was having to respond to Scott and his soldiers on Long Island. He wrote to Amsterdam on February 19/29 about 'the conduct of one Captain John Schot, president as he styles himself or allows himself to be styled, of the rebellious troop of over 150 horse and foot' and reported that Scott had said that

only one way and means remained open to put a stop to the commencement of the English claims on Long Island, viz., to see and come to an agreement, as soon as possible, with the Duke of York, inasmuch as he knew for certain that His Majesty had granted that island to His Royal Highness, and that some had informed the aforesaid Duke that said island could produce yearly several thousand pounds sterling.

Then on February 24[?/March 2] New Netherland representatives concluded an agreement with Scott by which 'the English off Hemstead, Newark, Crafford, Hastings, Folestone & Gravesend & any other English on the sayd Long Island shall bee & remain according to their sayd settlement under the King off England without lett or molestation from the Governor Stuyvesant & Councell in the name off our Lords the States-Generall & the Bewinthebbers for the space off twelve months and longer untill His Majestie of England & the States-Generall doe fully determine the whole difference about the sayd island & the places adjacent'.⁴⁹

However, the Connecticut authorities soon began to doubt Scott's loyalties and on March 10/20 their General Assembly issued a warrant for his arrest on ten charges - 'speaking words tending to the defamation of the King's Majesty', 'seditious practises and tumultuous carriages in severall plantations', 'abetting and encouraging the natives in hostile practises against one another', 'usurpeing the authority of the King in tending to pardon treason.....for bribes', 'threatening His Majesties subjects with hanging and banishment', 'grosse and notorious prophanation of God's holy day', 'forgery and violation of his solemne oath', 'acting treachourously to the Colony of Connecticutt', 'usurpeing authority upon pretence of a commission' and 'calumniating a commission officer in this corporation with the charge of villanous and felloneous practices'. He was supported by New Haven Colony but was arrested, tried, found guilty, fined and disenfranchised. He returned to England and his activities both before and after his brief period as president of Long Island have led to him being described as an adventurer and spy.⁵⁰

As well as dealing with Scott, the Connecticut General Assembly on March 10/20 ordered 'that all the inhabitants in the English townes on the west end of Long Island yeild obedience and submitt to the government of those officers that were chosen by the respective townes according to the advice of the collony of Connecticutt, and all pretended officers are to stand by'. Shortly afterwards William was granted land in Hastings:

Upon the first of Aperill 1664 the towne thought it good for to give to Mr Willyam Leverich for his incorigment [to stay *crossed out*] amongst us some meddows as lay comman formerly, as namly a pease of salte marshe medow lying in the meddow beffor Ramsdens, viz. a peace that lyes betw the meddow of John Grayes now John Ramsden and John Lawresone his meddowe, and because that was unknowen how much but thought not to be enough to supplye his ned, it was voated and aggreed to that Mr Willyam Leverich minister shall have twelve accers of fresh meddow layed out to him at the east ward end of the meddow called Long Tranes Meddow wher it shall be found most convenient for him.⁵¹

William's residence in Hastings, or Newtown as it soon became, may have been influenced by the residence there of his wife's cousin Jonathan Fish. Riker recorded in 1852 that Jonathan 'served several years in the magistracy' and was an 'owner of a twenty shilling purchase right in the town lands, which right afterwards devolved to his sons Nathan and Samuel'. Jonathan had died by February 20/March 1, 1664 when a deed referred to land bounded 'on the northwest with Mary Fish her meadow'. On May 12/22 the Connecticut General Assembly decided that

whereas His Majesty hath been graciously pleased to confirm unto this colony, by charter, all that part of his dominions in New England bounded as in the said charter is expressed, with the islands adjoining, this Court doth declare, that they claim Long Island for one of those adjoining islands expressed in the charter, except a precedent right doth appear, approved by His Majesty,

and they appointed officers and freemen for all the British towns on Long Island, including William, Caleb and eight others from Newtown as freemen 'if they accept it'.⁵² There was, however, a 'precedent right'. On March 12, 1664 the Duke of York was granted a patent over various lands to the north of Massachusetts Bay and the whole of Long Island and New Netherland including

all that island or islands commonly called by the severall name or names of Matowacks or Long Island situate, lying and being towards the west of Cape Cod and the narrow Higansetts abutting upon the main land between the two rivers, there called or known by the severall names of Connecticut and Hudsons River, together also with the said river called Hudsons River and all the land from the west side of Connecticut to the east side of Delaware Bay and also all those severall islands called or known by the names of Martin's Vineyard and Natukes, otherwise Nantucket.⁵³

Richard Nicolls and three other commissioners, Samuel Maverick, Sir Robert Carr and Sir George Cartwright, were appointed on April 23 to investigate the situation in New England. The commissioners' private instructions, however, showed there was a hidden agenda:

Though the maine end and drift of your employment is to informe yourselves and us of the true and whole state of those severall colonies and by insinuateing yourselves by all kind and dextrous carriage into the good opinion of the principall persons there, that soe you may (after a full observation of the humour and interest both of those in government and those of the best quality out of government and, generally of the people themselves) lead and dispose them to desire to renew their charters and to make such alterations as will appeare necessary for their owne benefit - yet you may informe all men that a great end of your designe is the possessing Long Island, and reduceing that people to an entyre submission and obedience to us & our governement, now vested by our grant and commision in our brother the Duke of Yorke, and by raising forts or any other way you shall judge most convenient or necessary soe to secure that whole trade to our subjects, that the Dutch may noe longer ingrosse and exercise that trade which they have wrongfully possessed themselves of, that whole territory being in our possession before they, as private persons and without any authority from their superiors and against the lawe of nations and the good intelligence and allyance between us and their superiors, invaded and have since wrongfully obteyned the same, to the prejudice of our crowne and dignity.⁵⁴

The basis for the conquest of New Netherland was the grant to the Virginia companies made sixty years previously, a claim that had in practice been buried by subsequent agreements and events. Nicolls and the other commissioners left England on May 15/25 in a fleet under his command and he received the surrender of New Netherland at New Amsterdam on August 27/September 6. New Amsterdam and New Netherland were renamed New York, Fort Amsterdam became Fort James, Fort Orange on the Hudson River was renamed Albany and Nicolls became governor. Samuel Drisius wrote about the surrender to the Classis of Amsterdam on September 5/15 and reported that the 'articles of surrender stipulate that our religious services and doctrines, together with the preachers, shall remain and continue unchanged. Therefore we could not separate ourselves from our congregation and hearers, but considered it our duty to remain with them for some time yet, that they may not scatter and run wild'. Charles II wrote from London to his sister, Henrietta-

Anne, Duchess of Orleans, on October 26 with the same disregard of the previous forty years that the instructions to Nicolls and the other commissioners had contained:

You will have heard of our taking of New Amsterdame, which lies just by New England. 'Tis a place of great importance to trade, and a very good towne. It did belong to England heertofore, but the Duch by degrees drove our people out of it, and built a very good towne, but we have gott the better of it, and 'tis now called New Yorke. He that took it, and is now there, is Nicols, my brother's servant, who you know very well.⁵⁵

The royal commissioners met at Boston and an agreement was signed on November 30 which drew the boundary between Connecticut and New York on the east side of the Hudson River. It also gave the whole of Long Island to New York, but the Long Island representatives, John Howell of Southampton and John Young of Southold, refused to sign the agreement. Nicolls therefore issued a warrant stating that

Although His Majesties Commissioners have fully decided and determined that the whole tract of land called Long Island doth fall under His Royall Highnesse the Dukes pattent, without dependence upon any other, yet in regard divers townes upon Long Island for their defence and government, formerly have contrived themselves under and submitted to the Government of Connecticut, by which authority severall rates, fines and dutyes have been imposed upon the said townes, remaining hitherto not collected. These are therefore to authorise and appoint Mr John Howell and Captain John Younge to collect and gather the severall rates, fines and dutyes upon Long Island which have been imposed by that authority before the 30th of November, whereof they are to be accountable to the Governor and Councill of Connecticut, and for the actings of Mr John Howell and Captain John Young in pursuance hereof, this shall be a sufficient warrant.

Then on the following day he sent a letter to Howell and Young telling them to 'informe all persons concerned upon Long Island' that it was now part of the Duke of York's patent and stating 'that in regard of this winter season I do not thinke it convenient to put the inhabitants to the trouble of sending any deputyes to meete in relation to the affaires of the island' and 'that so soone as the weather and opportunity is seasonable, I shall give the inhabitants timely notice both of time and place'. Meanwhile the Long Island towns continued to deal with their routine business. Three men were chosen at a town meeting in Newtown on November 3 'to gather the monys dew to Mr Leverich for the ministry' and the town rate that had been levied on March 16, 1662[?/3] was described as 'never paid, but what was paid of it was returned in the yere ano 1665'.⁵⁶

Connecticut objected to the presence of a representatives of New Haven Colony when the Commissioners of the United Colonies met in September 1664. New Haven accepted some responsibility for Scott's activities on Long Island on December 13 when its 'Generall Court considered of severall things, and first about the men that were pressed by authority to goe with Capt. Scott to Long Island, what to allow them, & it was agreed to allow them 12d a day with their charges borne'. The British occupation of New Netherland had left New Haven Colony very isolated and on January 5, 1665 its General Court accepted that it must become part of Connecticut, a decision that was endorsed by the town of New Haven two days later. Nicolls's notice to the Long Islanders was issued in February. It called upon on the island's towns to send deputies to a meeting at Hempstead on the last day of February and it was attended by deputies from East Hampton, South Hampton, Seatacott, Huntington, Oyster Bay, Hempstead, Jamaica, Gravesend, Westchester, Newtown, Flushing, Southold, Brookland, Bushwick, Flatbush, Flatlands and New Utrecht. The deputies for Huntington were Jonas Wood and John Cetcham, those for Oyster Bay John Underhill and Mathias Harvey, and those for Newtown Richard Betts and John Coe.⁵⁷

Long Island, Staten Island and Westchester were named Yorkshire and like its English namesake it was divided into East, North and West Ridings, each of which had its own Court of Sessions. The East Riding consisted of the eastern part of Long Island and its court usually met at Southampton. The North Riding consisted of Hempstead, Huntington, Jamaica, Oyster Bay and Westchester, and its court met at Jamaica. The West Riding consisted of Brooklyn, Bushwick, Flatbush, Flatlands, Gravesend, New Utrecht, Newtown and Staten Island, and its court met at Gravesend. Underhill was appointed Surveyor of Long Island on April 22 with the task of checking that ships paid customs duties and he was subsequently appointed High Constable and Under Sheriff of the North Riding. New York had been captured and Dutch vessels attacked at sea, but Great Britain did not declare war on the Netherlands until February 22/March 4, and its envoy-extraordinary, Sir George Downing, remained at The Hague for another six months. On August 3 New Plymouth, perhaps mindful of its own unchartered status, objected to the absorption of New Haven Colony by Connecticut, but its letter was not considered until the Commissioners of the United Colonies met again in September 1667:

Wee find not our reason seated in sufficient light to continew confederation with three collonies as wee did with foure, because it is against an expresse article that noe two of the said collonies shall become one (and wee apprehend grounded upon good reason) except with consent of the rest, which wee doe not, nor youer selves for ought wee know, nor New Haven except constrained.⁵⁸

William and his neighbors would probably have seen the comet that was observed in many parts of the world at the end of 1664. The Dutch settler, Jeremias van Rensselaer, wrote about it to his brother Jan Baptist in the Netherlands on April 5/15, 1655, though he interpreted his sightings as three different comets, and Samuel Danforth wrote *An astronomical description of the late comet or blazing star.....together with a brief theological application thereof* that was published in Cambridge, Mass.⁵⁹

Francis Swain died in 1665 and administration of his estate in Massachusetts Bay was granted to his brother-in-law Nathaniel Weare by the Norfolk County Court on April 11. Francis appears to have left some unfinished business in Newtown as on May 11 Thomas Pettit Jr testified that 'one Thomas Ringe sued Franes Swane & recovered teene pounds of him for which hee had an excecucion & Thomas Cornish paid it with his one [own] pipe staves & Thomas Cornish tould me sevarall times since that Franes Swane had not paide it him & for the want of the said mony his family did sufer'. Nathaniel Weare 'administrator to the estate of Frances Swaine' was the plaintiff in two cases before the Norfolk County Court on October 13, 1668, one for trespass on land which had belonged to Francis and the other for a debt of sixty-one pounds due to him. In both cases the jury found for the defendant, but the 'Court concur[red] not with the jurie'. The reason for Nathaniel's continuing involvement in Francis's estate becomes clear from an affidavit made in 1669 by his widow Martha, who had by then married Caleb Leverich. Francis had transferred his land in Hampton to Nathaniel and his wife Elizabeth in 1662 and confirmation of this by both Martha and Caleb was recorded in the Norfolk County records in 1669 (document 22).⁶⁰

Huntington's first meeting-house was built in 1665 in the middle valley on the north side of Oyster Bay Path and beside the stream that then became known as Meeting House Brook and William returned there and sold his land in Newtown:

Know all men by these presents that I William Leverich of Huntintun doe sell & have sould unto John Lorison of Newtowne a persell of medoe given unto me by the towne of Newtowne lyeing & being next to the midoe of the said John Lorison one the on side & the creke commonly called Hardins Creke on the other side..... in witsesse here unto I have put to my hand this tenth day of October 1665.

Lorison for his part declared that he stood

indebted to William Leaverich of Huntintun the som of five pounds starling to be paied to the said William Leverich, his heires or assines, either in a cow valuable at five pound starling or in an other beast to be valued by two indifferent [i.e. impartial] men chosen by the said William Leverich & John Lorison or their assines, which payment is to be made at or before the nine and twentieth of September 1666.⁶¹

William was soon involved in a land dispute when he defended Huntington in an action by John Richbell before the first meeting of the New York Court of Assizes on September 28. Richbell claimed that the land known as Horse Neck belonged to him on the basis of the purchase made by Mayo, Whitehead and Wright on September 20, 1654 and subsequent land transfers. William argued that the earlier purchase made on April 2, 1653 included this area of land. The jury hearing the case decided in favor of Huntington, but their verdict was reversed on appeal. Underhill had been one of the witnesses for Richbell and as Under-Sheriff of the North Riding he was ordered to 'possess Mr John Richbell, marchant of Horse Neck, adjudged by the Honorable [Richard Nicolls] and the said Council of right belonging to him'. Horse Neck passed to James Lloyd in 1684 and became known as Lloyd's Neck (figure 75). It remained part of Oyster Bay until 1886 when the State of New York transferred it to Huntington.⁶²

The Quaker missionary John Burnyeat left Ireland for Barbados in 1664 and spent most of the following year in Maryland and Virginia before visiting Quaker meetings in New York and New England in 1666. He described how he

landed at New-York in the fourth month 1666 and spent some time there amongst Friends in going through their Meetings, and then took shipping for Road-Island in New-England and there spent sometime in visiting Friends and their Meetings, where I had a comfortable service. And about the latter end of the sixth month I took my journey towards Sandwich, and when I was clear there I took my journey by Plymouth to Tewkesbury, and so to Marshfield and Cittuate, and so on to Boston, and did visit Friends and had Meetings, and from Boston to Salem and to Piscatoway. And when I was clear there I returned back through the Meetings and came to Hampton, Salem, Boston, Cittuate, Marshfield, and so by Tewkesbury and Plymouth to Sandwich, and from thence through the woods to Ponigantsit, and from thence over unto Road Island. And after some time spent there, I took shipping for Long-Island to visit Friends in those parts, and when I was clear I returned again to Road-Island in the winter, and stayed for some time, for there was no going off the Island unto the main, the snow was so deep. And about the latter end of the first month I took shipping for the Barbadoes and landed there in the second month 1667.⁶³

In this way Burnyeat retraced the journey that William had gradually made during his previous thirty-three years in America, but he did not refer to any meeting with William himself. His journey, however, was only

possible because of the greater degree of toleration of Quakers that gradually developed and his visits to Sandwich point to the development of Quaker beliefs in the town.

Bee it known unto all men by these presents that I Martha Leverich, late wife of the relict of Francis Swaine (who was the sone of Richard Swaine late of Hampton in the County of Norfolk in the jurisdiccon of the Massachusets New-England) late of Middleborough in Long-Iland deceased & the sole executrix of his last will & testmant doe herby acknowledg that wheras my said late deare husband Francis Swaine, in consideration of his naturall love & affection unto his well beloved & deare brother in law Nathaniel Weare & his deare sister Elizabeth who is wyfe to the said Nathaniel Weare of Hampton aforesaid, as also for divers other causes & considerations him therunto moveing, in his life time by a letter dated October the 20th, 1662 did give unto the said Nathaniel Weare & Elizabeth his wyfe all his lands, both upland erible land & meadow, that did belong to him liing & being within the said jurisdiccon of the Massachusets & especially in the County of Norfolk aforesaid or in the liberties & townships of Hampton or Exiter in the said County that was granted to him by the inhabitants of any towne or purchased by him of any person or persons whatsoever with all & singular the proffitts, commonages, freeholds, imunities & priviledges whatsoever therunto belonging, to which letter my name is subscribed with his, for which consideracons I the above named Martha Leverich have given & granted & by these presents do give & grant & confirme unto the above said Nathaniel Weare & Elizabeth his wyfe all & singular the abovesaid lands, which did any wayes belong or apperteine unto my late deare husband Francis Swaine, with everypart & parcell of whatsoever nature or quality the said lands are or be, or in what place or places soever the same bee shall or may bee found within the jurisdiccon aforesaid in any person or persons power, custodie or possession whatsoever, to have and hold all the abovesaid premises to the.....use & behoof of the abovesaid Nathaniel Weare & Elizabeth his wife, their heires, executors, administrators and assignes for ever, freely & quietly without any matter of challenge, clayme or demand me the said Martha Leverich or any other person or persons whatsoever for mee, in my name or by my cause or presentment or without any money or other thing to bee yeilded, payd or done unto mee the said Martha Leverich, my heires, executors, administrators or assignes, all & singular the aforesaid premises to the use of the said Nathaniel Weare & Elizabeth his wyfe against all persons do warrant & defend, & farther know yee that I the said Martha Leverich have put the said Nathaniel Weare & Elizabeth his wife in peacable & quiett possession of the said premises by the delivering unto him att the ensealing herof one coyned peece of sylver of two pence fixed on the seale of the said premisses, in witness wherof I the said Martha Leverich have set my hand & seale May the 25th An. Dom. 1669 in the 21th yeare of the raigne of our soveraigne lord Charles the 2d of Great Brittain, France & Ireland, king, d. feit, &c.

The X marke of Martha Leverich
& a seale to it.

Signed, sealed & delivered in the presence of us,
Elisha Ilsley [and] the X mark of Georg Little

An.D. [16]69 May 25th

Know all Christian people to whom these presents may concerne or may come, greeting, that I Caleb Leverich of Newtown, otherwise called Middleborough, in the West Riding of Yorkshire, or Long Island, the husband of Martha Leverich, formerly the wife of Francis Swaine now deceased & an inhabitant of the same towne, I the aforesaid Caleb doe by this present writing satisfie & confirme what my loveing wyfe hath done in this other writing in every particular unto my loving brother in law Nathaniel Weare, his heires, executors, administrators or assignes peacably to enjoy & possess for ever from ether mee or mine, as for laing any clayme to any part of the deed of gift, in wittnes whereof I have set my hand & seale in this day & date above written.

Caleb Leverich

Signed, sealed & delivered in the presence of us wittness
Elisha Winsly [and] the X marke of Georg Little

Document 22. Confirmation in 1669 of the transfer by Martha & Caleb Leverich of Francis Swain's land in Hampton and Exeter to Nathaniel & Elizabeth Weare.

The Newtown that William left is shown on a map of the western end of Long Island that Mr [Sergeant] Hubbard prepared in July 1666. The main emphasis of the map is on the southern part of the area and Newtown is shown with just a mill house and a row of houses on each side of Horse Brook Creek (figure 76). The Creek was probably always a small tributary leading into Flushing River, rather than the main part of the river. The mill house of 'Mr Coe' was built in about 1655 and it, its mill-pond and Horse Brook survived until 1930 when they were destroyed to lay out Horace Harding Boulevard, now the Long Island Expressway (figure 77).⁶⁴

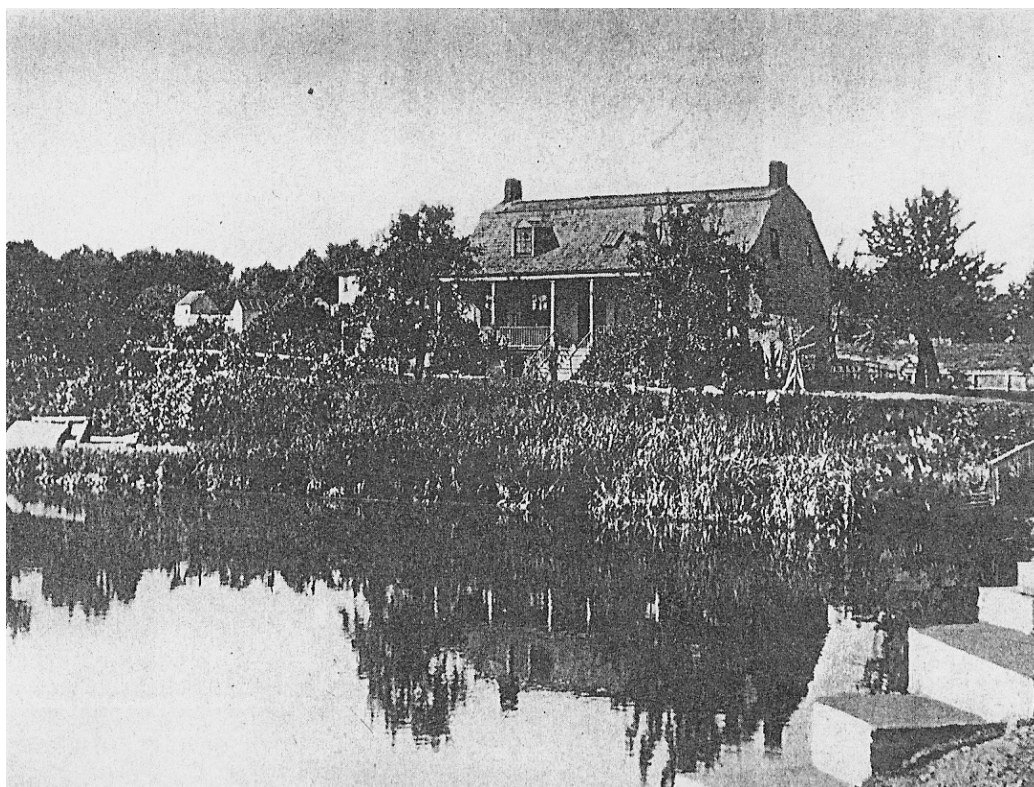


Figure 77. Coe House, Mill Creek, Newtown.

On November 30, 1666 Governor Nicolls granted a patent to the town of Huntington, which stated that

whereas there is a certain town within this government commonly called and known by the name of Huntington, situate and being in Long Island, now in the tenure and occupation of several freeholders and inhabitants there residing.... I have ratified, confirmed and granted, and by these presents do hereby ratify, confirm and grant unto Jonas Wood, William Leveredge, Robert Seely, John Ketcham, Thomas Skudmore, Isaac Platt, Thomas Joanes and Thomas Weeks, in behalfe of them-selvs and their associates, the freeholders and inhabitants of the said towne, their heires, successors and assigns, all that land that already have beene or hereafter shall bee purchased for and in the behalfe of the towne of Huntington, either from the natives, proprietors or others within the limitts and bounds herein exprest.⁶⁵

A map of the Hudson valley published in the Netherlands in 1666 gives a clear picture of the area from the Dutch viewpoint. It also appears to locate 'Marten Gerrits Bay' at Manhasset Bay, well to the west of both Hempstead Harbor and Oyster Bay (figure 78). A slightly later map of the whole of New York and New England was made by John Scott in England. It marks the positions of the Long Island towns with stylized drawings of their houses and meeting-houses and gives them their Dutch or English names.⁶⁶

Though in hindsight it was unlikely that New York would have been willingly returned to Dutch control, its status as a British colonial territory remained uncertain whilst Great Britain and the Netherlands were still at war. A strong incentive for the British to end the war came in June 1667 when a Dutch fleet entered the River Medway on the south side of the Thames estuary, captured three ships in the British fleet and destroyed several others. Peace was achieved a month later by the signing of the Treaty of Breda on July 21/31, article 3 of which stated that both sides 'shall keep and possess hereafter, with plenary right of sovereignty, propriety and possession, all such lands, islands, cities, forts, places and colonies (how many soever) as during this war....they have by force of arms, or in any other way whatsoever, gotten and detained from the other party'.⁶⁷ Rensselaer, wrote to his mother Anna on June 10/20, 1668 that

Last winter I began to build a house near it [a brewery], to my regret, for we did not have the least idea here that the country would remain English, since the Lord God blessed the arms of their High Mightinesses the States General so during the war after they in the beginning had suffered such dire defeat. Now it seems that it has pleased the Lord [to ordain] that we must learn English. The worst of it all is that we have already for nearly four years been under this jurisdiction and that as yet I have learned so little. The reason is that one has no liking for it.⁶⁸

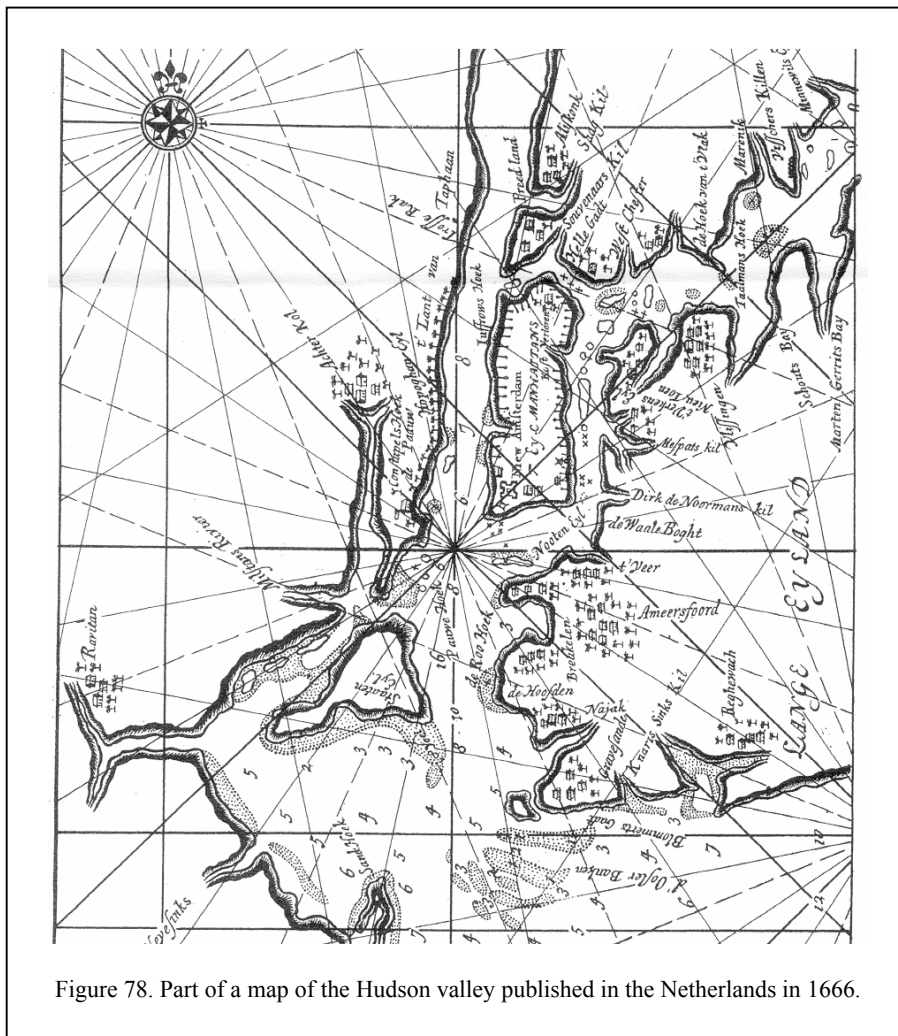


Figure 78. Part of a map of the Hudson valley published in the Netherlands in 1666.

The Commissioners of the United Colonies met at Hartford in September 1667 after a gap of three years and allocated the 'Indian stocke in the dispose of the honorable Corporation', the New England Company, but William was no longer one of the recipients. His return to Huntington had left Newtown without a minister. On 'the 29 of May 1667 at a traininge' the town 'voated that the parish will have a minester if they can procure one'. 'Six ackers of fresh medo in the est end of Trains Medo, which is part of that which the towne gave to Mr William Leverich', was sold by its then owner Francis Doughty Jr on November 7, but William was invited to return to the town at the end of 1668:

Newtowne December 2 anno 1668. At a towne meting it is voated by the maiger part of the inhabitance then present that Mr Leaverich shal be called to the exersise of the ministeriall function amongst them in case he be fre from ingagemnt to any other. They have further voated that Cap[tain] Coe, Cap[tain] Lorance, Leift[enant] Ketcham, Leif[tenant] Hunt with the cunstable & overseers shall send to Mr Leverich tarmes for his incoragment in coming among them.⁶⁹

William was 'fre from ingagemnt' and left Huntington for Newtown. He sold 'a peice off land [in Huntington] with the meddow belonging to the same, the land lying uppon the West Necke and the meddow bounded by the head of the creeke lying by it, which said land and meddow was sould to me by John Ketcham' to John Tedd on March 2, 1668[?/9]. Then he sold 'my accomodations or allotment sittuate & lieing in Huntington.....together with all lands improved, outlands, houseing, barn, orchard, gardens, out houseing, previledges, accomodations, proffits & renewes there to belonging or accuring there from, as alsoe a certain parcell of meadow lying one south side of this iland on two severall necks of meadow, part one a necke called Neguntataug & the other part on a necke called by the name of the East Necke, both parcels containes twelve accors bee it more or lese which is the porportion of a three hundred pound allotmt' to Jonas Wood on April 20, 1669. This transaction was witnessed by Caleb and Eleazer, and Eleazer sold land to John Teed in the same year. Caleb was already living in Newtown and had been a witness in a case before the town court on January 12. The record of the case is rather unusual as it contained the ages of the witnesses and provides the earliest indication of Caleb's year of birth:

The testimony of Caleb Leveridg aged 31. Testifieth that, being at the pounce with Samewell Blomfilde, Thomas Davise and Thomas Robinson when thos said men had pounded the cattl of Samewell Blomfield, the said Sam. Blomfield tendered to pay the dammagages that the calves had done & thay towlde him if he woulde pay pounce and the dammag he might have them and goe to Richard Owen for them. Upon this did I go my way. He the said Caleb Leveredg doe further testifie that at night, comming hoam with Richard Owen & Danill Blomfield, the said Owen asked Dannel Blomfilde how the calfs cam oute. The said Blomfilde replied that his brother Samewell tooke them out of the pounce, but I saw the greate cattle still in the pounce.

The testimony of Dannel Bloofield aged 30 yeares. Testifieth that I heard all the above written discourse betwixt my brother, but [i.e. and] Thomas Davies & Thomas Robinson, only I did not hear them tell him he must goe to Richard Owen for his calves.

The testimony of Jon. Reder aged 24. Testiff[ieth] that he saw Ralph Hunte set open the great gate by his mother's lott and did leave it open untill he went doune to Jon. Smith or that way; and I Josiph Reeder aged about 22 year doe testify that I did see cattle in my mothers lott close by about the same time to the best of my remembran & this was aboute Friday last to the best of my remembrenc, anno 1668, January 29th.⁷⁰

Cases like this occupied much of the time of the Newtown's town court. Several months later on April 13, William purchased land in Newtown from Jonathan Hazard:

Know all men by these presents that I Jonathan Hazerd of Newtowne on Long Iland in the West Riding of Yorkshire have sold unto William Leverich of Huntingtun in the East Riding my house and barne and orchyard upland sixtene ackers more or lesse sittuate on the north sid of the towne bounded with John Lorison on the east & Jams Lorison on the west with a persell of fresh medo on the south sid of the high way before the house: and half the salt marsh which belongs to the said farme lying by the Yonckers Iland besid all the upland which belongs to the said farme which is yet to be laid out with all other preveledges & prophets belonging there unto, I say I have sold unto William Leverich afforesaid, his heiers, successors or assines, to have and to hold as his or there proper inheritance without let or molestation from me, or any from me, or any by me, only the barne I except for the use of Thomas Davis for foure yeres and the fresh medo before the house if Frances Doughty recover a share in it then I the said Jonathan to abate a proportion of the prise there of and to have no further trouble & this for said farme I sell for a considerable value spesified by bill.

Twenty-five years later on May 2, 1694 Caleb acknowledged 'this bill of seale to be made void by my father Leverich deceased and I doe alsoe for me, my hayers, executors & administrators disowne any rite or intrust to ye same and order it to be cancelled'.

It is uncertain when William moved to Newtown as on April 4, 1670 the Huntington town meeting 'voted and agreed this day that if Mr Leverich went from the town, that it was the town's mind that they would have another minister, and that there should be some speedy course taken to seek out for some other to supply us'.

Then on April 26 the Huntington constable and overseers 'ordered and agreed.....that Mr Will Leverich shall in some shorte time deliver in unto us.....all those rates that hath been made for his paie since the yeare 1665 that wee maie take some speedie cors for the parfiting thereof that this last rate for the yeare 1669 may bee forth with gathered'. William and his family are remembered in Huntington by Leverich Place (figure 79).⁷¹

Davenport found it difficult to accept the end of the colony that he had helped to establish and he went to Massachusetts Bay in 1667 to accept an invitation to be minister of the First Church in Boston. He remained there, but both his release by the New Haven church and his acceptability to the Boston church were disputed. Those members of the Boston church who refused to accept him separated to form the Third or Old South Church in Boston and Thomas Thacher became their minister in 1670.⁷²

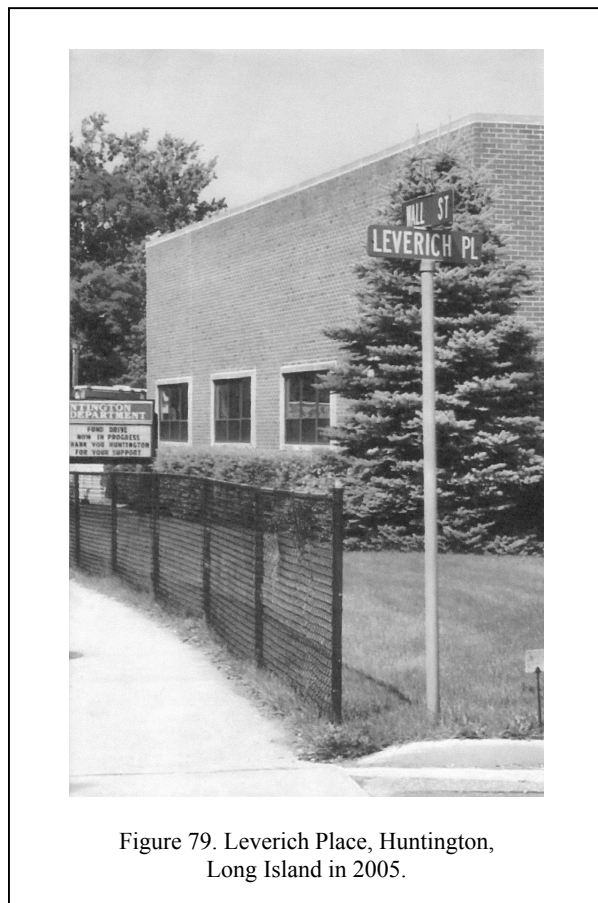
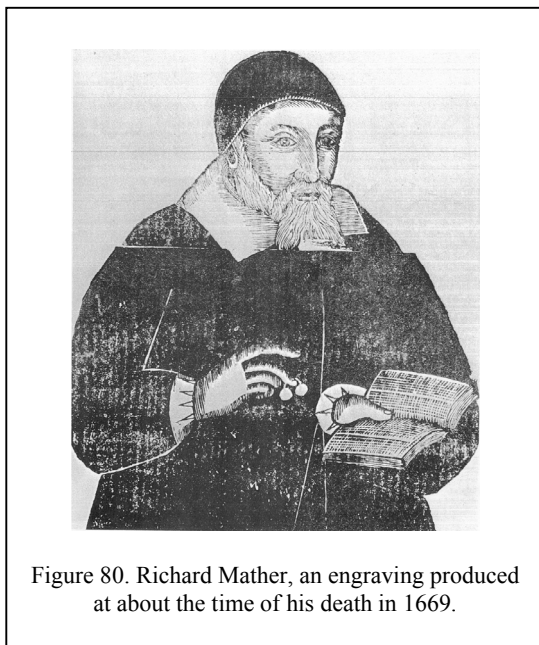


Figure 79. Leverich Place, Huntington, Long Island in 2005.

Richard Mather was involved in 1668 and 1669 in attempting to mediate the dispute in the Boston church but he collapsed and died on April 22. A biography by his son Increase was published in the following year. At about the same time John Foster, who had been baptized by Richard, made an engraving of him, the earliest surviving engraving produced in New England. This portrait provides a guide to what a portrait of William might have looked like (figure 80).⁷³



Eleazer Leverich had married Nicholas Wright's daughter Rebecca in about 1662, but the marriage proved unsatisfactory and she was granted a divorce by the New York Court of Assize on the grounds of his impotency. The decision in the case was made on October 22, 1670:

Whereas Nicholas Wright of Oysterbay on the behalfe of his daughter Rebeckah, the wife of Eleazer Leveridg, & the said Rebeckah for her selfe, did make their complaint unto me [the governor, Francis Lovelace] against the said Eleazer Leveridg, her husband, that she having beene his reputed wife for the space of seaven yeares & a halfe, she hath not in all that tyme received any due benevolence from her said husband according to the true intention of matrimonye, the greate end of which is not onely to extinguish those fleshly desires & appetites incident to humane nature, but likewise for the well ordering & confirmation of the right of meum & tuum to be devolved upon the posterity lawfully begotten betwixt man & wife, according to the laws of the land, & practise of all Christian nations in that case provided, & did therefore sue for a divorce, whereupon having appointed commissioners to call both partyes before them, & strictly to examyne into the affayre & to make report of their judgment thereupon, the which after serious inquiry made by them, with the advice of chirurgions well skill'd, & sober matrons, who privily examymed both the man & woman, they made report of their judgment & opinion, that the defect was in the husband & not in the wife, and that there was sufficient ground for a divorce, all which being afterwards represented to my councell & they having declared themselves to agree in the same opinion. For the reasons afore specified, the pretended marriage betweene the said Eleazer Leveridg & Rebeckah Wright is hereby adjudged & declared to be void, null & invalid, together with all the consequences thereof, & the said Rebeckah Wright is hereby acquitted, made free & divorced from all pretences of marriage, or matrimoniall tyes & obligations betweene her & the said Eleazer, and the cca^o said Re[becka]h, hath likewise free libertye to dispose of her selfe in lawfull marriage with any other person as if the tyes & obligations betweene the said Eleazer and her had never beene.

Rebecca then applied for an order against Eleazer requiring restitution 'of what shee brought to him at their marriage' and on February 24, 1671 the New York Executive Council ordered 'that Eleazer Leveradge doe pay, or cause to bee paid unto Rebeckah Wright, from whom hee is divorced, the summe of twenty-five pounds in living cattle, to bee apprized by indifferent men, or in corne, beefe or porke at price curreant, in lieu of what shee brought to him at their marriage'.⁷⁴ William's position in Newtown was confirmed on December 13 when a town meeting 'voated that Mr William Leaverich shall continew at this towne to preach the word & be our minester'. The meeting also 'voated that a rate of 40/ shall be made for the building [of] a meeting house, the one half to be paid in corne, the other half in cattell'. It is not possible to tell whether this decision to build a meeting-house was any more effective than that made about eight years earlier, but if one was built it may have followed the layout of New Haven's second meeting-house, which was built in 1669 and taken down in about 1757. According to the recollections of Ezra Stiles and his wife in 1772 this had a central pulpit and, like the previous meeting-house, separate seating for men and women (figure 81).⁷⁵

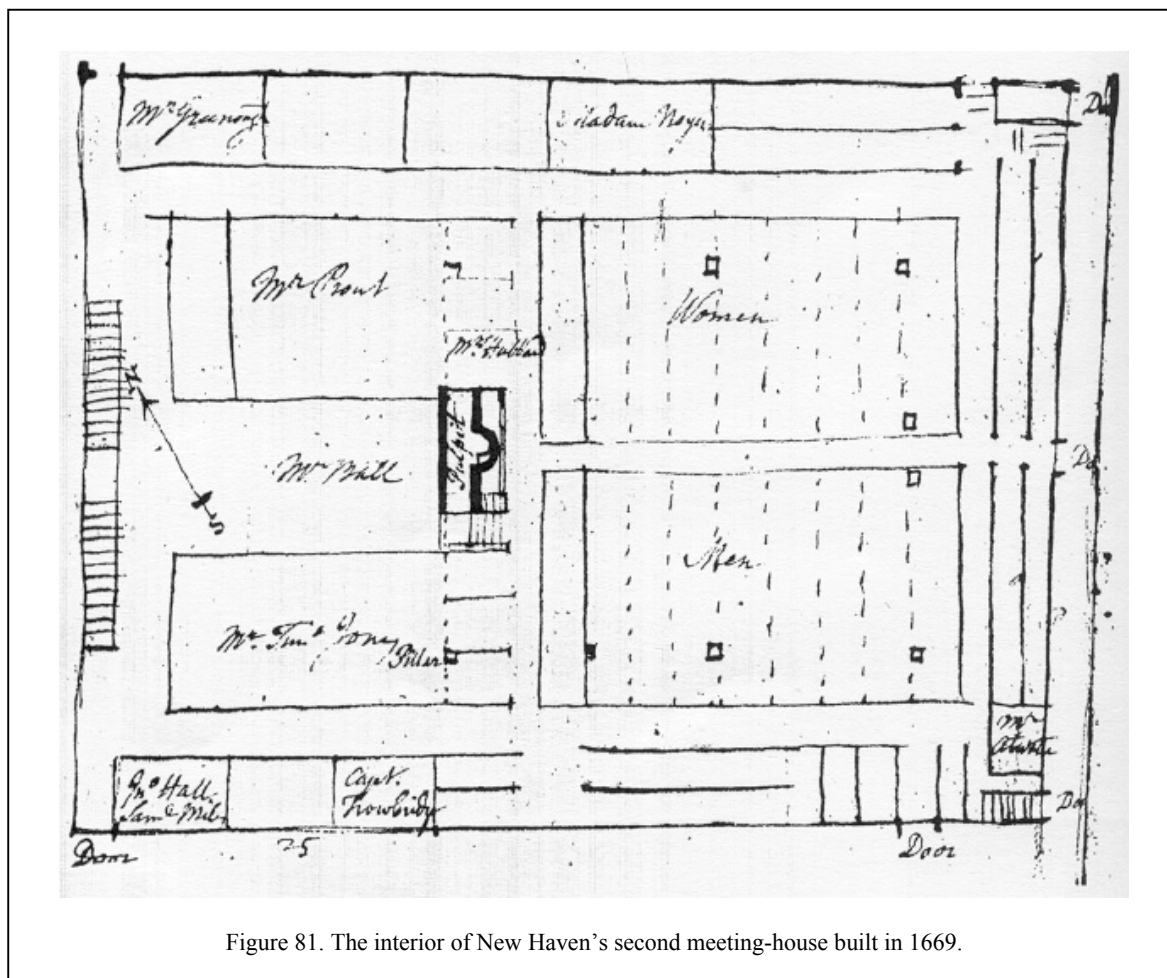


Figure 81. The interior of New Haven's second meeting-house built in 1669.

Several Quaker missionaries converged on Long Island in the summer of 1672 at a time when Quaker monthly, quarterly, half-yearly and yearly meetings for business were being established. Burnyeat had sailed to Barbados again in 1670 and then 'set sail the first of the second month 1671 and arrived at New-York the 27th day of the same month, and so did go from New-York unto Long Island and did visit Friends on the island'. He went to the Oyster Bay Half-Yearly Meeting and then to the Rhode Island Yearly Meeting, the 'General Meeting once a year for all Friends in New-England'. He traveled on through New England on a similar journey to the one he had made five years before and returned to Oyster Bay for the next Half-Yearly Meeting. He then went to Maryland where he met George Fox and they went to the Oyster Bay Half-Yearly Meeting in 1672. Fox visited both the Caribbean and North America and he described in his journal that in early May, after visiting Middletown in New Jersey, Richard Hartshorne

carried us over a great water in his owne boat, where we were almost all day agoeing untill night. And to Long Island we came to Grave Sands [Gravesend] and the next morning wee set forward (though weary) to Oyster Bay, where there was a Generall Meeting, which lasted about foure or 5 days, where there was a mens meeting & womens, a very fine Meeting and there wee met with some of the bad spirits [hat spirits - some Quakers refused to remove their hats during prayers], which was judged downe & condemned and the glorious truth of God was set over all.

And the Generall Meeting began on the 17th day of the 3rd mo[nth] [May] and held till the 23rd before wee parted, which was a great service to Freinds and to the people of the World. And from thence wee went to another Meeting, where there was great service.

And from thence wee went through the woods to Flushing to one John Bounes, who was banished by the Dutch into England, where there were many hundreds of the Worlds people and they did say if I would come to their towne I should have their meeting house. And from thence wee came to Oyster Bay againe, where we stayed for a winde to goe to Rhode Island. And these Meetings were in the Duke of Yorks dominions.

And on the 28th of the 3d moneth wee took boat againe, in which wee came about 200 miles by water. And on the 30th day wee came to Rhode Island, where wee were gladly received by Friends, though wee were weary with travailing by sea.⁷⁶

Burnyeat and Fox both went to the Rhode Island Yearly Meeting in June. Burnyeat then went to New Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, where he was opposed by ‘Priest Thatcher’ of the Old South Church, Boston. Burnyeat continued to Piscataway and Salem before returning to Rhode Island, where he, William Edmundson and John Stubbs were involved in disputations with Roger Williams at Newport and Providence. Williams reported his side of the encounters in *George Fox digg’d out of his burrowes* in 1676 and Fox and Burnyeat replied in *A New-England fire-brand quenched* in 1678. Edmundson, another Quaker missionary from Ireland, had met Fox on Long Island and ‘I told him of my travells and service for the Lord, at the hearing of which he was glad, and we prais’d the Lord for his goodness’. Stubbs was one of the most traveled of the Quaker missionaries, having visited continental Europe as well as America, and he was turned back in Egypt when he attempted to visit China. Burnyeat went from Rhode Island to Connecticut, where he had disputations with ‘the Priest of Greenwich’, Eliphalet Jones and ‘the Priest of Stanford’, John Bishop. He finally ‘set sail from New-York [on 1 9mo 1672] for Maryland and met Fox again before returning home.’⁷⁷

New York had gradually developed a greater degree of religious toleration to Quakers than was shown when they first arrived and Bowne was now able to practice his faith without interference from the government. Anthony Wright granted land at Oyster Bay for a Quaker meeting-house in October and this was erected in the following year. He made his former sister-in-law, Alice Crabb, the executor of his will of May 20, 1674 and his bequests provide a good guide to his many relatives (table 17).

Table 17. Summary of the will of Anthony Wright made in 1674 and proved after his death in 1680. Rebecca Frost was William Leverich’s former daughter-in-law.

<i>Beneficiary</i>	<i>Relationship</i>	<i>Bequest</i>
Nicholas Wright	Brother	Five shillings
Ann Wright	Nicholas’s wife	Five shillings
Caleb Wright	Nicholas’s son	Two shillings six pence
John Wright	Nicholas’s son	Two shillings six pence
Edward Wright	Nicholas’s son	Two shillings six pence
Rebecca Frost	Nicholas’s daughter	Two shillings six pence
Sarah Lattin	Nicholas’s daughter	Two shillings six pence
Mary Cole	Nicholas’s daughter	Two shillings six pence
Deborah Wright	Nicholas’s daughter	Two shillings six pence
Gideon Wright	Brother Peter’s son	Two shillings six pence
Elizabeth Wright	Gideon’s wife	Five shillings
Adam Wright	Peter’s son	Two shillings six pence
Mary Wright	Adam’s wife	Five shillings
Job Wright	Peter’s son	Two shillings six pence
Mary Andrews	Peter’s daughter	Two shillings six pence
Hannah Wright	Peter’s daughter	Two shillings six pence
James Townsend	Peter’s son-in-law	Five shillings
Elizabeth Townsend	James’s wife	Two shillings six pence
Lydia Wright	Peter’s daughter	Two shillings six pence
Richard Crabb	Peter’s wife’s second husband	Five shillings
Issack Dotye		One cow
Alice Crabb	Peter’s wife	Residue of estate

Alice’s husband Richard had purchased Owah, a black slave aged about 12, on November 26, 1673 on condition that he was provided with ‘sufficient diet and lodging, [and] with good warm clothing’ and that he was to be set free when he reached the age of 31 or when Alice died if this came first - a very unusual provision at that time. Richard died in 1680 and Alice in 1685. In her will she gave ‘to my negro man one calf, one iron skellet, one mare and his freedom and liberty’. Owah took the name Tom Gall, married a free black woman named Mary, became a successful farmer and eventually owned a slave who married his daughter.⁷⁸ William would have been aware of the travelling Quakers, but he was also involved in a series of land transactions at Newtown during the early 1670s. Land ‘at the east end of Trains Medo’ which he had been given was laid out by Ralph Hunt and John Burroughes on March 19, 1671[?/2] and the description of the plot provides a challenge for the reader to make a plan from it - there were 160 square rods in an acre :

at the east end of the medo from the first stake east to the second west twenty-seven rods from the first stake north 20 rods from the second stake to the third west 8 rods and from thence north 48 rods and from the third stake south 32 rods which makes 80 rods in length north and south so from the third stake west it is twelve rods broad which mak six ackers on the west sid of the third stake and six on the east sid of the third stake which makes together twelve ackers laied out.

Then on April 25, 1672 William gave ‘unto Richerd Owin and his wife all my right in & title to the house lott lying betwene Lambert Woodward & John Reder with all the preveledges of the front and reare belonging thereunto’ and on September 5 he witnessed the deed by which Elias Doughty acquitted and discharged ‘Richerd Owin of all debts & dues and demaunds either by bill, or booke or any pretenment for ever that the

said Richerd Owin was indebted to Elias Doughty'. On December 11 William and his daughter in-law Martha witnessed a land sale by a widow, Mary Laurison, to Elias Doughty and Thomas Stevenson. Finally on June 7, 1673 Elias sold to Edward Stevenson 'the halfe of the houseing & land & tackl[...] & meadow & all other priviledges there u[n]to] belonging, excepting the meadow that lying near unto th[e] meadow which was formerly John Gray deceased and the meadow that John Laurison bought of Mr Leverich'.⁷⁹

Some at least of these transactions may have been made because of a possible move to Greenwich, which had been part of Connecticut since 1662. Spencer Percival Mead recorded in *The historie of the town of Greenwich* published in 1911 that on August 22, 1671

the town set apart a meadow, consisting of three acres, to be a parsonage meadow for the minister's use, lying near Grimes' land, and on the twenty-second day of January, 1672, Sergeant Jonathan Lockwood, Angell Husted and Joshua Knapp were appointed a committee 'to act in the towne's behalf to treat and agree with Goodman Hobby for as much land as may be necessary and convenient for the towne's use for to build a meeting-house and for a common'.

and that on May 23, 1673 the 'Rev. William Leverich was called to be a minister of the Gospel' there. Weis probably followed Mead's account when in 1936 he listed William as the minister at Greenwich from 1673 until 1676, but no ministry by William there was recorded in Daniel M. Mead's *A history of Greenwich* published in 1857 nor in *Contributions to the ecclesiastical history of Connecticut* published in 1861. No other evidence has been found that William went to Greenwich and it seems rather unlikely that he did, though he might have been invited to be the town's minister.⁸⁰

The year 1673 would have been a difficult time for William to move from Long Island to Connecticut. Charles II had on April 3, 1672 sent a letter to Massachusetts Bay to inform the colony that a state of war existed between Great Britain and the Netherlands and he asked that the information be passed to the other colonies. The letter was sent to Connecticut on June 1 and an adjourned meeting of its Court of Election held on June 26 made military preparations. New York surrendered a year later on July 30/August 9, 1673 to Dutch fleets under the command of Cornelius Evertsen and Jacob Binkes. New York became New Orange, Fort James was renamed Fort Willem Hendrik and the Dutch again referred to Newtown as Middelburgh.

Evertsen and Binkes quickly started to reassert Dutch authority over the other English towns on Long Island. A Council of War on August 3/13 decided to summon the towns to submit to the Netherlands and 'to send hither immediately their deputies to gether with their constables staves and English flags, when they would, as circumstances permit, be furnished with Prince's flags instead of those of the English' and a proclamation was issued on the following day:

Wee have therefore thought fit to manifest & declare our said resolutions in generall unto all the English towns upon Longe Iland & in perticular unto the towne of Southampton, to the end [that] each towne should make a choice and send unto us here two deputies with their letters of authorization for to take the oath of allegiance.....and the constables of the respective towns on Long Iland are heare by strickely charged and required forthwith to cause this our order to be manifested and declared from towne to towne to the end the said deputies do all their appearances and addresses heare unto us on Monday next being the 11th or 21th of this instant month of August if possible, or otherwise two or three dayes afterwards, or by refusall or default thereof we shall be necessitated to meet them with such a force of armes by whom we [are] assured to subdue them thereunto, when these conditions now tendred shall not be granted unto them.⁸¹

Newtown responded on August 6/16 with a decision that William signed:

August the 6: 1673. At a towne meting depoties chosen, namely John Ketchan and John Burroughes. These depoties are to goe to the forte to appere there in the name of the towne, being somonsed by the commanders of the ships of war utnder the States-Generall and under the Prince of Oring.

John Coe, Jona Hazard, Johannes Lourense

Wm Leverich

Diagonal lines were then drawn across the record of this decision and it was replaced with one that William did not sign:

Newtoun August the 6: 1673. Whereas the commanders of the ships of war under the High and Mighty [S]tates-Generall & the Sirene Prince of Oring have send up a somons unto this towne, the cunstable hath attended the same & the towne hath chosen John Ketcham & John Burroughes to apere in the name of the towne this Munday being the 11th day of this instant month of August to answer in the behalf of the towne according to the sommons.

Jonathan Hazerd, Sameuell More, Gershom More, Robart Field⁸²

Newtown and its neighbors presented a joint petition to the Dutch Commanders and they received a conciliatory but firm response on August 12/22 and were ordered to make nominations for town officers:

The petition of the deputies from Flushing, Heemstede, Jamaica, Middelborgh, Oysterbay and West Chester, wherein they declare their submission to their High Mightinesses the Lords States-General of the United Netherlands, and his Serene Highness the Prince of Orange, &c., being read, examined and taken into consideration, it is ordered as followeth: That the same privileges and rights as are given to the inhabitants and subjects of the Dutch nation shall, in like manner, be granted and allowed them, and accordingly, the four points requested in their petition, with this warning nevertheless, that the petitioners shall in future demean themselves as loyal subjects and attempt in no wise, as some have formerly done, contrary to honor and oath, for which they are now pardoned on their request and submission, to take up arms against this government, under the penalty that transgressors shall without any mercy or favor be totally ruined and punished as they deserve.

A group of Oyster Bay inhabitants, who were presumably mainly Quakers, appeared before the Commanders on August 13/23 and they presented a separate distinctive petition that was ‘consented to and allowed’:

Now in as much as wee have answered your requierings, who were never under your government, and therefore never had occasion to make any agreement with your nation about rights & priviledges given or allowed, because divers in our towne schruple in takeing of an oath or training, or to be forced to maintaine a minister not of their judgement, and therefore we desire liberty in such casses relating to concience & to civil things as you have promised; there shall be no respect to nations itt is sum satisfaction to us who do expect you will performe as you have promised, and is manifested by your honors to New Towne, Flushing, Jamaica, Hemsted & Oisterbay.⁸³

Delegates from the five Long Island towns to the east of Oyster Bay presented their own petition on August 14/24 in which they referred to their past connection with Connecticut and expressed their wish to retain their ecclesiastical provisions, to keep their goods and lands, to take an oath that would only bind them not to act against the Dutch or the British, to have liberty to choose their own officers, to be a corporation of themselves, to have only the taxes their deputies accepted and to have free trade and equal privileges with the Dutch. The Commanders responded by accepting many of these wishes but insisted on the same arrangements for appointing officers as with the other towns, namely the Dutch authorities making their own appointments from the towns’ nominations, and they were ordered to make their nominations. When the Commanders met on August 19/29 they appointed Captain Willem Knyff and Lieutenant Jeronimus de Hubert as commissioners ‘to repair to the towns of Midwout, Amesfort, Bruekelen, Utreght, Boswyck, Gravesandt, Flushing, Heemstede, Rustdorp and Middelborgh on Long Island, and to administer the oath of allegiance to all the inhabitants thereof’ and different oaths were specified for Dutch and British residents:

The form of the oath to be taken by the inhabitants of the Dutch nation

We do promise and swear, in the presence of the Almighty God, to be loyal and faithful to their High Mightinesses the Lords States-General of the United Netherlands, and his Serene Highness the Prince of Orange and their Governor already, or hereafter to be appointed here, and to comport ourselves on all occasions as loyal and faithful subjects are bound to do. So truly help me God Almighty.

The form of the oath to be taken by the inhabitants of the English nation

Wee do sware, in the presence of Almighty Godt, that wee shall be true & faithfull to the High & Mighty Lords the Staets-Generall of the United Provinces of His Serene Highnesse the Lord Prince of Orange & to their governors here for the tijme being, and to behave ourselves uppon all occasions, as true & lawfull subjects provided onlij that wee shall not be forced in armes against our owne nation if they be sent bij authoritij of His Majesty of England, except they be accompanied by a commission of force of other nations when wee do oblige ourselves to take up armes against them. So help us God.⁸⁴

The Dutch Commanders appointed officers on August 21/31 from the nominations made by Newtown and its associated towns, and Richard Betts, Jonathan Hazard and Ralph Hunt were subsequently sworn in as schepens for Newtown. Knyff and de Hubert reported back to the Commanders on August 22/September 1 with a list of names and numbers of the inhabitants of the towns they had visited. The numbers of those who had or had not sworn allegiance to the Netherlands are shown in table 18. The lists of names have unfortunately not survived and it is thus not possible to tell whether William was amongst the 53 Newtown men who had or the 46 who had not taken the oath before the Dutch commissioners. Those who had not sworn allegiance were mostly described as absent and were ordered to take the oath from the magistrates. Captain Anthony Colve was commissioned as Governor when the Commanders left on September 9/19. Provisional instructions were issued to the officers of Newtown and many of the other towns on September 21/October 1 and the inhabitants of these towns settled down to life under Dutch control.⁸⁵

Table 18. Numbers of Long Island men who either did or did not take an oath of allegiance to the Netherlands before the Dutch Commissioners at the end of August 1673. *‘Henry Clay who is a Quaker’.

Town	Numbers of men		Town	Numbers of men	
	taking	not taking oath		taking	not taking oath
Midwout	73	0	Gravesend	31	0
Amesfort	48	0	Hemstede	51	56
Breukelen and dependencies	52	29	Flushing	51	16
New Utrecht	41	0	Rustdorp	53	10
Bushwyck	34	1*	Middelborgh	53	46

However, the towns on the eastern part of Long Island resisted the Dutch authorities. They queried the wording of the oath when their officers were appointed on August 29/September 8 and at town meetings held from September 29/October 9 to October 4/14 objected to swearing allegiance to any other than the British king. On October 10/20 the Dutch authorities decided that it was not advisable to send a military force against the towns in case the New England colonies took up arms against them, but they rebuffed a letter which the Connecticut Governor and General Court sent on October 21/31 to object to the inhabitants of the eastern towns being asked to take an oath of allegiance to the Netherlands. A Dutch ship was sent to the eastern end of Long Island at the end of October and a meeting was held with Winthrop Jr, but thereafter an uneasy truce persisted between the islanders and the Dutch authorities.⁸⁶

The state of war between Great Britain and the Netherlands was ended when the Treaty of Westminster was signed on February 9/19, 1674. Unlike the treaties of 1654 and 1667 there was no acceptance of the *status quo* and article 6 provided ‘that whatever country, island, town, haven, castle or fortress hath been or shall be taken by either party from the other since the beginning of the late unhappy war, whether in Europe or elsewhere and before the expiration of the times above limited for hostility, shall be restored to the former owner in the same condition it shall be in at the time of the publishing this’.⁸⁷ When news of the return to British rule reached New Amsterdam, Rensselaer wrote to his brother Jan Baptist on June [?19/29

I am also glad to see that our fatherland is in better condition than last year, but I notice with great sorrow that their High Mightinesses again offer and give away this country to His Majesty of England. It is true we prayed for him to Almighty God, but mostly on the regular days of prayer and not in secret, and that we did not count on such a blow God knows.

and to his brother Rychard on [?June 23/]July 3 ‘as to my farewell to the English [garrison] last year when they had to leave, I showed them nothing but friendship, but they were uncivilly treated by some’. The Duke of York appointed Edmund Andros as Governor of New York on July 1/11 and he took over the government when he arrived in New York in October. The towns on the eastern part of Long Island were as reluctant to be under his control as they had been under that of the Netherlands and Nicolls recalled in his report at the end of his time as governor in November 1677 that ‘in October 1674 the Governor received New Yorke & dependences from the Dutch, settled that part neare New Yorke, and in December reduced the east end of Long Island, & some turbulent [people] in other places having been questioned, the government hath been very orderly and quiett since’.⁸⁸

Matthias Nicolls, who was Secretary of New York but was unrelated to New York’s previous governor, Richard Nicolls, wrote to Winthrop Jr on December 29, 1674 to tell him that ‘I have given a conveyance to yours enclosed to Mr Leveredge, which your honour saith related to some medicinall matter, but have received no returne; probably hee will find out some way to give answer to it’. William or his wife may have been involved in medical work with their family and neighbors, or he may just have been on the receiving end of a prescription sent by Winthrop, who was still Governor of Connecticut. William’s income was still dependent on decisions by the town meeting at Newtown and on January 14, 1674[?/5] it was ‘vated at the meting that those that ware at meting are willing to make a rate for Mr Leverich his maintainanc’. A year later William witnessed land sales involving Francis Doughty Jr on January 16 and Benjamin Cornish on February 22, 1675[?/6].⁸⁹

An early Quaker practice in both England and America was to enter a church or meeting-house and make a direct challenge to the minister. This practice was followed by allied groups known as Ranters, who were confused with the Quakers but were opposed both to them and the other churches. They disturbed Quaker meetings as Edmundson recorded when he returned to Long Island in about 1675:

The next morning we took our journey towards Long-Island, and in three days came there, where Friends receiv’d us gladly; but were much troubled in their meetings with several that were gone forth from Truth and turn’d Ranters, i.e. men and women who would come into Friends Meetings, singing and dancing in a rude manner, which was a great exercise to Friends.⁹⁰

One such group was led by Thomas Case and was known as ‘Case’s Crew’. The Quakers’ concerns about him and his associates were recorded by their Westbury Quarterly Meeting on August 30:

We ye people of God, being weightily meett in ye feare and dread of ye Lord, being much conserved in our spirits considering a people that is arisen in this day which calleth themselves by ye name Friends. These people oppose and denye ye truth of our Lord Jesus and speak evill of his way and people, wherefore we ye people of God, being seriously meett together in ye name and feare of ye Lord, feiling ye out-running of those people to be as a weight upon us, we, in obedience unto God and his blessed truth, doe unanimously signifie our dislike of that spirit they are guided by and give forth our testimonies against it.

Whereas those people being risen in ye pretence of ye truth in this western part of Long Island and some upon ye main, who call themselves young Friends or new Friends, the leading persons of them being Thomas Case, Garsham Lockwood, Lydia Foster, Elizabeth Cleave, with many others against whom we bear testimony for their confused practices, and have openly denied their spirit of delusion by which they are led and guided, yet in presisting in and by ye deluding spirit and dark power which opperates in them has betrayed many into ye same snare wherein they become the country’s discourse, wherefore we are nessesitated for ye baring of ye precious truth and for ye renouncing their way or evill practices to be in or by ye spirit or power of God, and do give forth our public testimonies to all that may see ye same, that we utterly deny them and all that joined in those confused practices, and ye spirit and power by which they are led and guided.⁹¹

Members of Case’s Crew confronted William during the same year. Samuel Scudder sent a ‘scandalous paper’ to him in May and Thomas’s wife Mary insulted him during a service he was conducting in September. She was led out of the meeting-house by the constable and legal action against Scudder, Mary and Thomas was taken before the Court of Sessions for the West Riding of Yorkshire and then before the Court of Assizes in New York in October. The proceedings in these cases and the fines and imprisonment imposed on the three defendants are reproduced in Appendix E. The Court of Assizes met at the Stadt Huys or City Hall, an imposing building on the New York waterfront (figure 82).

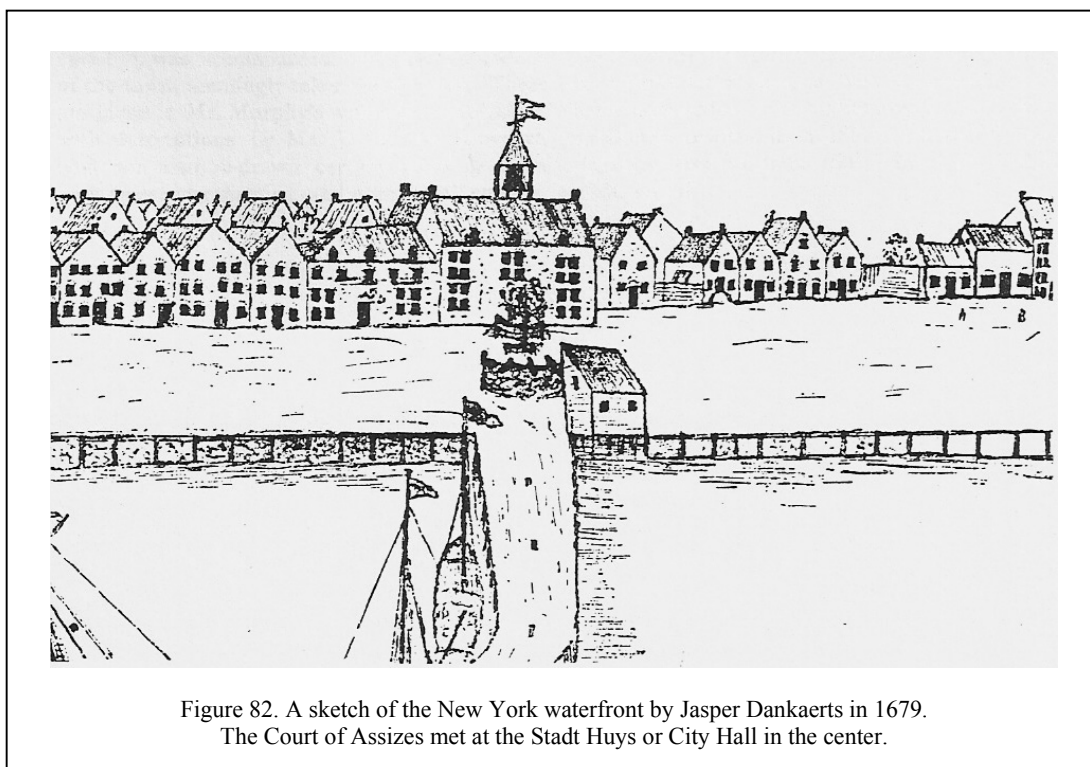


Figure 82. A sketch of the New York waterfront by Jasper Dankaerts in 1679. The Court of Assizes met at the Stadt Huys or City Hall in the center.

Two years later the inhabitants of Huntington sent a petition to the governor of New York in which they humbly desired ‘that your honour will be pleased that some care may be taken that the Quakers may not be suffered to come into our meeting-house in tyme of God’s worship to disturb us as they frequently doe’, but it may have been Ranters rather than Quakers who were troubling them. Lydia Wright, one of Peter Wright’s daughters, was involved in a different type of challenge in Boston in 1677 when she and Mary Miles supported Margaret Brewster, who had come from Barbados and had refused to swear an oath of fidelity to Massachusetts Bay. Margaret went into the Boston meeting-house on July 8 barefoot, with ashes on her head, her face blackened and wearing sackcloth. She was accompanied by Lydia and Mary and the three of them were subsequently questioned about their behavior and punished.⁹²

The beliefs and connections of Case's Crew were disputed in print during the next twenty-five years. Richard Mather's son Increase castigated them when he referred in *An essay for the recording of illustrious providences* published in Boston in 1684 to 'the blasting rebukes of providence upon the late singing and dancing Quakers' who included 'three mad Quakers called Thomas Case's Crew'. George Keith repudiated Increase's claim that they were Quakers in *The Presbyterian and Independent visible churches of New-England* published in Philadelphia in 1689 and in London in 1691, stating that

all these stories he doth relate on purpose, to abuse that honest and sober people called Quakers, without making any distinction, nor giving the least information to the world, how that the body of people called Quakers do not in the least own these ungodly and wicked people mentioned by him called Thomas Case's Crew, nor any others of that sort, but have all along declared against them and shewed the greatest dislike and abhorrency of their spirit and ways that is possible and all their mad and frenck tricks and freaks of singing and dancing, or any others of all kinds.⁹³

Increase's son Cotton in *Magnalia Christi Americana* published in 1702 supported his father's claims, but John Whiting in *Truth and innocency defended* published in London in the same year as an appendix to a new edition of George Bishop's *New England judged* pointed out that Cotton had written that 'they have been so troublesome and vexatious to the Quakers themselves, that they have denied them'.⁹⁴

William Leverich needs to be distinguished from two William Loveridges, father and son, of Albany, whose surname was sometimes recorded as Leveredge. An Albany lot was conveyed by Jacob Tyse van der Heyden to William Loveridge Sr, a hatmaker, on May 20, 1676, his house and lot were referred to on March 4, 1678 and another conveyance of land was made to him four days later. On March 2, 1676 William Loveridge Jr alleged that Amerinidians had been 'supplied by the (Dutch as he termed them) inhabitants of this place with ammunition, notwithstanding the law and strict prohibicon' but as he could not provide any evidence of this the Governor ordered the Sheriff in Albany to imprison him until he gave sufficient security to answer the case at the next Court of Assizes. Judgment was subsequently given against him for making unsubstantiated charges against the Dutch inhabitants of Albany and he was charged with the costs of the proceedings and on October 16 he petitioned the Governor to have his fine remitted. He and seven others were fined in January 1678 for having 'planted a scandalous withered tree furnished with a straw wreath and adorned with a dried bladder to which dried beaver testicles were attached' in front of a magistrate's house, apparently as part of some prenuptial celebrations for a bridegroom, and William's protests at the fine and his mother Temperance's plea on his behalf continued through the year.⁹⁵

Simon and Anne Bradstreet's son Simon had been cataloging the deaths of many of William Leverich's ministerial contemporaries, but his records were limited to New England (document 23). It was left to Riker to record in 1852 that the year 1677 'spread a mantle of gloom over the township. Their pastor, the Rev. William Leverich, died in the early part of 1677. Mr Leverich ranked high among the divines of his day, as an indefatigable laborer in the cause of religious truth, to which he brought the highly important qualifications of an ardent piety and extensive learning'.⁹⁶

There is no contemporary record of the date or place of William's burial, but Riker's papers contain a note that 'Mrs Bonnet distinctly states that when a girl she used to see the gravestone of Rev. Wm Leverich, a red stone sunk low into the ground, & that he was said to be the first minister of Newtown. She has read the stone. It was in the old town ground' and he added that 'Mrs Bonnet was a Leverich before her marriage with Peter Bonnet'. Peter Bonnet's wife Patience was a great-great-great-great-granddaughter of William. She was born in 1785 and was thus recalling what she had seen at the end of the eighteenth century. The 'old town ground' was the 'ancient public burial ground' on the north side of Horsebrook Creek that Riker marked on his map published in 1852 and it was marked as a cemetery on the map of Newtown published in 1873 (figures 83 & 89). William's gravestone was not amongst those listed by William White in 1922 and Charles U. Powell in 1932. White recorded that 'last fall (1921) the city authorities had all the gravestones taken down, broken up and buried, all the ground levelled off and every sign of its ever having been a burial place efaced. This work was done in order to convert the place in to a small park'.⁹⁷

William probably lived with Caleb towards the end of his life. Two heads of household are shown for Caleb in a Newtown rate return for 1675, but only one in 1678 and 1683. These returns also included the livestock that Caleb, Eleazer, Jonathan Fish's sons Nathan and Samuel and the other settlers owned and they provide a brief glimpse of the agricultural pattern of life in the area towards the end of the seventeenth century (table 19).⁹⁸

Caleb's house was in Trains Meadow Road and his descendants continued to live there for five generations. It was occupied by Nancy Leverich, widow of his great-great-grandson Richard, when Riker compiled his map of Newtown. Richard and Nancy's daughter Susan Maria was born there in 1836. She recalled in 1902 that 'the old stone house where I was born at Newtown, L.I., was built on the ground bought by the Rev. William Leverich for his son Caleb and bore (before being plastered over by the person who bought it of us) the dates 1670 and 1732' (figure 84). The house was destroyed by fire in 1909:

The ancient two-story stone farm-house known as the old Leverich homestead on Trains Meadow Road, between Winfield and Woodside, was partly destroyed by fire last Thursday night [April 1]. What is left of the building is in a ruinous condition and will have to be torn down. The house belonged to the Terminal Heights Realty Co. and was unoccupied. The fire was discovered about 11.30 o'clock. It started on the second floor and it is thought to have been the work of an incendiary. An alarm was given, which was promptly answered by Companies Nos. 2 and 3. The firemen quickly had a stream of water on the house, but the flames had gained such headway before the fire was discovered that the entire upper story was destroyed and the lower floor gutted before the blaze could be extinguished. The loss is estimated at about \$500.⁹⁹

1668

April. In the beginning of this year Mr Sheppard pastour of the church of Rowley, aged about 27 yeares, dyed. He was a man of very good partes and of great hopes. May. Mr Flint minister at Braintry dyed. He was ancient, but in a course of nature might have lived longer. July. Not long after these Mr Mitchell dyed, pastour of the church at Cambridge. He dyed of a feaver, about the 40th year of his age. The principall cause of his death as some thought was some stoppage in his pectorals. He was a man of eminent partes, great learning, &c. His death was a very great losse to the town, the university, and indeed to the whole country. The good Lord sanctifye his hand & send forth other painful laborers into his vineyard. Possibly the death of these precious servants of Christ might not bee the least thing signefyed by that blaze or beam appearing the last February, anno, 1667[8].

1669

May. Mr Richard Mather teacher of the church at Dorchester dyed. He was an ancient, grave, learned & worthy minister of Christ. His death was a great losse to the country..... This year dyed Mr Reyner minister at Dover and Mr Eleazer Mather minister at Northampton.

1670

March 1670. Mr Jno Davenport dyed..... April 1670. Mr Wareham dyed. He was one of the ancienst ministers in the country.....

1671

Jan. Mr Symmes pastor of the church of Christ at Charlestown dyed. I suppose he was aged 70 at least..... August. Mr Allin pastor of the church of Dedham dyed. He was a very worthy, able divine. He was aged about 70. Thus the Lord is pleased to remove the choice pillars. God graunt that as Moses dyes, Joshua may succeed.....

1672

February. Mr Charles Chauncy president of the colledge dyed. He was a generall schollar & an excellent good preacher. He was president about 15 or 16 years & dyed about the 80th year of his age..... Octob. 15. Mr Antipas Newman pastor of the church of Wenham dyed. He was a man in many respects of great worth, and so his death was much lamented.

1674

November. Mr Samuel Danforth teacher of the church of Roxbury dyed. He was a man of great worth and his death much lamented. Decem. Mr Jno Oxenbridge (aged about 63) pastor of the old church of Boston dyed.

1677

Decem. Mr Thomas Sheppard (eldest son of Mr Thomas Sheppard sometime pastor of the church of Cambridge) dyed at his house in Charlestown (where he had been minister about 18 years) in or about the 45th year of his age. He dyed of the small pox which he sensibly perceived he was infected with whilst he went to visett some of his neighbours who lay sick of that decease. His death was much lamented and great reason there was for it. He has left few in that colony or any other that did exceed him in respect of his piety, meeknesse, (eminent charity), learning and ministeriall gifts. As he was much honoured and beloved by all that knew him, so very dearly by his own flock.

1678

This spring Mr Noah Newman pastor of Rehoboth, a young man of very great worth, exchanged this life for a better. He had been pastor of that place (which is in Plimouth Colony) about 8 or 9 years. May 9. Mr Joseph Brown minister of Charlestown dyed, a young man of great hopes. It should have been in the former year that the latter end of Febr. or beginning of March [i.e. 1678] Mr Thos Wally minister of Barnstable in Plymouth Colony dyed. He was a man of great worth & his death a great losse to the whole land, but especially to that colony..... Octob. Mr Symonds deputy governor of the Massachusetts dyed. Much about the same time dyed Mr Tho. Thacher pastor of the 3rd Church in Boston. They dyed both of a feaver. The last will bee espec. wanted. Nove. 23. Dyed Mr Joseph Rowlandson the worthy & faithful pastor of Wethersfield about the 47 year of his age. He dyed suddenly & his death was much lamented & there was great cause, espec. at this time when God is calling home his ambassadors apace, besides other tokens of his displeasure upon the country. The Lord fitt us for his will & pleasure & whilst his judgments are walking up and down awaken us to righteousnes.

Document 23. Extracts from the journal of Simon Bradstreet Jr recording the deaths of New England ministers from 1668 to 1678.

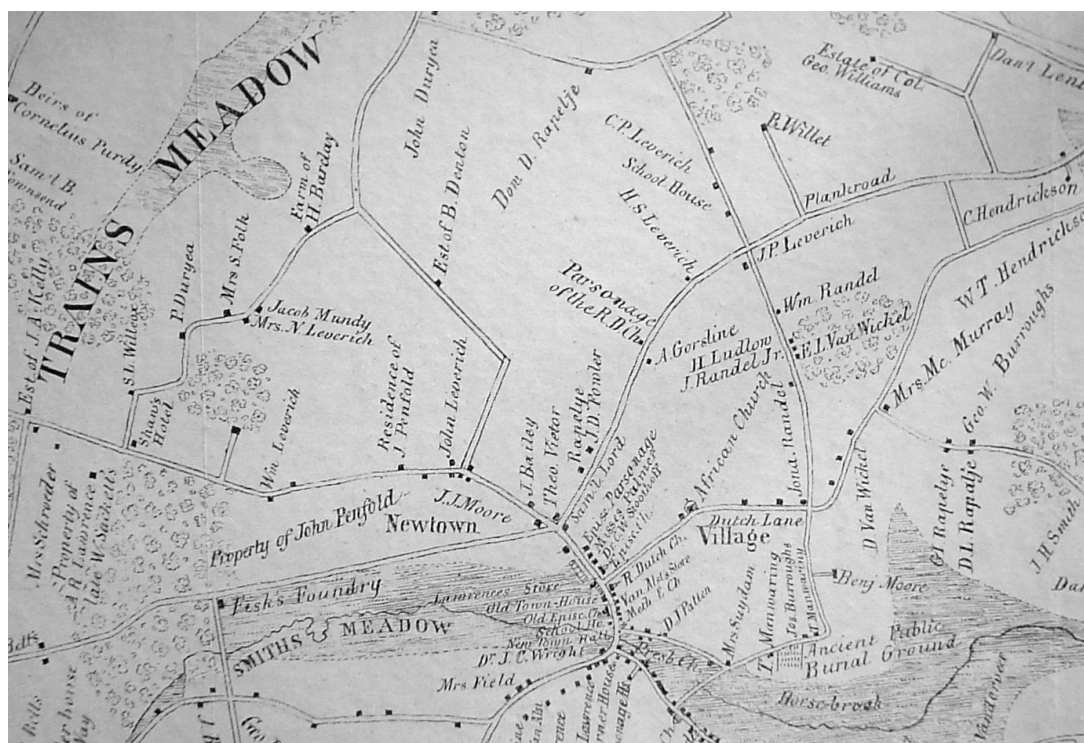


Figure 83. Part of James Riker’s map of Newtown published in 1852.

Table 19. Entries for Eleazer & Caleb Leveridge and Nathan & Samuel Fish and the total numbers of heads of household in the rate and estate returns for Newtown for September 1675, 1678 and 1683. The list for 1678 was not dated, but its file position suggests that it belonged to that year.

Name	Heads	Land	Horses	3yr	2yr	1yr	Oxen	Cows	3yr	2yr	1yr	Sheep	Swine
(1) Rate list for September 1675 - 86 heads of households and 10 other households (males) where number of heads not stated													
Calib Leveidg	2	29	1	0	0	0	2	4	0	2	1	14	1
Elaser Leaveridg	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	4
Nathan Fish	1	8	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	3
(2) List of estates for 1678 - 112 heads of households and 11 other households where number of heads not stated													
Caleb Leveridg	1	22	0	0	0	0	2	4	0	3	1	10	2
Eleaser Leveredg	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	6	3
Nathan Fish	1	8	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Samuell Fish	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	0
(3) Rate list for 1683 - 95 heads of households and 9 other households where number of heads not stated													
Caleb Leveidg	1	24	1	0	0	0	2	4	0	1	1	15	1
Eleazor Leveridg	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	3	0
Nathan Fish	1	10	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	1	0	2
Samuel Fish	1	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0

Caleb obtained letters of administration to deal with his father’s estate at the meeting of the Court of Sessions of the West Riding that began on June 19, 1677. No inventory of William’s estate has survived but it may have been similar to that of his former ministerial neighbor, John Mayo, who had died in Barnstable the year before (document 24). This inventory shows many similarities to those of Joseph Halloway in 1647, John Fish in 1663 and Thomas Cornish in 1662 but also some important differences (documents 10, 12 & 21). None of them for example was recorded as having any books. Halloway’s was the most valuable at £205 and Fish’s the least at £81 and he had substantial debts as well. Wearing apparel and money in his purse formed a fifth of Halloway’s estate, but his various types of cattle when added together formed over a third. The second most valuable separately listed item was ‘24 yards of stufe’, suggesting a separate source of income as a clothier. ‘The howse land and meadow’ formed over a third of Fish’s estate, but they were exceeded by the values of his various types of cattle. ‘Cattell old & yonge’ were also the most valuable item of Cornish’s estate, exceeding the value of his ‘housing and lands’. No land was recorded in Mayo’s estate, but he had £35 in silver and £10 in plate, as well as about £15 in clothes and £10 in books.¹⁰⁰



Figure 84. 'Leverich House, Trains Meadow Rd', Newtown before 1909.

	[£ s d]
Imprimis in silver	35 00 00
Item a cubberd and cushen to it 24s	01 04 00
Item a panel table 12s, a hanging cubbert 4s	00 16 00
Item 4 joyne stools 7[s], a joyned cheres 8s	00 15 00
Item 3 chayers 5s, 3 cushens 4s	00 09 00
Item a great brasse kettle 10s, a brasse kettle 4s	01 04 00
Item a brasse pott 5s, an iron pott and pott hookes 8s	00 13 00
Item a warming pan 7s, 2 brasse skilletes 6s	00 13 00
Item a jacke spitt and waights 20s	01 00 00
Item a fier iron, a dripping pan 3s 6d	00 03 06
Item a saddle and bridle 14s, a paire of boots 7s	01 01 00
Item a pillian and pillian cloth 25s, a mare 35s	03 00 00
A curtaine and vallence	01 09 00
Item an apple roster and a cullender	00 02 00
Item a bed, two bolsters, a pillow, 2 blankettes and a coverlid	06 10 00
Item in pewter 4 <i>lb</i> 10s	04 10 06
Item in wearing clothes 11 <i>lb</i>	11 00 00
Item 2 hatts 20s, in stockens 10s	01 10 00
Item a paire of shooes and a paire of slippers 5s	00 05 00
Item in shirts, capps, bands and handkerchiffes 45s	02 05 00
Item a satten capp 4s, 2 paire of gloves 18d	00 05 06
Item in sheets, table clothes, table napkins and towells	03 15 06
Item 2 pillow coates 8s, a wickar chaire 10[s], a chest 14s	01 02 00
Item a carpett 10s and in plate 10 <i>lb</i>	10 10 00
Item a paire of andirons 20s and a paire of andirons 5s and a paire of andirons 4s	01 09 00
Item in bookes	10 00 00
Item in sheep and lambes 45s, in horse kind 5 <i>lb</i>	07 05 00
Item in wine and the caske 11s 6d, mault ten shillings, currans 20s	01 03 06
Item a barrell 2s 6d, in spice 2s	00 04 06
Item in Mistris Bacons hand a pair of tonges, spitt gridiron and smoothing iron, snuffers, a seive, payle and jugs 11s, a bredgrater and 2 trayes, 2 platters 2 <i>shillings</i> ; a chamber pott and a glasse bottle 6d, a carpett 18d	000 19 06

<i>suma totalis</i>	111 04 00

Document 24. Inventory of the estate of John Mayo, who died at Barnstable in New Plymouth in 1676.

An exhibition was held at the Nassau County police headquarters in May 1936 as part of the county's celebration of the 300th anniversary of the first European settlement of Long Island. One of the oldest pieces

in the exhibition was stated to be a desk with European Dutch characteristics 'brought from England in 1638 by William Leverich, one of the purchasers of the Oyster Bay district from the Mattinnecock Indians'. The present whereabouts of this desk is unknown, but apart from the error in the year of William's arrival it seems unlikely that he would have brought such an item with him in 1633. If it was imported by him and had Dutch characteristics, it is more likely that he obtained it during a visit to the Netherlands in 1660. In either case it would probably have been a desk box for his books rather than a desk with legs.¹⁰¹

William did, however, leave behind a volume of 600-700 pages, of which nearly 100 were occupied with notes on the first part of the Old Testament. He appears to have originally planned to use the book as a record of information on particular topics and wrote the Latin headings for them at the tops of the pages - headings such as *adulatio*, *assentiatio*, *affectus*, *apostasia*, *abdicatorio* - flattery, agreement, emotion, apostacy, renunciation. He then abandoned this plan, turned the book round and compiled a commentary on the Old Testament. When Riker examined the book in the middle of the nineteenth century he made a series of quotations from the commentary and wrote that it

covers 96 pages & is written in a very small hand. It begins with the first of Genesis & closes with the 12th chapter of 2d Chronicles. Although some of the leaves are loose, it is yet complete. It furnishes evidence of Mr Leverich's acquaintance with the learned languages & with biblical literature. He makes quotations in Hebrew & Latin & Greek. It is probable that a leaf with some prefatory remarks is missing, for the first page opens with the following written close at the top. 'Piscator's observances generally, some few excepte, which I transcribed for my use & of mine, not having his commentaries by me, but as I borrowed them.' Throughout the commentary (which in the main consists of a brief remark upon each verse of the scripture treated of, expressive of the leading truth set forth or inculcated, & usually spiritualizing it) Mr L. speaks of Piscator's opinions, Pareus upon the Romans & Mr Cotton. And Mr L. often distinguishes his own remarks by annexing the words *de meo* in parentheses.¹⁰²

Johannes Piscator (1546-1625) was a German theologian whose Latin commentaries on many of the books of the Old Testament were published in Herborn in Germany in the early seventeenth century. David Pareus (1548-1622), another German theologian who was Professor of Theology at Heidelberg, also wrote biblical commentaries. The blank pages in William's volume were subsequently used for Newtown public records. On February 2, 1686 a Newtown town meeting 'voated that those men that w[ere] chousen for to see after the townes a fare is all soe impowered to have the records be[.....] to be unbound & all soe to caues it to be [.....] agayne that the writing of Mr Leveric[h] is to betaken out of it'. However, if this separation of William's notes from the town records was carried out it was reversed by the time Riker examined it. This was still the arrangement in 1865 when Dr John P. Knox, then pastor of Newtown Presbyterian Church, described 'an old folio volume' containing a commentary which 'begins with Deuteronomy and closes with 2 Chronicles' which was used after William's death 'as a volume of town records, with which its remaining pages, several hundred in all, are filled'.¹⁰³

There also existed another book of town records which was described as 'the ould book' in an undated entry on a page of town records that was part of William's volume. This 'ould book' had probably been bound with William's volume by 1881 when the Newtown town clerk, William O'Gorman, referred to William's notes being separately bound:

Remains of ancient Newtown; part of the record book presented by the Leverich family, containing the scriptural notes and reading of the Revd William Leverich, about the year. As these leaves had come apart from the old book, I thought it better to bind them together under cover by themselves.

The 'ould book' and the pages of town records from William's volume had certainly been bound together by 1932 when a description was published of a book in the office of the Comptroller of the City of New York:

One book, now marked 286, has been formed from two old books bound together: the first part of about 200 small leaves [the 'ould book'] contains land records, lists of town officers, etc. 1659-1674; the other part of 567 larger leaves [from William's volume], with the same class of records, 1669-1697.

The two parts of this book had been separated by the early 1940s when two volumes of Work Projects Administration transcriptions were published. The 'ould book' published as volume 1 of *Town minutes of Newtown* in 1940 was referred to as 286B and the pages from William's volume published as volume 2 in 1941 as 286A. William's scriptural notes, the 'ould book' and the pages from William's volume were in the Historical Documents Section of Queens College, City University of New York during the 1960s and 1970s and they were microfilmed whilst they were there. Several volumes of records were transferred from Queens College to New York City's Municipal Archives in about 1991. They included William's scriptural notes, now numbered 286A, and the volume of town records, now numbered 286, which comprise the remaining pages of William's volume that were published as volume 2 of the town minutes. The 'ould book' of town records published as volume 1 in 1940 has not been located.¹⁰⁴

William’s scriptural notes now consist of 84 pages written as Riker remarked ‘in a very small hand’. Pages 1 and 2 have been misplaced and belong between pages 42 and 43. Pages dealing with the books of Deuteronomy, Joshua and Judges that were present when Riker examined the volume are now missing between pages 44 and 45. The commentary ends at 2 Chronicles chapter 22, so that either Riker made a mistake when he referred to it ending at chapter 12, or more likely a misplaced leaf was found (table 20 and figure 85). The introductory comment that Riker referred to is missing, but examination of William’s volume shows that most of his notes are translations of those in Piscator’s commentaries. The examples in Appendix F are taken from Riker’s notes and include ones that are no longer present in the surviving pages. It is uncertain when William compiled his notes and from whom he borrowed the copies of Piscator’s commentaries. They may have been made whilst he lived on Long Island using commentaries borrowed from other ministers or perhaps from another source such as the library of John Winthrop Jr.

Table 20. The contents of William Leverich’s scriptural notes.

Page	Book	Chapters	Page	Book	Chapters	Page	Book	Chapters
1	Numbers	25-32	30	Exodus	23-26	58	1 Samuel	31
2	Numbers	32-36	31	Exodus	27-34		2 Samuel	1-3
	Deuteronomy	1	32	Exodus	34-40	59	2 Samuel	3-7
3	Genesis	1-2	33	Leviticus	1-2	60	2 Samuel	8-12
4	Genesis	2-3	34	Leviticus	3-8	61	2 Samuel	12-15
5	Genesis	3-4	35	Leviticus	8-12	62	2 Samuel	15-18
6	Genesis	4-7	36	Leviticus	13-18	63	2 Samuel	19-21
7	Genesis	7-11	37	Leviticus	19-24	64	2 Samuel	21-24
8	Genesis	12-15	38	Leviticus	25-27	65	1 Kings	1-2
9	Genesis	16-17		Numbers	1-4	66	1 Kings	3-8
10	Genesis	18-19	39	Numbers	5-11	67	1 Kings	8-13
11	Genesis	19-21	40	Numbers	11-14	68	1 Kings	13-18
12	Genesis	21-23	41	Numbers	14-20	69	1 Kings	18-21
13	Genesis	24-25	42	Numbers	20-24	70	1 Kings	22
14	Genesis	25-26	43	Deuteronomy	1-3		2 Kings	1-2
15	Genesis	26-28	44	Deuteronomy	4-7	71	2 Kings	3-4
16	Genesis	29-31	45	Judges	18-21	72	2 Kings	5-6
17	Genesis	31-34	46	Ruth	1-3	73	2 Kings	6-12
18	Genesis	35-37	47	Ruth	4	74	2 Kings	13-17
19	Genesis	38-40		1 Samuel	1	75	2 Kings	17-23
20	Genesis	41-44	48	1 Samuel	2-5	76	2 Kings	23-25
21	Genesis	44-49	49	1 Samuel	6-8		1 Chronicles	1-5
22	Genesis	49-50	50	1 Samuel	9-10	77	1 Chronicles	5-12
	Exodus	A discourse	51	1 Samuel	11-13	78	1 Chronicles	13-17
23	Exodus	A discourse	52	1 Samuel	14-15	79	1 Chronicles	18-23
24	Exodus	A discourse	53	1 Samuel	15-16	80	1 Chronicles	24-29
25	Exodus	1-3	54	1 Samuel	17-18	81	2 Chronicles	1-6
26	Exodus	3-5	55	1 Samuel	18-22	82	2 Chronicles	7-12
27	Exodus	6-11	56	1 Samuel	22-25	83	2 Chronicles	12-18
28	Exodus	12-16	57	1 Samuel	25-30	84	2 Chronicles	19-22
29	Exodus	17-22						

Newtown moved quickly to fill the gap left by William’s death. On July 28, 1677 a town meeting voted ‘that a house shall be bilt for the accomida[tion] of a minnister’ and probably because William’s house was either his private property or he had lived with Caleb added that is should ‘be kept for the ues of a minester and not to bee any wayes sould or given to any man’. It was also voted ‘by the consent of the peopell that there shall be meenes used for the providing of a minnister for the peopell’. Morgan Jones, who had graduated from Jesus College, Oxford in 1639 and had been vicar of Undy in Monmouthshire in 1662, was appointed in the following year on March 3, but he proved unsatisfactory. When Newtown’s church celebrated its 275th anniversary in October 1927 the *Daily star* dramatized and confused the situation when it referred to the church ‘bearing the distinction of arousing, in 1677, the first “declaration of independence” ever heard publicly in America’. Jones had taken court action to collect back salary due to him as pastor, and though he was upheld, the town meeting in 1681 voted henceforth ‘to sustain the minister by free-will offering, what every man will give’. He also had a checkered ministerial career elsewhere in New York. After a short period as minister on Staten Island in the 1670s, action was taken both by the townspeople to avoid paying him and by him to obtain what he felt he was entitled to.¹⁰⁵

William’s successor in Huntington was Eliphalet Jones, who had been born in Concord, Massachusetts Bay in 1641. He was a son of John Jones, who had both graduated from Queens’ College, Cambridge and been ordained at Peterborough in 1613, and had moved to New England in 1635. Captain Anthony Brockholes, the deputy governor, reported his concerns about Eliphalet’s attitude to baptism in a letter of April 27, 1682 to Justice Wood of Huntington:

Yesterday I received a petition from several inhabitants of your towne, wherein they complaine of your minister for refusing to baptize their children, and that their estates are violently taken from them for his maintinance. For the first, you cannot be ignorant how positively the law injoynes it not to be refused to any children of Christian parents when they shall be tendred, under penalty of losse of preferment, the latter to be done with all moderacon & equality. I am unwilling to beleeve that soe greate an error as refusall of baptisme is committed by your minister or violent actings suffered by you. Therefore doe not further proceed thereupon untill [I] can be informed of the certainty & reason thereof from your selfe, which [I] desire you to doe by the first oppertunity, being desirouse that the laws be fully observd and as farr as possible to satisfie the mindes of all His Majesties subjects, especially in a matter of this importe.

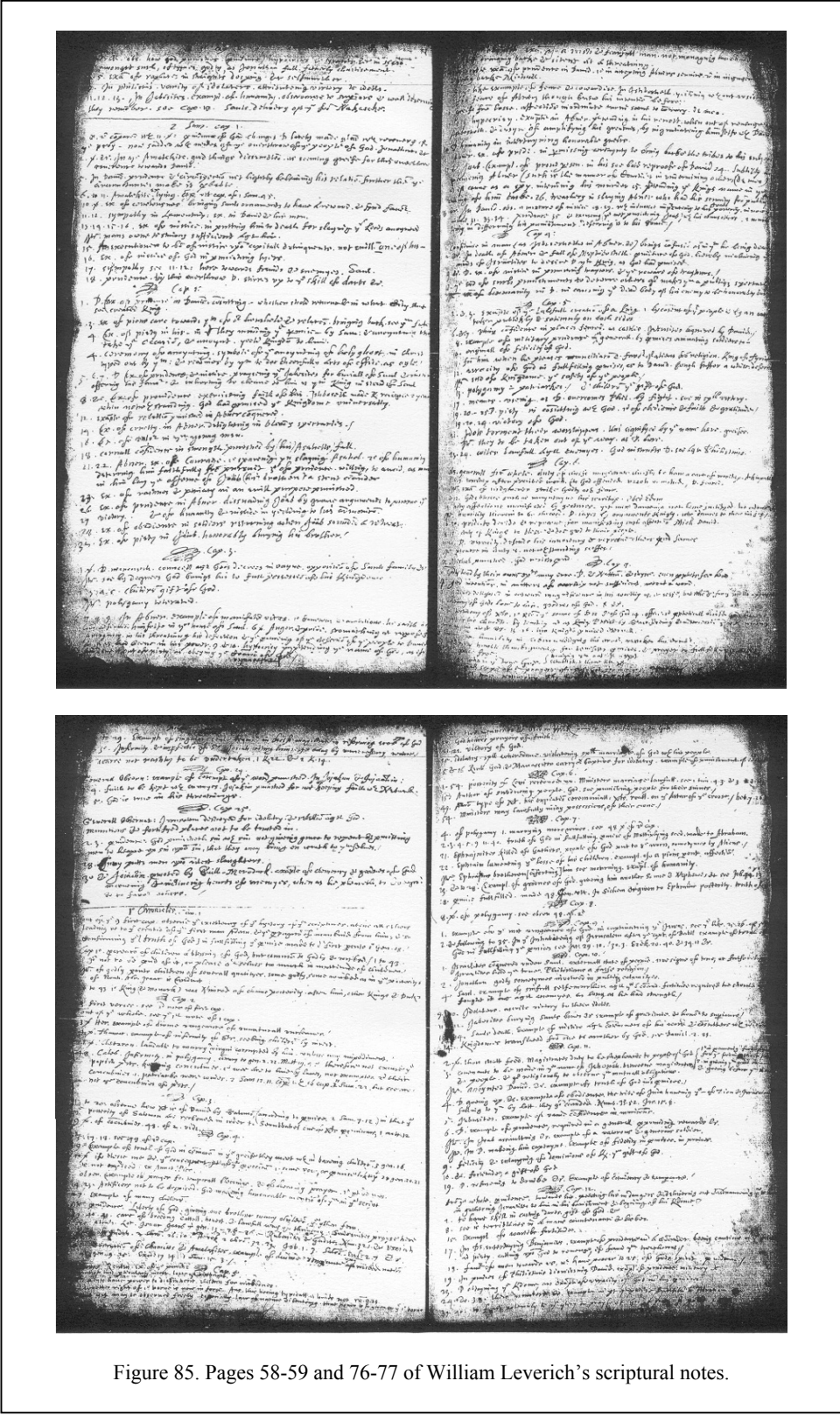


Figure 85. Pages 58-59 and 76-77 of William Leverich's scriptural notes.

A month later on June 1, Brockholes wrote to Wood about a meeting he had had with Eliphalet, and the problems about baptism and ministerial support in Huntington seem to have been resolved since Eliphalet remained there until his death in 1731:

I have this day discoursed Mr Jones about the complaints made of his refusing to baptize children and levying the rates for him. To the first I finde him willing in conformity to the law to baptize the children of all Christian parents, butt am sorry to heare that the loose lives of some of the inhabitants scarce deserve that name, which may have caused some stand and denyall and I hope your care in your station will prevent and see the Lord's Day well and solemnly observed by all and not spent soe vainly as I am informed it is by some. That it may not longer be a doubt or dispute who are Christian parents, Mr Jones hath promised me to use his endeavour to be as moderate therein as possible. To the last Mr Jones hath satisfied me it was for arreares long since ordered to be paid. Therefore doe not disallow the act, it being butt reason what [is] promised him should be satisfied, but the moderatest way to obtaine it is certainly the best.¹⁰⁶

Caleb had a son John and daughters Mary and Eleanor. Mary married Job Wright, a grandson of Peter Wright. In the first half of the eighteenth century William would have been remembered as a father and grandfather, and would have been talked about to his great-grandchildren (figure 86).

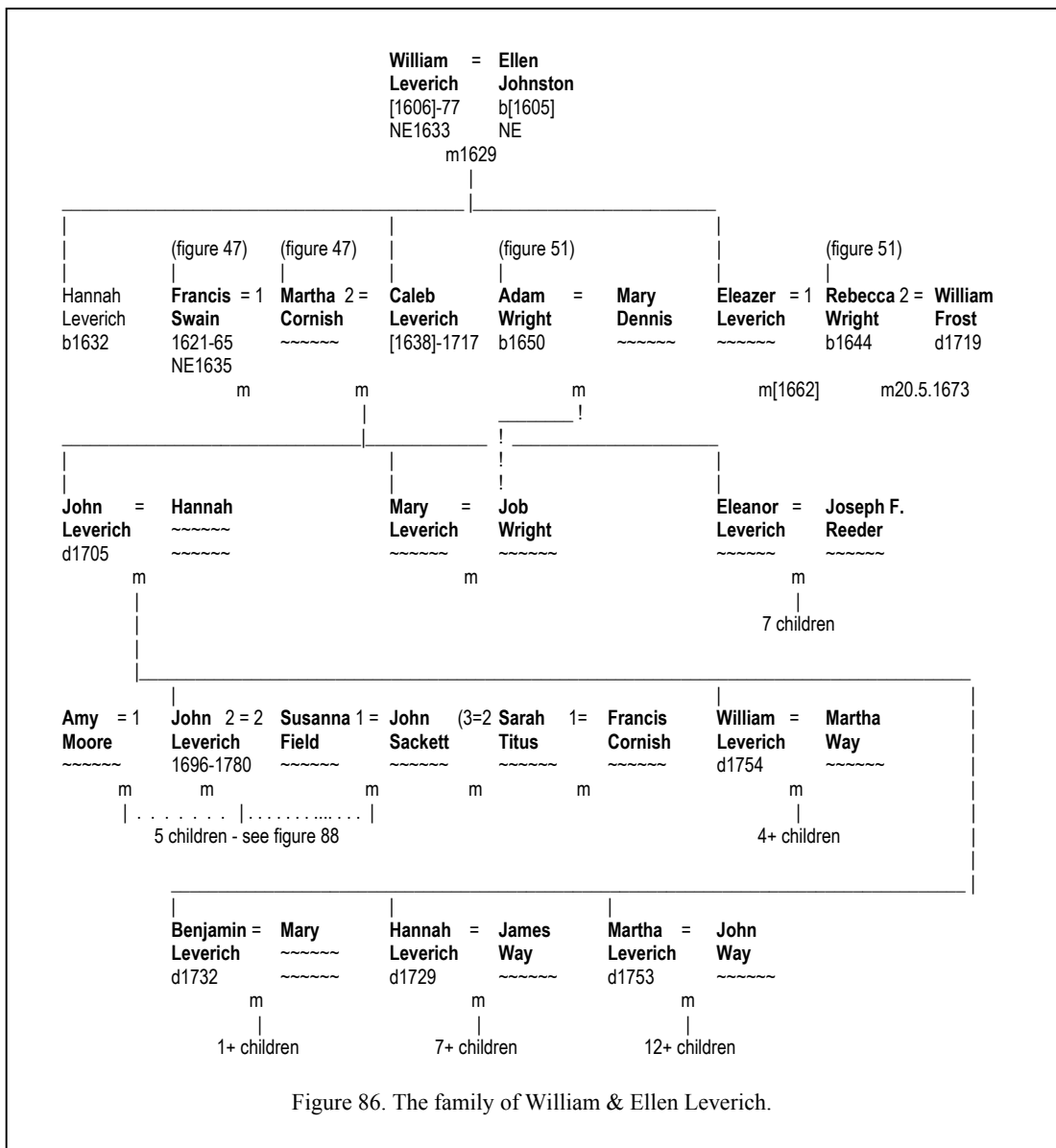


Figure 86. The family of William & Ellen Leverich.

Both William and Emmanuel College were remembered when Newtown's First Presbyterian Church celebrated its 250th anniversary in October 1902. William Chawner, the Master of Emmanuel, was invited to the ceremony, and a biography of William was printed in *The Newtown register* and reprinted in the college magazine. Two years later members of Harvard University presented Emmanuel College with a tablet

commemorating John Harvard and it was placed in the college chapel. Chawner caused controversy in 1909 when he distributed to the Emmanuel fellows and undergraduates a pamphlet called *Prove all things*. In it he rejected traditional Christianity, prophesied its downfall and denounced compulsory attendance at chapel, and he moved in subsequent pamphlets towards an increasingly Unitarian position. But by then many of the early New England churches, including William's church at Sandwich, had themselves become Unitarian. Emmanuel College has also been involved in religious controversy in recent times. Its Dean stated in February 2006 that he would consider offering blessings to the civil partnerships of same-sex couples in opposition to views expressed by the bishops of the Church of England.¹⁰⁷

The housing suburb of Woodside was built in the north-western corner of Newtown in 1867 and Newtown village was renamed Elmhurst in 1897. Newtown and the other towns at the western end of Long Island were incorporated in New York City on January 1, 1898 and lost their independent status. The Fish family mill in the northern part of Newtown became Jackson's Mill and survived until La Guardia Airport was constructed, destroying Fish's Point in the process. The road crossing the dam in figure 87 is now 94th Street and the millpond in the foreground is crossed by Grand Central Parkway.¹⁰⁸



Figure 87. Jackson's mill pond, Newtown in about 1880.

Three Centuries

The natural increase of people upon the British continent of North-America is so great as to make it highly probable that in a few generations more a mighty Empire will be formed there.

Thomas Hutchinson, A collection of original papers relative to the History of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay, 1769.¹

A striking feature of William's life is the extent to which he kept moving to new places, partly in England, but especially in America where he lived both in areas that had been recently settled and those that for Europeans were virgin territory. He was in the words of Roger Thompson 'restlessly mobile'. Among the early ministerial immigrants, only Roger Williams, Stephen Bachiler, John Sherman, Thomas Jenner and John Wheelwright had a similar number of moves, but by 1655 most of them had either returned to England or settled where they would remain until their deaths.²

Lack of evidence prevents a firm decision on the reasons why William moved so often, but some at least of his moves appear to have been for religious reasons. He was brought before the Archdeacon of Leicester's court at the end of his ministry at Great Bowden. The same thing may have happened whilst he was at Great Livermere, but even so Suffolk was a major center for emigration to New England. Though the emigration records are very incomplete, Banks found that nearly ten per-cent of those known to have left England for New England in the period 1620-50 came from Suffolk, more than from any other county.³ Neither William nor his immediate successors stayed for very long in what became Dover in New Hampshire, and Massachusetts Bay during the Antinomian crisis was equally unattractive. Sandwich in New Plymouth provided him with some stability for fifteen years before he left New England for a less certain future on Long Island in 1653. The adoption of Quaker beliefs by some of those who had left Sandwich with him probably prompted a move to Huntington five years later. He then moved several times between there and Newtown during the next eleven years as well as fitting in a journey to Europe. Finally in 1669 Newtown became his home for his last eight years.

William was undoubtedly the minister of the places where he lived in America, but the absence of any contemporary church records for those places makes it difficult to judge his involvement in religious affairs. Following Charles Chauncy's lead on infant baptism by immersion and undertaking missionary work amongst the Amerindians are almost the only clues to his church work, but his letter to Thomas Hinckley in 1646 and the scriptural notes that he left behind show a man with a deep theological outlook. The survival of many civil records shows William was involved in the social life of the towns where he lived, though rather rarely at colonial level. There are all too few glimpses of William as a person - responding to his wife's plea not to go to New Haven, visiting John Bowne in prison in 1662 and getting angry with some other Quakers a few years later - and we could wish for more. He was 'a godly minister' but this was a term that was used quite widely for Puritan ministers. Unfortunately the eulogies of his life and work do not begin until the nineteenth century. We can perhaps think of *The pilgrim's progress* as a metaphor of his life. The first part of John Bunyan's book was published in London in the year after William died and in Boston a year later. When the second part was published in 1684 Bunyan wrote that the first part

'Tis in New-England under such advance,
Receives there so much loving countenance,
As to be trim'd, new cloth'd & deckt with gems,
That it might shew its features, and its limbs,
Yet more; so comely doth my Pilgrim walk,
That of him thousands daily sing and talk.⁴

We know much less about William's wife Ellen - the records of their marriage and the baptism of their daughter Hannah, her 'aversenes' to going to New Haven and the deposition that Ellinor Leverich made in 1660 - and these assume that Ellen went to America and that she and Ellinor were the same person. The women of the seventeenth century are largely hidden from view unless like Anne Hutchinson and some of the Quakers they were involved in religious controversy. Another two centuries elapsed before a woman, Mary Baker Eddy, founded a world-wide church.

We know no more about Hannah Leverich than the record of her baptism. She probably did not die whilst her parents were at Great Livermere since there is no record of her burial there. If she did die before William and Ellen went to America then Ellen's thoughts may have been similar to those that Anne Bradstreet recorded when her one and a half-year old grand-daughter Elizabeth died in 1665:

Farewel dear babe, my hearts too much content,
Farewel sweet babe, the pleasure of mine eye,
Farewel fair flower that for a space was lent,

Then ta'en away unto Eternity.
 Blest babe why should I once bewail thy fate,
 Or sigh the dayes so soon were terminate;
 Sith thou art settled in an everlasting state.⁵

William probably went to America for religious reasons and this aspect of life there has been emphasized in this book. Others moved there for economic reasons, but Thomas Hutchinson wrote in 1764 that

Whether Britain would have had any colonies in America at this day if religion had not been the grand inducement is doubtful. One hundred and twenty years had passed from the discovery of the northern continent by the Cabots without any successful attempt. After repeated attempts had failed, it seems less probable that any should undertake in such an affair, than it would have been if no attempt had been made.⁶

The leading settlers in both New Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay had religious motives for their emigration and were constantly conscious of God's hand at work for their lives. All events, good or bad, were seen as signs of God's purpose or judgement. Some have written of the early settlers' search for religious freedom in America and have expressed surprise at the way that the Quakers and others were persecuted, but this is to misunderstand the period. Most of the leading settlers in early New England were not seeking religious freedom, but the freedom to follow and propagate their own religious beliefs - the only true church and faith - and they used the power of the state to try to bring it about. Both for them and for those that remained in England church and state were co-extensive. They consisted of the same people living in the same area. Church and state were different aspects of the same society. It was the duty of the church to support the magistrates and the magistrates to support the church.

The early settlers may not all have seen themselves as 'founding fathers', the first generation of Christian settlers in a 'new world'. Some anticipated God's final judgement of the world and thus saw themselves as the last generation of pre-millennial saints. The settlers were united in rejecting many of the doctrines of the Church of England, but in little else. Well before the arrival of the Quakers in the 1650s, this disunity led to the expulsion of Williams, Hutchinson, Wheelwright and others, and the return to England of many of the ministers in the 1640s. Some of the causes of disunity were inherent in the practices of the early New England churches, especially in regard to church membership and infant baptism. The Church of England regarded all inhabitants as its members and expected all infants to be baptized. By contrast the New England churches sought a restricted membership of those who had given testimony to their regeneration and they limited baptism to their children, but they expected everyone to attend the Sabbath services in the meeting-house, to restrict their activities on that day and to support the ministry financially. The succession of synods and ministerial assemblies, and the Half-Way Covenant of 1662 only gradually solved the problems of church membership and infant baptism.

It is difficult to judge the extent to which the New Plymouth churches followed the 'New England way'. So much that has been written about them is the story of Massachusetts Bay and some of the more prominent churches and ministers in Connecticut and New Haven Colony. New Plymouth had a different origin and unlike Massachusetts Bay acknowledged that it had separated from the Church of England. Separate churches were also accepted in New Netherland, where William and the other settlers in the English towns were not required to follow the beliefs and practices of the Dutch Reformed Church. Religious diversity was maintained in Rhode Island and Roger Williams was chosen to represent North America when the Monument of the Reformation was established at Geneva in 1917.⁷ The experiences and ideas of the early generations born in America were very different from those of their parents, and attitudes and opportunities changed as the years passed. In hindsight it is difficult to avoid seeing the formation of the 'mighty Empire' that Hutchinson wrote about, yet in the middle of the seventeenth century some saw the West Indies or Ireland as providing much better opportunities for British colonization.

The England that William left was a closely settled landscape. John Cole wrote in *The history and antiquities of Ecton* in 1825 that from a hill near the village 'we have a view of forty-five churches, or steeples: twenty spires, twenty-four towers and one other church' and he listed them all. The abundance of surviving seventeenth-century deeds and estate maps testifies to large estates and a well-defined ownership of the land. England also had well-developed patterns of local and national government, albeit involving only a small part of the population. The county of Suffolk contained over 500 parishes, each with its own parish church. Over 400 of the church buildings that existed in the seventeenth century are still there and parts of others have been incorporated in later ones. Only the urban centers had incorporated local governments. Suffolk had three principal boroughs in the seventeenth century - Bury St Edmunds, Ipswich and Sudbury - and other parliamentary boroughs that were shadows of their former selves. Bury St Edmunds contained two parishes, Sudbury had three, whilst Ipswich had twelve. Elsewhere local government was organized through separate parishes, each of which had a constable and overseers of the poor, and by the manorial courts of the landed estates.⁸

The British settlers found a quite different pattern of settlement when they arrived in America, where they based their ownership on the right of discovery and on royal grants, and they imposed an English pattern of land ownership. The Amerindians were not involved in the British grants and allocations of the land where they had lived for thousands of years. The settlers made many purchases of land from the Amerindians and these eased relationships with them, supported conflicting British and Dutch claims and perhaps salved some European consciences as well. The European diseases to which many Amerindians succumbed also helped the settlers to penetrate the countryside and to make what to them was a more productive use of 'vacant' land. The Amerindians were suppressed but they were not eliminated and the widespread conflicts of King Philip's War came at the end of William's life. The hatred then engendered was such that when Cotton Mather wrote about Amerindians in *Magnalia Christi Americana* in 1702 he stated that 'these doleful creatures are the veriest ruines of mankind, which are to be found any where upon the face of the earth'.

In 1730 Thomas Prince, then a minister of the Old South Church in Boston, was conscious of the divisions in the community when he gave a centenary sermon. Arguing 'how extreemly proper is it, upon the close of the first century of our settlement in this chief part of the land, which will now within a few weeks expire, to look back to the beginning of this remarkable transaction', he saw God's hand at work in the many conflicts between Amerindians and Europeans. In King Philip's War

He rebuk'd them and set them against one another: He made them to flee afar off: He chas'd them as the chaff of the mountains before the wind, and like a rolling thing before the whirlwind. As smoke is driven away, so He drove them away. As wax melteth before the fire, so they perish'd at the presence of God.

but in later conflicts

How often has He made the eastern Indians the rod of His anger, and the staff of His indignation with us! He has sent them against us, and given them the charge to take the spoil and tread us down as the mire of the street. They came with open mouth upon us: they thrust thro' every one they found abroad: they insnared and slew our mighty men who went forth for our defence: they spoil'd our fields and pastures: they burnt up our houses: they destroy'd our towns and garrisons: they murdered our wives: they carried our young men and virgins into captivity: they had no pity on the fruit of the womb: their eyes spared not our children, they dash'd them in pieces.

The memoirs of Roger Clap which Prince edited were published a year later. Clap was born in Devon in 1609 and traveled to New England with John Maverick in 1630. He remained in Massachusetts Bay and died there in 1691. Towards the end of his life he wrote that to 'this very day if I perceive or do but hear of a man or woman that *feareth God*, let him be rich or poor, English or Indian, Portugal or Negro, my very heart closeth with him', but probably few were able to be as welcoming.⁹

William was one of the few New England ministers to take an active involvement in the conversion of Amerindians to Christianity, though he did so for only about ten of the forty-two years that he spent in America. It is probable that he like his British contemporaries expected Amerindians to adopt European culture and beliefs, and separate Amerindian townships were established. William's missionary contemporaries John Eliot and Richard Bourne, his successor at Sandwich, established separate churches for Amerindians in those townships. There is little sign of their acceptance into the settlers' churches. These churches did, however, accept some free or enslaved blacks, but there are unfortunately too few mid-seventeenth-century references to black slaves to judge the British settlers' attitudes to them. Life-long enslavement was probably accepted as a natural feature of life. Some though adopted different approaches including the Rhode Island General Court on May 18, 1652:

Whereas there is a common course practised amongst English men to buy negers, to that end they may have them for service or slaves forever; for the preventinge of such practices among us, let it be ordered, that no blacke mankind or white being forced by covenant, bond or otherwise, to serve any man or his assignes longer than ten yeares, or untill they come to bee twentie-four yeares of age, if they bee taken in under fourteen, from the time of their cominge within the liberties of this collonie. And at the end or terme of ten yeares to sett them free, as the manner is with the English servants. And that man will not let them goe free, or shall sell them away elsewhere, to that end that they may bee enslaved to others for a long time, hee or they shall forfeit to the Collonie forty pounds.¹⁰

Looking back to the early years of European settlement did not really begin until American independence stimulated the publication of state histories and colonial records at the end of the eighteenth century. The first volume of Jeremy Belknap's *The history of New-Hampshire* was published in 1784 and John Winthrop Sr's *A journal of the transactions and occurrences in the settlement of Massachusetts and other New England colonies* in 1790. The two volumes of Eleazer Hazard's *Historical collections* which were published in 1792-94 were the first to include William's submission to the New Plymouth General Court in 1638 about land distribution in Sandwich, but Hazard's appointment as Postmaster-General prevented the production of further volumes. Publication of the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society* also began in 1792

and has continued to the present day. County histories were published in England at this time, but unfortunately William's name was misread as Philip Lenerish when John Nichols's *The history and antiquities of the county of Leicester* was compiled, and no link was made between William's time in Great Bowden and his life elsewhere. The censuses taken in the United States in 1790 and in Great Britain in 1801 provide an opportunity to compare, a century after William's death, the populations of the 'wilderness' that he entered and the closely settled landscapes that he left behind. The statistics need to be used with care. The English Suffolk still had over 500 parishes, but there were only 11 townships in Barnstable Co., Massachusetts, 8 in Suffolk Co. and 6 in Queens Co. in Long Island (table 21).¹¹

Table 21. Data from the censuses of the United States in 1790 and Great Britain in 1801. The population and area of Massachusetts exclude the district of Maine, which was then part of the state.

<i>Place</i>	<i>Houses</i>	<i>Families</i>	<i>Free white males</i>	<i>Free white females</i>	<i>Free others</i>	<i>Slaves</i>	<i>Total populat.</i>	<i>Area sq. mi.</i>
Massachusetts	54377	65779	182742	190582	5463	0	378787	8250
Barnstable Co.	2343	2889	8297	8685	372	0	17354	410
Sandwich		263	929	1015	47	0	1991	
New York			161822	152320	4654	21324	340120	
Queens Co.			6417	6480	808	2309	16014	410
Oyster Bay			1705	1709	302	381	4097	
Newtown			773	753	52	533	2111	
Suffolk Co.			7029	7187	1126	1098	16440	910
Huntington			1505	1468	74	213	3260	
<i>Place</i>	<i>Houses</i>	<i>Families</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Occupied in agriculture trade etc.</i>		<i>Total populat.</i>	<i>Area sq. mi.</i>
England	1467870	1778420	3987935	4343499	1524227	1789531	8331434	50992
Leicestershire	25992	27967	63943	66138	23823	42036	130081	803
Leicester	3205	3668	7921	9032	499	11330	16953	6
Great Bowden	185	207	390	393	43	407	783)
Market Harborough	324	331	795	921	23	336	1716) 5
Suffolk	32253	43481	101091	109340	55744	34064	210431	1480
Ipswich	2170	2738	4984	6293	448	1810	11277	13
Bury St Edmunds	1360	1648	3399	4256	94	4198	7655	5
Sudbury	594	735	1464	1819	34	625	3283	2
Great Livermere	34	57	128	131	82	20	259	2

Samuel Wilberforce, whose *A history of the Protestant Episcopal Church of America* led to the discovery of Bradford's *History of Plymouth*, was made Bishop of Oxford in 1845 and almost two hundred years after William's *Strength out of weakness* was published, he used the same title for a sermon he preached on November 1, 1848 for the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Church Missionary Society. The United Kingdom was then on the threshold of a second empire and he spoke with confidence about the country's world-wide rôle and responsibilities in words that echo some of those used in William's time:

If any thing is written plain upon our national capacity and habits, it surely is that God has committed largely to us the duty of evangelizing the earth. For what other purpose has He set this little island as the mistress of the seas, made her the market of the habitable globe, given to her an entrance into every haven, bidden every wind which breathes under His heaven waft back to her some of those good gifts which His gracious prodigality of love pours even on this fallen earth; for what other purpose has He given to our hardy, earnest, practical Saxon race, with all its love of home, a restless longing for foreign adventure; for what other purpose has He opened to our traffic the teaming multitudes of China, given to our charge the islands of the sea, meted out to us the ancient plains of Hindostan, seated us at either end of torrid Africa; and planted us of old in the islands of the West; for what other purpose does He now bid us people the great continent of Australasia; for what above all has He given to us a purer faith and greater light than He has vouchsafed to other nations, but that we should be His messengers to every people, His witnesses to every land?¹²

The middle of the nineteenth century was also a time of great territorial expansion for the United States and a brief time of looking back before the country was engulfed in the Civil War. Henry D. Thoreau read William Wood's *New England's prospect* at Concord, Massachusetts on January 24, 1855 and reflected on the changes in the landscape and wild-life of New England during the previous two hundred years. State-sponsored publication of colonial records began with those of Connecticut in 1850-52 and continued with those of Massachusetts Bay in 1853-54, New Plymouth in 1855-61, New Haven Colony in 1857-58 and Rhode Island in 1859-60. A large collection of New Netherland and New York colonial documents from both local and European archives was published during the same period. The individuals whose lives were recorded in these collections were also investigated. James Savage visited England in the summer of 1842 and looked at a wide range of archives. He saw the copy of *Strength out of weakness* in the Thomason Collection, which was then in the British Museum Library. He examined the subscription records of William and other Cambridge graduates in the university archives and

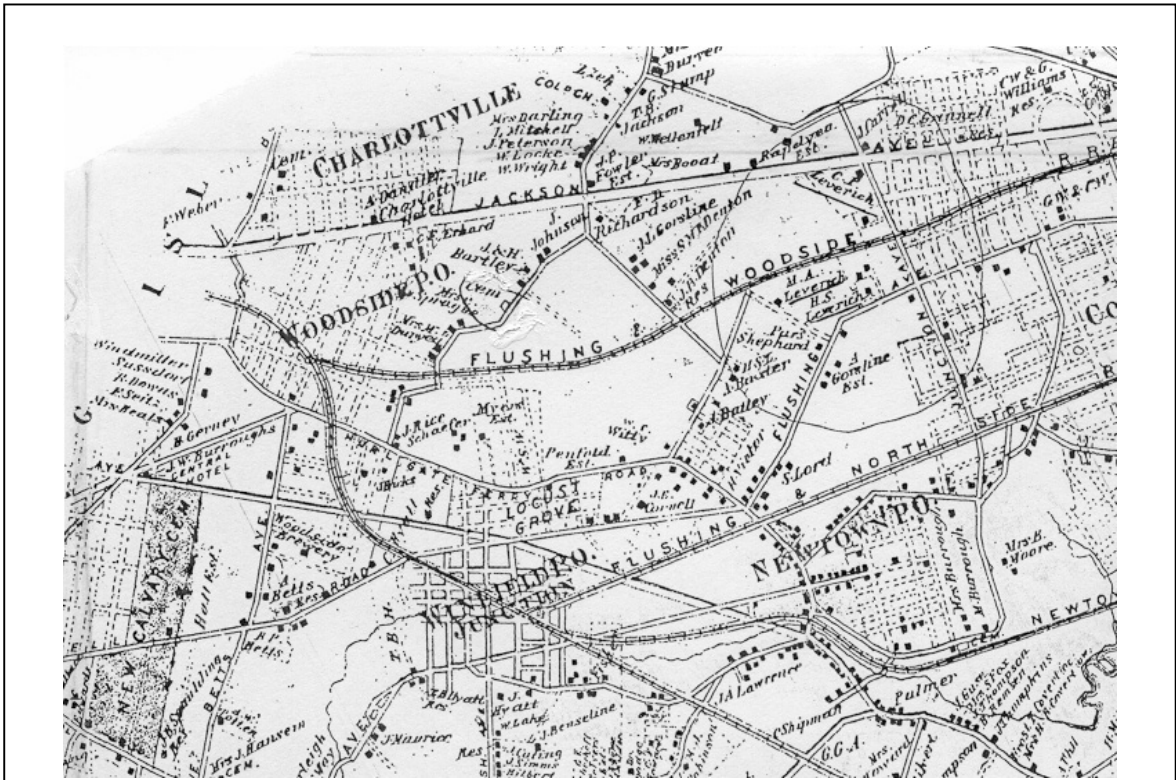


Figure 89. Map of Newtown in 1873.



Figure 90. Map of the Trains Meadow area of Newtown in 1909. The former route of the southern end of Trains Meadow Road is shown at the bottom of the map.

Archaeological investigations make important additions to our knowledge of the seventeenth century. The material remains of the period are on display in museums and were collected together in the great exhibitions held at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston in 1982 and at the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford in 1985-86. Boston has been transformed and Newtown has been engulfed by New York City, but Plymouth, Sandwich and the rest of Cape Cod are on the tourist trail, and the visitor to Plymouth can see something of life there in William and Ellen's time by traveling three miles south-east from the town center to Plimoth Plantation.¹⁶

Society has changed dramatically since the seventeenth century in both the United Kingdom and the United States, but the social frameworks of the worlds where William lived and worked have persisted on both sides of the Atlantic. A descendant of King James I occupies the British throne, bishops continue in office and the churches at Great Bowden and Great Livermere are in regular use for worship. Cambridge University is preparing to celebrate its 800th year in 2009, members of Emmanuel College use the buildings where William dined and worshipped, and Cambridge University Press, the world's oldest press, has been printing and publishing books since before he was born. New Plymouth has been absorbed by Massachusetts and the United States has been established, but Sandwich, Oyster Bay, Huntington and other towns continue to look after their own local affairs, and churches in those places look back to the days when William ministered there.

Religious freedom gradually developed in the United Kingdom and was enshrined in the United States constitution, though aspects of the observance of the Sabbath are still being played out in both countries. Churches reformed and diversified in both countries, but in some ways the British and American churches have converged. There were many similarities in the funerals of Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother, the widow of James I's descendant George VI, in April 2002 and former President Ronald Reagan in June 2004. Words from Winthrop's 'Arbella' sermon were used during Reagan's funeral, but surely both Winthrop and William would have rejected almost everything else about the funeral service - the architecture of Washington Cathedral, the ecumenical and liturgical nature of the service, even the involvement of ministers themselves. Indeed, it is instructive for residents of England or New England to ask themselves, or their local churches, which of the distinctive practices that William and his ministerial contemporaries advocated have survived to the present time:

Psalms, but not non-biblical hymns, should be said or sung.
Services should otherwise be limited to extemporary prayers and sermons.
The sign of the cross should not be used in baptism.
Rings should not be given to women on marriage.
Conducting marriages and burials is not a ministerial function.
Christmas, Easter and other religious festivals should not be celebrated.
Days of humiliation and thanksgiving should be held.
There should be two ministers - pastor and teacher - in each church.

Thirteen generations of William and Ellen's descendants have now been born and the succession of these generations through the centuries helps us to see the continuity amidst all the changes. However, some members of the community have a much longer focus than others. Henry Kittredge wrote in 1930 of how he was reminded of this during a visit to Cape Cod some years before:

I scraped acquaintance with an ancient and solitary fisherman who had just landed and was lurching in the shade. He was so quietly at home in the landscape that I felt a scrupulous and uneasy impulse to authenticate myself as the real thing and not a naturalised colonist or a floating element in the population. I told him, accordingly, that I claimed all the rights and privileges of a native....because, though I was born in Boston, my mother came from Barnstable and was a direct descendant of the first settlers of 1639. 'And so,' I concluded with modest triumph, 'I may claim to go back pretty far as a Cape man.' 'Yes,' he replied, with a slow smile, 'you have a good claim; and as for me, I go back pretty far too.' 'How far?' I asked. 'Oh, my great-grandmother was descended from the Hockanom Indians of Yarmouth.' As Artemus Ward puts it, 'He *had* me there!'¹⁷

William is unlikely to have been amused by this. His world was not the same as ours, but the world has changed since 1930 as well. What once depended upon family tradition can now be investigated by DNA analysis, but it remains to be seen whether the Leverichs and Leveridges of today do indeed all share a common lineage.

Appendices

Appendix A - Proceedings against William Leverich in the Court of the Archdeacon of Leicester in 1629-30

[Three of the four surviving court papers in the cause against William Leveridge are printed here, with the parts written in Latin translated and shown in italics. The allegation against William and his replies to each of its articles have been combined, with each reply indented below the article to which it refers.]

(1) The Allegation made against William Leverich and his Replies to each of its Articles

In the name of God, Amen. We John Lambe, Knight and Doctor of Laws, Commissary and Official lawfully constituted with the Archdeaconry of Leic[e]s[ter]: to thee William Leveridge, clerk, curate of Great Bowden [?perhalos?], all and singular the articles and questions written below for the safety of thy soul, the conversion of thy morals and the reformation of thy excesses to follow the rule of law from our office, we charge, question and administer the articles of ecclesiastical interrogation as follow:

The personal response which curate Leveriche, clerk, made to these parties.....

1. *First, we charge and question, that you in the months of March, April, May, June, July, August, September, October, November, December, January, February and March in A.D. 1628 now last past, and also in the months of March, April, May, June, July, August and September at any time, more than one or at all in A.D. 1629 now current, of these months and years, the aforesaid William Leveridge you were and are a cleric distinguished by ordination as a priest, and you have served diligently as curate of Great Bowden in the aforesaid Archdeaconry and also the cure of souls there and you serve diligently at the present time in so much etc., and we charge and question concerning the matters in dispute.*

*To the first article he responds, that he believes for all the time arlate he hath beene and is a clerke in holie orders of priesthood & that hee this rendens was upon the 7th daie of October 1628 admitted (by the authority of Sir John Lambe, Knight, Commissarie and Official of the Archdeaconry of Leycester) to bee curate, or to exercise the office of a curate in the parish of Great Bowden arlate, and for the more certeintie referres himselfe to his said admission and ye act thereupon made and entred amongst ye artecles of this Court. And he beleiveth that for the following time arlate after his said admission hee hath therebie exercised the office of a curate within ye said parishe, but he beleiveth that hee was never instituted nor inducted to the Cure of Great Bowden, and therefore has not the *chief cure as he believes, referring himself to the law and otherwise. I do not believe the article to be true in any way.**

2. *Item. We charge and require, that all and singular the clergy who fail against the form and canonical office and ecclesiastical constitution or statute of this glorious realm of England, or commit any crime or transgression on the same or any of them which are forbidden, or do not observe all and singular the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England alike, and do not observe the form of the Book of Common Prayer written by the King's authority in celebration of divine service and the administration of the sacraments, were and are due and required by canonical law to be punished, corrected and reprimanded. And we charge as above.*

To the 2nd article he responds, that he does not know concerning the laws and canons.

3. *Item. We charge and question, that despite the preceding, you the aforesaid William Leveridge in the years and months mentioned in the first aforesaid article of them &c., have omitted to catechize, teach and instruct the youth and children of the p[ar]ishe of Greate Bowden aforesaid for the space of halfe an hower before Evening Prayer on Sundayes & holy dayes and that for 50, 40, 30, 20 or 10 Sondays & holy dayes in each yere within the time aforesaid contrary to the Booke of Common Praier & the lawes, cannons & constitucons of this realme of England..... And we charge as above.*

To the 3rd article he responds, that he beleiveth that at his first comming to Bowden hee, (beeing as aforesaid but a tolerated or admitted curate, without institution or induction) did omitt (but not by reason of anie contempt) to catechize some Saboaths in ye afternoone, but he hath since dylie reformed it & hath dilligentlie catechized, as hee beleiveth according to law and he does not believe the article true in any respect.

4. *Item. We charge and question, that you the said Wm Leveridge in the yeres & moneths af[o]resayd, evrie some or one of them, have neglected and omitted to reade divine service & publique praiers in the p[ar]ishe church of Greate Bowden aforesaid on all or most or div[er]s & sundrie Wednesdayes, Frydayes and Saturdayes happening within the time afors[ai]d. And this was and is the true office of notary public eminent and well known. And we charge as above.*

To the 4th article he responds thus, that he believeth that the most ministers in ye countrie (though instituted & inducted) have & doe ordinarilie omitt to read praiers on Wednesdayes, Fridaies & Saturdaies, and hee believeth that this conduct was never admonished by his omitting nor required by the public is to read praiers on Wednesdayes, Frydaies and Saturdaies & hee hath so far omitted as other ministers in the countrie have done, & not knowinge

whether ye law did bynde him (being but admitted as foresaid) soe to doe. *But he refers himself to the law of Doctors Commons, and hath beene & is willing to yeelde all due obedience to the law and does not believe otherwise the contents of the said article.*

5. Item. *We charge and question*, that you the said Wm Leveridge in the yeeres and moneths aforesaid, evrie some or one of them, have div[er]s & sundrie tymes at and in the reading & celebrating of publique divine service in the parishe church of Bowden Magna aforesaid on Sondayes & holy dayes willfully omitted & neglected or not read div[er]se praier & other parts of divine publique service appointed to be then read in & by the Booke of Common Praier & lawfull authority in that behalfe as namely the First & Second Lesson, the Letanye & Tenne Commandementes, the Epistle and Gospel and other prayers and p[ar]te of the said divine service, but insteede thereof have div[er]se tymes used to read some chapter of your owne chusing & not those appointed for that day by the Booke of Common Prayer and then to have a Psalme song and so to goe to your sermon, or have used some other forme of & in celebrating divine publique service then ys sett downe and appoynted in the said Booke of Common Prayer. *And this was and is the true office of notary public eminent and well known. And we charge as above.*

To the 5th present article he responds, that he does not believe the contents of the said article to have been or to be known and because it is a criminal article he does not believe himself to be lawfully bound to answer to the said article.

6. Item. *We charge and question*, whether in the years and months aforesaid either more than one year and month or any of them, you the said Wm Leveridge at and in the reading and celebracon of publique divine service or of so much thereof as you have read in the church of Bowden Magna af[o]resaid in all or most div[er]s and sundrye Sondayes and holy dayes and at and in the Administracon of the Sacraments of Baptisme and the Holy Communion there have refused or omitted and neglected and not worne the surplice contrarie to the lawes & ordinances of the Church of England & namely 50, 40, 30, 20 or 10 times in each of the said yeres 1628 and 1629 aforesaid. *And we charge as above.*

To the 6th present article he replies, that he beleiveth that he hath used to ware ye surplisse in the Church of Great Bowden, and further he believes that it is a criminal article to which he does not believe that he is lawfully bound to respond.

7. Item. *We charge and question*, that in the yeeres and moneths aforesaid &c., you the said Willm Leveridge, div[er]s tymes or once at least, at & in the administracon of the Holy Comunion of the bodie and blood of Jesus Christe did administer and deliver the bread with the surplisse on, or wearing the surplisse and then publicly did putt of[f] the said surplisse, and gave, delivered and ministered the wine unto the then communicates without the surplisse or not having the surplisse upon you, or delivered the bread without the surplisse, and did putt on the surplisse to deliver the wine in the midst of the communion. *And this was and is the true office of notary public eminent and well known. And we charge as above.*

To the 7th article he replies, that he believes that once within the time.....since this respondents coming to Bowden hee beeing administring of ye communion had omitted ye surplisse and had begun to administer ye bread without weareing of ye surplisse, whereupon better remembring himselfe, he caused the clarke to fetch the surplisse and did put it on, and hee did administer ye communion and make an end of his ministration of the communion, but this respondent did not omitt it out of anie contempt, but onlie because the parish clearke did not bring ye surplisse to him before he went to administer ye comunion, for if the clearke had brought it at ye first, this respondent would have worne it, but ye clearke not bringing it, did upon his better remembrance call for it, as aforesaid. Therefore if anie fault was it was in the clearke and not in this respondent, whoe was and is willing to yeeld all due obedience to the lawes and otherwise he does not believe the article to be true in any way.

8. Item. *We charge and question*, you the said Wm Leveridge have, in like manner div[er]se and sundry times or once at least, omitted and wilfully neglected and not used the signe of the crosse in Baptisme or the ring in Marriage, but have christened div[er]s & sundrye infants or one infant without the said signe, and marryed also div[er]s some or one without the ring, and not wearing the surplisse at the severall tymes of such christninges and marriages. *And this was and is the true office of notary public eminent and well known. And we charge as above.*

To the 8th present article he replies, that he hath not omitted the signe of the crosse in baptisme, not ye ring in marriage, but hath behaved himselfe duly therein, but further he refers to his previous contention.

9. Item. *We charge and question*, that you the said Willm Leveridge, in the years and months aforesaid, or some or one of them, have div[er]s times or once at least in your sermons or sermon preached in the parishe church of Bowden Magna aforesaid and in other discourses, argumentations and exercises have spoken against boweing or bending the knee at the name of Jesus, sayeing that that it was an unlawfull and superstitious thinge and not warranted by God, or by God's word, and you sayed further that if evrie knee should bowe at the name of Jesus, why should not a horse or dogg bowe lykwise or make a legg at the mentioning of the name of Jesus. *Leading into grave peril of his soul as an example to another cleric and the faithful. And this was and is the true office of notary public eminent and well known. And we charge as above.*

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To the 9th article he replies, that he does not believe the present contents were or are lawful, viz. from the beginning of the present article to these words incisively 'warranted by God, or Gods words' and from this he is not bound to give way to the said first part of the article, as he believes, and as far as the last part of the said article, viz. from the same aforesaid words cut off, he does not submit to the last part of the article.....in any way.

10. Item. *We charge and question, that in the yeres and moneths afores[ai]d some or one of them, you the said Willm Leveridge have bene convented before us or our lawful surrogate for such your neglecte, omissions and offences in all or some of the premisses, or for not observing other the rites and ceremonies of the Church of England, whereupon you p[er]sonally appearing before us or a said surrogate have bene by us admonished to conforme yourselfe to the same rites & ceremonies, and to celebrate divine service & administer the holy sacram[ents] according to the Booke of Common Praier, and to certifie us of your reformacon therein by and at some competent time or times to you in that behalfe appointed. And we charge as above.*

11. Item. *The premisses notwithstanding and circumstances being so, you the said Willm Leveridge after the p[ro]misses in the next precedent article have not onely disobeyed our said monition and not certiefed us of your conformitye therein, but you have div[er]s & sondrie time or div[er]s Sondayes & holy dayes since the same omitted or neglected and not worne the surplisse in reading publique divine service and at and in the administracon of the sacraments, & not reade the same service according to the forme and mann[er] prescribed in the Booke of Common Praier on evrie Sondaye or holy daye, but have wilfully omitted to reade the First and Second Lesson, the Letanie, Tenn Commandments, the Epistle and Gospell div[er]s & sundrie tymes contrary to and not withstanding our said monition or monitions in *condemnation and contempt both of our laws aforesaid and the constitution of the churches set forth durably in that part.**

To the 10th and 11th present articles he replies, that hee believeth that hee this respondent was within ye time arlate convented for not reading all Common Praier, or to some such effect and credit that hee was injoynd to read all Common Praier 5 Sundaies together which he performed accordingly and further he refers himself to the acts of the court and to the law and does not maintain to yield further as hee believeth that he hath not contemned ye judge or jurisdiction.

12. Item. *That all and singular the premisses are true, the well known notary public's office has clearly and fairly worked upon it, and in the present parish aforesaid, voice and rumor are working. And it is charged as above.*

To 12th he replies, that he believes what is believed and denies what is denied.

Therefore he required lawfully by holy faith on this part, etc.

(2) The Statements of the Witnesses and their Replies to the Interrogatories

The said evidence upon articles against William Leveriche, clerk, curate of Great Bowden in the Archdeaconry of Leicester, given and admitted on the 3rd day of October 1629 through Embrolius[?] Rawlyn, notary public, assigned to necessary judgement by mere office.

[Statement of Anthony Hallford]

Anthony Hallford, formerly of Great Bowden in the Archdeaconry of Leicester, of the age of 45 years or thereabouts, of a free condition, knew Master Leverich well about the past year, witness on 11 Jan. A.D. in the English style 1629, swears and gives evidence as follows.

To the first article of the said articles he says and deposes, that he hath been an inhabitante in Bowden Magna arlate all ye tyme arlate & more & hath knowne ye arlate Mr William Leverich to have gone in ye habite of a minister & accompted for a minister & curate of Bowden arlate & for this twelve monethes last past to have served ye cure of soules at Bowden as curate there. And that he hath seen him performe some offices of ye curate there. He knows nothing further except for April.

To the 2nd he says, that he believes the article is true, referring himself to the court.

To the 3rd he says, that for ye tyme predeposed he hath bin divers Sundaies & holy daies at ye Church of Bowden arlate & there hath observed & knowne ye arlate Mr Leverich upon divers Sundaies within ye tyme arlate to omitt ye catechiseinge & instructing of ye youth & children of ye parish arlate & that he never knew him to catechise at all upon any holyday. He knows nothing more.

To the 4th he says, that dureing ye tymes arlate & predeposed since ye comeing of ye arlate Mr Leverich to be curate there he neither could see or heare ye said Mr Leverich upon any of those daies to read divine service & that he hath inquired of ye clarke of ye church at divers tymes whether Mr Leverich hath read service on any of those daies & that ye clarke hath answered him that he likewise knew not of any divine service at all upon ye daies arlate to be said by ye said Mr Leverich. He knows nothing more.

To the 5th he does not know.

*To the 6th he does not know.
To the 7th he does not know.
To the 8th he does not know.
To the 9th he does not know.*

To the 10th he refers himself to the Court Acts. He knows nothing more.

To the 11th he says, that at divers severall tymes within ye tyme predeposed this deponente hath sometymes observed & knowne ye arlate Mr Leverich upon Sundaies & holydaies not to weare ye surplice in ye tyme he hath read service & to have omitted ye Epistle & Gospell, ye Letany & Ten Commandmentes. He knows nothing more.

For the rest, he says that his statements are true. He knows nothing more.

Anthony Halforde

The same to interrogatories.

To the first interrogatory he replies that perjury is when a man for swears himself, that an oath is a calling of God to wittnes that he speaks the truth, & he that perjureth of a false wittnes has as he deserves. He knows nothing of the rest. To the 2nd & 3rd, he denies for himself and knows nothing as to others. To the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, he denies for himself, he knows nothing of the rest. To the 8th he answers, that Richard Kestian, one of his fellow wittnesses, because Edward Marston, cointerrogate, was cited to be a wittnesse with them in this cause & was absent when they were sworne did desire that he ought likewise to be sworne as well as they were, at ye tyme when they had taken their oathes & that Mr Walkers,.....ctor interrogate, did as another of them ye said wittnesses did desire to have ye said Marston sworne against Mr Leveriche & Mr Kestian aforesaid & all but he this respondent made answer that he did not desire it. And he replies, that Mr Walker desired to have it marked that all ye wittnesses were parties & did desire to have the said Marston sworne against ye said Mr Leveriche & did offer to pay fower pence to have the desire set downe. He knows nothing more. To the 9th he answers, that he hath severall tymes seene ye interrogant Mr Leverich weare ye surplice, baptize with ye signe of ye crosse, administer ye communion to persons kneeling & that he hath heard him preach good doctrine, & that Mr Leverich is not given to drunkennesse, whoredome, lasciviousnes, but a person of good name, sound life & conversation & soe commonly accompted. He knows nothing further. To the 10th he does not know, save as before deposed. To the 11th he does not know. To the 12th he replies, that within these 5 or 6 monethes last ye said Mr Leverich hath sometimes worne ye surplice, very seldom read ye Epistle & Gospell & some others partes of ye Common Prayer Booke. He knows no more. To the 13th he answers, ye interrogant Mr Leverich hath these 5 or 6 monethes showne himselfe modest in his sermons & kept himselfe to good distreat. He knows no more. To the last he is satisfied.

Anthony Halforde

11 day of January 1629 said before me Reg: Burdin surrogate.

[Statement of Richard Wilkinson]

Richard Wilkinson, of Great Bowden in the County of Leicester, husbandman, of the age of 80 years or thereabouts, knew Master Leveriche well. The aforesaid witness is sworn and on the 11th day of January A.D. English style 1629 gives evidence as follows.

To the first article of the articles he says, that he hath lived all ye tyme arlate & upwards at Bowden arlate & hath observed & knowne ye arlate Mr William Leverich to be a minister & curate of Bowden aforesaid & that he did & doth now & for above this yeare past served ye cure of soules there. He knows nothing more.

To the 2nd he says, that the article is true as he believes. He knows nothing more.

To the 3rd he says, that he hath within ye tyme arlate upon ye Sabbath day continually gone to ye church of Bowden arlate & hath known ye said Mr Leverich arlate to omitte ye catechiseing & instructing ye yonge children & youth of ye parishe arlate upon Sundayes before Evening Prayer at sometimes. He knows nothing more.

To the 4th he says, that ye said Mr Leverich hath within ye tyme arlate afore deposed, neglected & not read ye divine service in ye Parish Church of Bowden arlate upon Wednesdayes, Frydaies & Saturdayes arlate, exceptinge a holyday fall on the Sundayes, as ye common report goeth, & because ye bell is not tolled on those dayes for people to come to service on those dayes in that regard, he knoweth this deposition to be true. He knows nothing more.

To the 5th he says, that within ye tyme arlate predeposed he hath known ye arlate Mr Leveriche to omitte ye Testament & Ten Commandments & to reade that verse seldome. He knows nothing more.

To the 6th he says, that within ye tyme arlate predeposed he hath seene ye arlate Mr William Leveriche to reade divine service on Sundayes and holydaies some tymes without ye surplisse. He knows nothing more.

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To the 7th he says, betweene Christmas last was twelve monthe & Michaelmas last year Mr Leverich did one tyme [blot] one Sunday (but ye certaine tyme he cannot now remember) administer the sacramente of ye Lordes Supper to this deponente & a greate many others arlate at Bowden Church & at ye tyme when he ministered the bread he did it without ye surplice & before he ministred the wine he put on ye surplice & hee ministered the wine with the surplice on. He knows nothing more.

To the 8th he does not know.

To the 9th he does not know.

To the 10th he does not know, but he returns to the Acts of the Court.

To the 11th he does not know, except what precedes.

To the 12th his deposition is true. He knows nothing more.

The mark of Richard Wilkinson

The same to interrogatories.

To the first he replies, that perjurie is ye forswearing of a man that on oath as for a man to sweare ye truthe noe more but ye truth & that ye punishmente of a false wittnes is ye pillorie. He knows nothing more. To the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th he replies, he denies for himself, for others he does not know. To the 8th he replies, that at ye tyme interrogate Edmund Marston interrogate & wittnes, sumoned being called & not appearing Mr Halford said it was not reason but that ye said Marston should be sworne as well as ye others or why should not ye said Marston be sworne as well as wer the witnesses. He replied, that he knows nothing more, because he being an old man went away when he was sworne presently & did not heare ye passages interrogate. To the 9th he replies, that he hath many tymes seene ye interrogate Mr Leverich weare ye surplice & heard him baptize with ye signe of ye crosse & seene him administer ye communion to persons kneelinge & hath heard him preach & knowne him practize peace & conformity & commonly accompted to be not given to whoredome, drunkennes or other crime but a very honest man & of good name, life & conversation. He knows nothing further save predeposed. To the 10th and 11th he knows nothing save that deposed. To the 12th he replies that in these five or sixe monethes past ----- Leveriche wore ye surplice sometimes & sometimes read ye Epistle & Gospell & other partes of ye Booke of Common Prayer. He knows nothing further. To the 13th he replies, that within ye tyme interrogate the interrogant Mr Leverich hath showed himself very modest in his services & preachinge & hath kept himselfe to plaine doctrine. He knows nothing more. To the last he is satisfied.

Said before me Reg: Burdin surrogate.

Ricardi the mark of Wilkinson

[Statement of Richard Kestin]

Richard Kestin, of Great Bowden in the county of Leicester, husbandman, aged 60 or thereabouts, of a free condition, know well the arlate Mr Leverich, the witness being absent & gouty, but brought here on 12 January 1629 by the English style, deposes as follows.

To the first article he says, that he hath all ye tyme arlate & longer inhabited at Bowden Magna arlate & for this twelve monethes last past hath knowne ye arlate Mr Leverich to be accompted in holy orders & Curate of Bowden Magna arlate of ye Archdeaconrie of Leicester & to serve ye cure of soules therein & soe commonly accompted & hath seene him divers tymes exercise ye office of Curate at Bowden. He knows nothing more.

To the 2nd article he says, the article is true as he believes, referring himself to the court. He knows nothing more.

To the 3rd article he says, that in ye tyme arlate by him predeposed he hath upon Sundays & holydaies both at Morning & Evening Prayer & constantly for ye most parte frequented & beene at ye Church of Bowden arlate & there hath observed & seen ye said Mr Leverich for the most parte to omitt ye surplisse & instruction of ye youth & children of ye parish of Bowden arlate in ye fundamentall points of religion, in reading the Booke of Common Prayer. He knows nothing more.

To the 4th article he says, that for ye tyme arlate predeposed he hath knowne ye arlate Mr Leverich wholly to omitt ye reading of divine service upon Wednesdays, Frydaies & Saturdaies because he hath desired to heare service on those daies & did never heare or learne, neither did see him to reade service on those daies. He knows nothing more.

To the 5th article he says, that ye arlate Mr Leverich hath for ye tyme predeposed usually omitted at some tymes ye reading of ye Letanie & Epistle & Gospell, the Ten Commandments & ye Collect for ye daies & other prayers in ye Book of Common Prayer & hath most commonly omitted ye First Lesson properly appointed to be reade & insteade thereof hath reade some other chapter & after ye readinge of ye Second Lesson imediately sometymes caused a Psalme to be sunge & without any further service said hath forthwith gone into ye pullpit to preach. He knows nothing more, savinge he doth not remember that he reade ye Letanie above twice.

To the 6th he says, that in ye tyme arlate the arlate Mr Leverich hath verie many tymes omitted & not worne ye surplice in ye service upon Sundaies & holydaies & in ye administration of ye sacraments of Baptism & Holy Communion of ye Lords Supper. He knows nothing more [except as] aforesaid and depositions below.

To the 7th article he says, that about Michaelmas now last past this deponent was a communicante & at ye celebracion of ye communion upon a Sunday about ye said tyme in ye Church of Bowden Magna did see ye arlate Mr Leveriche to declare & administer of the bread to the communicantes without wearing ye surplice & after ye bread was administered he did put on ye surplice & wearing the same did administer ye wine. He knows nothing more.

To the 8th article he says, at ye tyme arlate & afore deposed he hath sene ye arlate Mr Leveriche to baptize severall children & hath heard him at ye same tyme to use ye wordes, baptize with ye signe of ye crosse, but cannot say he did not see him make the signe of ye crosse. He knows nothing more.

To the 9th he does not know, except by the account of Thomas Paine and others.

To the 10th he does not know, but refers himself to the Acts of the Court.

To the 11th he does not know, save the predeposed.

To the last he says, the predeposed are true. He knows nothing more.

Richard Kestin

The same to interrogatories

To the first he replies, that perjurie is a wittnes forswearing of his selfe & that causeth it is a parte sworn by ye booke of God were he to speake the truth & ye punishment of a false witness is to a prison as ye law requires according to ye offense & to the repuntante eternall damnation. He knows nothing more. To the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th he denies for himself. He knows nothing for others. To the 8th he replies, ye interrogate Board Marston, a wittnes interrogate, being but onto ye citacion for a wittnes and wanting at ye tyme of ye oath taking of this deponent & ye other wittnesses, this deponent did desire that ye said Marston might be called & sworne for a wittnes as with themselves that were then sworne & that Mr Walker interrogant did thereupon demand of ye said wittnesses which of them did desire to have ye said Marston sworne & this deponent then answered that he did desire it. And that ye said Mr Walker did desire to have it marked that ye wittnesses were parties & did desire to have Marston sworne against Mr Leverich & that Mr Walker offered to paye a groat to have the desire entered. He knows nothing more. To the 9th he answers, that he hath sometimes seene Mr Leverich wear the surplice & to administer the communion to persons kneelinge, & hath divers tymes heard him preach, & that he hath beene accompted for a person not given to drunkennes, whoredome or other visious crime, but to be of good name, fame, life & conversation. He knows nothing save that predeposed. To the 10th and 11th he knows only that predeposed. To the 12th he replies, that Mr Leveriche hath sometimes worne ye surplice & sometimes omitted it at ye tyme interrogate & sometimes reade ye Letany & Epistle & Gospell & other partes of ye Booke of Common Prayer. That since he hath beene questioned he hath performed ye rites & ceremonies better than he did before. He knows nothing more. To the 13th he replies, that ye said Mr Leverich hath shewed himselfe very modest in his preachinge & sermons & not medled with contradicted pockets in divinity & kepte himselfe to plaine & ordinary doctrines, as he believes saving that predeposed. For the rest, he is satisfied.

Said 12 Jan 1629 [before me] Jo. Lambe

Richard Kestin

[Statement of Edward Parsons]

Edward Parsons of Great Bowden in the County of Leicester, yeoman, of the age of 60 yeares or thereabouts, of a free condition, deposes as witness 22 Jan by the English style 1629 [exalatus] as follows. That he knew Master Leverich arlate well.

To the first article he says and deposes, that about October last was twelve moneth ye arlate Mr William Leverich came to be Curate of Bowden Magna & hath ever since served the cure of soules at Bowden Magna as m[inister] & curate there & was & is soe commonly accompt[ed]. The which he knoweth to be true because he hath all ye tyme arlate & longer lived & dwelled at Bowden aforesaid and soe hath ye better seene & observed ye same. He knows nothing more.

To the 2nd he says, that the article is true as he believes, referring himself to the laws and the canons.

To the 3rd he says, that within ye tyme arlate predeposed he hath beene at Bowden Church arlate upon ye Sunday & tymes arlate & hath knowne ye arlate Mr Leverich to omitt ye catechiseing of ye youth & children of ye parish arlate about halfe a dozen tymes upon Sundaies. He knows nothing more, save the predeposed.

To the 4th article he says, that at ye tyme predeposed Mr Leverich arlate hath seldome read prayers upon Wednesdaies, Frydaies & Saturdaies, for this deponent hath on those daies in expectation to heare service hearkened for ye tolling of a bell as it hath beene formerly used but hath seldome known or heard that he hath reade service upon any of those daies & ye common voice & reporte was & is that he seldome reads prayers & service on ye daies arlate excepte it be in tyme of Lente. He knows nothing more.

Appendices

To the 5th article he says, that he hath divers tymes in ye tyme predeposed observed & knowne ye arlate Mr William Leverich to reade ye Letany, ye Epistle & Gospell, ye Ten Commandmentes & Collect & other prayers accordinge to ye Booke of Common Prayer & that he hath many tymes after ye reading of two chapters for ye First & Second Lessons & after singing of a Psalme without reading any more divine service gone up into ye pulpit & preched. He knows nothing more saving the predeposed.

To the 6th he says, that ye hath divers tymes seene ye arlate Mr William Leverich in ye tyme arlate predeposed to reade divine service without ye wearing of ye surplisse upon Sundays & holydaies. He knows nothing more saving deposed above and below.

To the 7th article he says and deposes, that once in ye tyme arlate as this deponent being a communicante did see ye arlate Mr Leveriche at a communion of ye sacramente of ye Lords Supper to delivere ye bread to ye communicantes not haveing or weareing ye surplisse & that after ye bread was administered he did then see ye arlate Mr Leverich to have ye surplisse put on him & soe to administer ye wine to ye communicantes with ye surplisse upon him. He knows nothing more save the predeposed.

To the 8th & 9th he knows nothing.

To the 10th & 11th he knows nothing, except predeposed.

To the last he says, the predeposed by him is true. He knows nothing more.

Edward Parsons

The same to interrogatories

To the first he answers, that perjury is falsifyeing of an oath and speakeing against ye truthe & an oath is that which bindes one to speake the truth when he is thereto called before a magistrate & that ye punishmente of a false wittnes is punishmente of body in this life & eternall punishment in ye world to come. He knows no more. To the 2nd he does not know. To the 3rd he does not know. To the 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th he does not know. To the 8th he answers, that at ye tyme interrogate this respondent said it were fit that Edward Marston interrogate were sworne & ye reason of his for saying was because ye said Edward Marston were called in ye same manner as he & other ye wittnesses at ye tyme interrogatories were called and he answered that Mr Walker speaker interrogate did aske which of ye wittnesses it was that soe spake & that ye interrogate Richard Kestian thereupon made some answere in Court that now continued in this way & that he assented to. Farther then in saying it was fitt ye said Marston were sworne and he answers that ye said Mr Walker made proffer of some money in court. He knows nothing more. To the 9th he answers, that he hath seene Mr Leverich weare the surplice, baptize with the signe of the crosse, administer the communion to persons kneelinge & doe other acts of conformitie at divers tymes & hath heard him preach peace to ye good.... And he further answers, that ye said Mr Leverich is a man with fame for his life & convercacion. He knows no more save as predeposed. To the 10th [and] 11th he knows no more save as predeposed. To the 12th he answers, since August last ye interrogate Mr Leverich hath worne ye surplice & read ye Epistle & Gospell some partes of divine service at some tymes & sometimes omitted in manner predeposed. He knows nothing more. To the 13th he replies, that ye interrogate Mr Leverich hath in ye tyme interrogate beene modest in his preaching and sermons & hath preached plaine doctrines preached to ye capacitie of ye that.... He knows nothing more. To the last he is satisfied.

Edward Parsons

Said 22 January A.D. in English style 1629 before me Jo. Lambe

Appendix B - William Leverich's Letter to Thomas Hinckley dated February 22, 1646

[The biblical texts that William referred to have been added as footnotes]

A letter from the Rev Mr Leverich of Sandwich to my grandfather Hinckley.

22^d 12th 1645

Concerning the 2 other questions (which are 1st what is the infinite evil of sin; what the soul ought to see in it, & how it may look upon it, so as it may come to an utter separation from it, & have their league with it forever broken. 2ly what is to be seen in the Lord Jesus; what beauty it is; & how the soul may come to choose him to close with, as it may be made one with him). I shall communicate what I conceive & believe, in certain propositions, as follow.

1. In general. 1 There is no saving sight of sin or Christ, but in & by the word, whereit in respect of its general use, is called a light. One End whereof is to make things visible to the understanding or mind, which is as the Eye of the soul as the outward light other objects to the clerly[?] Eye so in respect of sin's manifestation the law is said to be glass discovering our natural errates as a looking glass does the spots of our faces, James 1. 23, 24^a, & in respect of the discovery of Christ's beauty the Gospel is called a mirrour, 2 Cor: 3. 17, 18^b & must[?] though it be true that the spirit's work is necessary to both viz. the manifestation of sin or Christ; yet to exclude the word & to depend on I know not what revelations, as some sectaries have done & doe is to follow a spirit of illusion, indeed the spirit of darkness, however transforming himself into an angell of light, as the apostle speaks. *Causa principalis non excludit subordinatum*^c & hence the prophet finds all to the law & testimony for the tryall of imposters of Isa: 8. 20^d, that if they speak not according to this word, there is no morning light in them.

2. The evill of sin in order to the soul's separation from it is to be seen consequently from the former proposition, & so the beauty of Christ in order to the soul's closing with him as represented in the word. Thus the first as transcending all other evils, & the other as transcending all other goods its capable. For the stony ground fayling in the former apprehension appostatises; because of the crosse accompanying profession; & the thorny ground fayling in the latter, apostatises, through temptation of other inferiour goodthings, as pleasures, riches, &c., Mat: 13^e, & soe as the crosse was looked upon as the greatest evill, & worldly things as the greatest good. They when they were put into the ballance (as it useth to bee in times of temptation) that which was the greatest weight turned the scales. As the contrary part looking at Christ as the greatest gain, accounts all humane accomplishments to be as dung & dross in comparisson of the winning & gaining of him. 3 Phil: 8^f, &c.

So Moses, Heb: 11. 25, 26^g, looking upon Christ as the cheifest good, chusethe very worst part of Christ afflictions reproach rather than the best of a kings court; yea than all the treasures of Egypt. Christ is & must bee looked at as the pearl of price, before the soul will forsake all for him, 13 Mat: 45, 46^h, & as this is necessary at the first; so in case the recovery of a soul owt of a relapse, 2 Hos: 2. 6, 7ⁱ. When they resolve upon returning to Christ as their first husband, they shall have such apprehensions revived in them, for as Christ is the most glorious object that ever can be seen as he is -----
----- superlatively amiable & beautifull in himself (Cant: 5. 10^j his glory as of the only begotten of the father full of grace & truth), yea all Collos: 2. 11^k so must he be seen in order to their closing with him. So must he bee seen in this native beauty of his, & as sin is the greatest evill, for sin deprives of the greatest good, 2 Jerem: 13^l, & is in its very nature an actuall turning of the soul from God; & a turning to vain things which will not profit; so it must be seen in order to the separation from it: a farther ground whereof is, this because the spirit of God by the ministry of his servants has used these as arguments to turn men from sin, & to bring them to God in Christ; & Gods arguments contain the best & most effectuall reasons, & the best proportioned (that they were believed) to the end propounded, which is the framing of the soul one way or another. Yet ~

- a James 1: 23-24. For if any be a hearer of the word, and not a doer, he is like unto a man beholding his natural face in a glass; for he beholdeth himself, and goeth his way, and straightway forgetteth what manner of man he was.
- b 2 Corinthians 3: 17-18. Now the Lord is that Spirit: and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty. But we all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as the Spirit of the Lord.
- c The main purpose does not exclude the lesser one.
- d Isaiah 8: 20. To the law and to the testimony: if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them.
- e Matthew 13.
- f ? Philippians 3: 8. But now ye also put off all these; anger, wrath, malice, blasphemy, filthy communication out of your mouth.
- g Hebrews 11: 25-26. Choosing rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season; esteeming the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures in Egypt: for he had respect unto the recompence of the reward.
- h Matthew 13: 45-46. Again, the kingdom of heaven is like unto a merchant man, seeking goodly pearls: who, when he had found one pearl of great price, went out and sold all that he had, and bought it.
- i 2 Hosea 2: 6-7. [Hosea 2: 7]. And she shall follow after her lovers, but she shall not overtake them; and she shall seek them, but shall not find them: then shall she say, I will go and return to my first husband; for then was it better with me than now.
- j Canticles [Song of Solomon] 5: 10. My beloved is white and ruddy, the chiefest among ten thousand.
- k Colossians 2: 11. In whom also ye are circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by the circumcision of Christ.
- l Jeremiah 2: 13. For my people have committed two evils; they have forsaken me the fountain of living waters, and hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water.

3. Tho such a sight (as before) is required as a previous disposition to seperation from sin & a closing with Christ; for the understanding is the highest faculty & represents their objects to all other faculties before they can be as one duely moved, for *ignati nulla cupido*^a & thus Christ prays that his elect may be sanctified by his truth, whose propper subject is the mind, 17 John: 17^b. Yet this light or sight alone is not sufficient of itself, whereas a farther work upon the will which is the propper subject of such acts, & are (tho exercised about divarse objects) together. For to close with Christ or to receive Christ (for I had rather in these things), keep to the scripture phrase (as its expressed, John: 5. 55^c) is to embrace him, or entertain him for as he is offered & tendered in the gospell viz. as prophet, priest & king; when the soul denyes its own wisdom & righteousness &c. is made willing to be taught by him, ruled & saved &c. & thus to receive the gospell is to receive Christ, Colos: 2. 6^d, for they had not enjoyed any other presence of Christ, any bodily presence but they submitted to the gospell only, & so are said to receive him. Thus is this act expressed in an other place, by being espoused to Christ, 2 Cor: 11. 2^e, which is done by consent of the will according to the phrase God useth 2 Hos: 5, 7, 14, 19^f when he describes his entring into covenant with his elect. I will espouse her unto me, &c., & as receiving is an act of the will; so is seperation from sin, or repentance, which is joined with it, Mark:1. 15^g, a displeaseness of the will with sin, a turning from it, with hatred, Hos: 14. 7^h, Eseek: 36. 26, 27, 31ⁱ. I say to this acts is required a farther work of the spirit upon the will & thus drawing is joined with teaching. 6 John:^j & drawing implies a holy violence on that father's past, as well as unwillingness & backwardness on the soul's part, & this violence is by

Not being certain the following part of the letter is immediately connected to the next preceeding, but mistrusting it consisted of another sheet, I brake off & write the other part by itself, which begane another side[?] as the former ended one.

What is the ground of this conviction of sin? Because they believe not on me. This is the special sin that shall be charged on the hearts & consciences of the Jewes, & so on all others, by the spirit, in the ministry of the word: because they believe not on me viz. on Christ come in the flesh & fulfilling all things phrophesyed on him, as the messias, because they beleive not on this Christ to the receiving & imbracing of him, as he has revealed & manifested himself: & offered himself freely to every creature, Jewes first, & then Gentiles, that accept him by faith: and why this sin especially. Consider - 1st. This is the scope of the ministry of the apostles, and so all other ministers of the Gospell, to bare Christ witness; to bespeak men in his name; as his embassadours, to be his spokesmen & friends, as hee is the bridegroom and this is the great charge, that beleive on Christ, 1 John: 3. 23^k, and this is his comandment, that you beleive &c. The duty of beleiving on Christ is the great duty, as that comandment of beleiving is the great commandment: & thus by the rule of the like. This is the great sin, that men beleive not on Christ: that all the world stands chargeable with, that imbrace not the Gospell: as Adams sin in paradice was aggravated, because he had but one great commandment, & yet he brake that. 2ly. This sin hath the greatest aggravations, in that unbeleivers sin against the lawe of the father & son, that cannot be paralleled, 3 John: 16^l, & the patience of the Holy Ghost, that is manifested in the tenders of the Gospell, which is not to be equalled in any other work. This love and patience is trampled under feet by unbeleivers; that by their carelessness & negligence, say in effect, they will have none of God's mercy &c. 3ly. This manifests more hardness of heart than any other sin in the world: willfully resist such light & refuse such mercy: as the apostle shewes, Heb: 3^m, compared with the 4th where they will not hear God's voice to enter into his rest, signified by Canaan, but purchased & prepared by Christ the true father of the Jewes. 4ly and lastly, because this sin of not beleiving in Christ draws with it the sorest & surest damnation. 2 Heb:ⁿ. How shall we escape &c. The apostle can see no means, leaves that question to be resolved by mens consciences if the guilt of this sin be retained, all sinns are retained; other sinns are damnable, but this is damning without remedy: if we sinn against the moral law of idolatry, adultery, drunkenness, &c.; yet beleiving on Christ they shall be washed, 1 Cor: 6. 9, 10, 11^o. There is a pardon tendered in the Gospell; but if they reject this there is no remedy, but persisting inevitably, as wounds & deseases that by their malignity reject all remedies are mortall. This also is the ground why the world shall be convinced of sinn, not their sins against the law, but against the Gospell.

- a no desire of the unknown
- b John 17: 17. Sanctify them through thy truth: thy word is truth.
- c John 5: 55. [None]. [?: 33].
- d Colossians 2: 6. As we have therefore received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk ye in him.
- e 2 Corinthians 11: 2. For I am jealous over you with godly jealousy: for I have espoused you to one husband, that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ.
- f Hosea 2: 5, 7, 14, 19.
- g Mark 1: 5. And they went out unto him all the land of Judaea, and they of Jerusalem, and were all baptized of him in the river of Jordan, confessing their sins.
- h Hosea 14: 7. They that dwell under his shadow shall return; they shall revive as the corn, and grow as the vine: the scent thereof shall be as the wine of Lebanon.
- i Ezekiel 36: 26-27, 31. A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you: and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh, and I will give you an heart of flesh. And I will put my spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments, and do them..... Then shall ye remember your own evil ways, and your doings that were not good, and shall lothe yourselves in your own sight for your iniquities and for your abominations.
- j John 6.
- k 1 John 3: 23. And this is his commandment, That we should believe on the name of his Son Jesus Christ, and love one another, as he gave us commandment.
- l John 3: 16. For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.
- m Hebrews 3.
- n Hebrews 2.
- o 1 Corinthians 6: 9-11. Know ye not that the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God? Be not deceived: neither fornicators, nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God. And such were some of you: but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.

2ndly. The spirit shall convince of righteousness; because I goe to the Father. What is this righteousness? And what force is there in this ground, because for the first doubtless by righteousness is meant the righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ, and this is double. 1st personall, or inharent on the person of the Lord Jesus. 2nd wee may call dispensative, which redounds from the former: that righteousness which God offers to the world in his name & person the value & worth of his obedience. Its opposed to guiltyness.

Dan: 9. 24.^a 3 Phil: 9. 10.^b

The world of Jewes & other unbelievers hath had & still hath many corrupt opinions, carnall conceipts, concerning this righteousness of the Lord Jesus: the Jews thought Christ to be an unrighteous person in the days of his flesh; accounted him a seducer & deceiver of mens souls, & he was numbered amongst transgresors by the death they put him to, 53 Isa:^c a death appointed by their law for none but malefactors in high degree and for the dispensative righteousness of Christ, they saw not the vullue price & worth of it, but rested in their own rotten righteousness of the ceremonial & morral law, sacrifices, tythes of mint & cummine &c. but they were not as publicans, Luk: 18. 13^d, and Paul shews this was his case sometimes, 3 Phil:^e, he names his righteousness amongst other things as what he accounted gain, viz. profitable to his own salvation, tho he had no interest in Christ his righteousness, & this is the generall strain of civill men, formall professors & hypocrites, & what is this else but to make Christ a deceiver as well Jewes did in the days of Christ: Christ is by interpretation made an unrighteous person & a deceiver of souls, when they have not that one apprehension of the worth of his person, the vullue of his death & virtue of his blood: what needs all this since men can be saved by their own righteousness. Thus among papish merites the blood of Christ is no more than as the blood of a dead man, Rev: 16. 3^f. Well; the spirit shall convince them of this righteousness of Christ, viz. that the Lord Jesus Christ was the only righteous & just person that ever was in the world: all converted Jewes & Gentiles were; & that there is no other person hath grace with God the Father so as Christ had by virtue of any righteousness or works of their own to procure their attonement & peace: but that all their own righteousness is as menstruous cloath, Isa: 64. 6^g, & as dung & dogsmeat, 3 Phil: 9^h, &c.

Their consciences shall be brought to subscribe to this by the efficacy of the spirit in the ministry of disciples &c. which rested securely in their rotten righteousness before & contemned Christ Jesus before. And how shall they be convinced of this? Why by any ground. Because Christ goeth to his father & they enjoy not his bodily presence any more. 2. How is this an argument to convince any man's conscience? ... Why, thus 1st consider the nature of God the Father of Christ as he is a righteous God: 17 John:ⁱ. Righteous father & his righteousness is elsewhere discribed by this effect, that he cannot behold iniquity, 2 Hab:^j, viz. so as to approve of it and its an approbation of unrighteousness when communion is held with unrighteous persons, & what nearer communion than to admitt them into his glorious presence; but Christ ascends up into the presence, the glorious presence of his Father, yea is admitted to sit upon his right hand, & thus Christ must needs be [a] righteous person for this very ground: 2ly for the place whither Christ ascends & goes up, its a place of glory, yea Gods glorious throne & so if Christ Jesus was not thus righteous he could never ascend there himself, much less have grace to prepare that place for others & to be their advocate in that court: in the mean while Christ Jesus could not have entered into this sanctuary or most holy place if he had not been indued with such a righteousness as answered Gods holy nature. Others ascend by virtue of this righteousness, but Christ by his own righteousness. So by this it must be evident to men's consciences by the word & spirit & thus Peter convinces Jewes, 2 Acts 24^k, that Christ was the just & righteous one, because God had raised him up & so made him Lord & Christ viz. declared him to be so, which pierced their hands like a daggers point, is truce to their very hearts, because they had imersed[?] their wicked hands in his blood for by the resurrection of Christ from the Dead with power according to the spirit of holiness, Christ was declared to be Son of God, Rom: 1. 4^l, and by the same means Christ is declared to be a fitt person to be a mediatour, Heb: 7. 26^m.

- a Daniel 9: 24. Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to finish the transgression, and to make an end of sins, and to make reconciliation for iniquity, and to bring in everlasting righteousness, and to seal up the vision and prophecy, and to anoint the most Holy.
- b Philippians 3: 9-10. Lie not one to another, seeing that ye have put off the old man with his deeds; and have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him.
- c Isaiah 53.
- d Luke 18: 13. And the publican, standing afar off, unto heaven, but smote upon his breast, saying, God be merciful to me a sinner.
- e Philippians 3.
- f Revelation 16: 3. And the second angel poured out his vial upon the sea; and it became as the blood of a dead man: and every living soul died in the sea.
- g Isaiah 64: 6. But we are all as an unclean thing, and all our righteousnesses are as filthy rags; and we all do fade as a leaf; and our iniquities, like the wind, have taken us away.
- h Philippians 3: 9. Lie not one to another, seeing that ye have put off the old man with his deeds.
- i 17 John.
- j 2 Hab.
- k Acts 2: 24. When God hath raised up, having loosed the pains of death; because it was not possible that he should be holden of it.
- l Romans 1: 4. And declared to be the Son of God with power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection from the dead.
- m Hebrews 7: 26. For such an high priest became us, who is holy, harmless, undefiled, separate from sinners, and made higher than the heavens.

.....1660.

The last point of conviction by the word [of the] spirit is conviction of judgment which is the judgment of Christ & his judicial power, which is committed to Christ as King, for to judge is the office of a king, see Isa: 33. 22^a, where they are put together and thus judgment is given to Christ in diverse respects, 1st in respect of reformation of the world by his word & spirit, Isa: 2. 4^b, & so often in the prophets, & in this sense is that taken, Mat: 12. 20^c, & so expounded by the best interpreters, till judgment be brought forth into victory, viz. that work of sanctification which is begotten by the work of the spirit of Christ & begun, tho in weakness in the hearts of his, Christ will not desert his work till he makes it victorious over all adversary powers from Sathan & lust that still in combate against it, for that victory implies it. 2nly. In respect of adjudging all the world to life or death, which he will perform at the last day, Act: 17. 31^d, he hath appointed a day to judge the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained wherof he hath given assurance to all men in that he hath raised him from the dead & this supreme judicial power hath the father committed to the son in respect to the administration of it that all men might honour the son as they honour the father, John: 5. 23^e.

Obstinate Jewes had the notion of this in generall concerning the messias; they expected that he should be a king, but misunderstanding of prophesyes & blinded by envy & malicious prejudice against Christ in respect of the outward seeming baseness of his person, parentage, outward condition of life, & because they loved & received praise of men more than of God rejected him openly & with generall consent. 2nd. They misunderstood his offices, so could not abide to hear of any reformation, changing of customs & ordinances received by Moses, Acts: 6. 13, 14^f, madd him, much less could they away with his spirituall government in their hearts & consciences, 19 Luk:^g They will not have this man reign over them. 3ly. They confined this to carnall Israell, excluding Gentiles & themselves so much the more for their subjection to his sceptre, as Rom: 11. 18^h, as concerning the Gospell they are enemies for themselves; this calls for the mighty conviction of the spirit & upon carnall ones among Jewes & Gentiles as it is this day though making profession of outward subjection to his laws & seeming to magnifie his righteousness highly in words though hypocrisie abused, & abuse his rich grace, turning it into wantonness, as Paul shewed in many places, & Jude. [How that] the spirit in the word convinces men, Christ is not only to change but judge and so rule them by his word & spirit & set up a throne of judgment in their hearts against the laws thir lusts & corrupt wills & hearts or else adjudge them to death & damnation another day if they hypocritically magnify their[?] justification but idle[?] sanctification which is in effect to put him off[?] his judgment seat & to take away the honour which the father requires at all mens hands, as before that in regard of judgment committed to him they should honour him as the father is & ought to be honoured and upon this all shall subscribe unto, as a thing evident as well as the former two. And by what argument or evidence? why, because the prince of this world is judged the force of this argument is from the greater to the less. If the prince, much more all his vassals, but the prince of that world is judged and that by Christ, ergo all his vassals thus in John: 3ⁱ, now is the judgment of this world, the prince of this world shall be cast out. The prince of that world is confessedly Sathan, who hath dominion in the world & in the hearts & consciences of the men of this world, in respect of that homage & reverence men do to him, is called the God of this world, 2 Cor: 4. 4^j, Sathan's kingdome is in all points especially.

1st. In swaying of them by his suggestions, motions & inspiration in which respect he is said to work effectually in them, 2 Ephes:^k, even as God doth by his holy motions & inspirations work effectually in his saints. 2ly. In terrifying of their consciences, in which respect he is said to have the power of death, 2 Heb: 14^l, viz. a permissive power, both in the latter as if in the former he is in both the ruler of darknesses, in the plurall number, so as God's kingdom stands in righteousness, peace & joy of the Holy Ghost; so Sathan's principality & kingdom is in anguish[?] & terrour, conscience & sadness, h...rour coming hence &c. But he is judged & that by Christ, the words intend the future time, especially according as the scope of the promise shews thus Satan was judged, 1st, upon the cross, which was as it were his triumphing chariot 2 Coloss: 14^m. Sathan was judged when Christ was crucified upon the cross for hereon Christ fully satisfied God's displeasure, from which displeasure Sathan had his power for Sathans power is a punishment for sin, & *culpa remissa remittitur poena*ⁿ.

- a Isaiah 33: 22. For the Lord is our judge, the Lord is our lawgiver, the Lord is our king: he will save us.
- b Isaiah 2: 4. And he shall judge among the nations, and shall rebuke many people: and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruninghooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more.
- c Matthew 12: 20. But he that received the seed into stony places, the same is he that heareth the word, and anon with joy receiveth it.
- d Acts 17: 31. Because he hath appointed a day, in the which he will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained; whereof he hath given assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead.
- e John 5: 23. That all men should honour the Son, even as they honour the Father. He that honoureth not the Son honoureth not the Father which hath sent him.
- f Acts 6: 13-14. And set up false witnesses, which said, This man ceaseth not to speak blasphemous words against this holy place, and law: For we have heard him say, that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, and shall change the customs which Moses delivered us.
- g Luke 19.
- h Romans 11: 18. Boast not against the branches. But if thou boast, thou bearest not the root, but the root thee.
- i John 3.
- j 2 Corinthians 4: 4. In whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them.
- k 2 Ephesians.
- l Hebrews 2: 14. Forasmuch then as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same; that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil.
- m Colossians 2: 14. Blotting out the handwriting of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us, and took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross.
- n the crime having been dismissed, the punishment should be dismissed.

2ly, by the power of the spirit in the reformation of the word (as before) converting of Jews & especialy Gentiles among whom he had tyranized for many a long day, thro idol-worship &c. which Sathan doubtless would never have suffered could he have helped it, 11 Luk 21^a, when a strong man keeps the house as with a garrison untill a stronger &c. This I think to be the plain & full meaning of thy place.

*Transcribed word for word & line for line & the 2 last sides side for side (from his own hand writing) per me
T. Prince*

a Luke 11: 21. When a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace.

Appendix C - William Leverich's Letter to John Wilson dated September 22, 1651 and the Testimonial which was published with it in *Strength out of weaknesse* in 1652

[The footnote is not part of the published text]

As Mr Wilson was stirred up in himselfe to send us the relation of his owne observations upon his journey with Mr Eliot, so he having received some precious lines from an able minister of the gospel, viz. Mr Leverich of Sandwich in the Government of New Plymouth, whom the Lord had stirred up to labour also in the conversion of the Indians: the eares seeming as it were white unto harvest, and the labourers but very few, he adventures to put in his sickle, not without hopefull successe, as will appeare in his following lines. And for the discouragements mentioned in his letter, know that divers of his people having cast off all the ordinances of God in his Church, at last came to be seduced by every idle spirit that came amongst them, to be led into such fancies as we are ashamed to mention. And so this good man upon this occasion turned to the Indians, where he meets with an abundant blessing upon his endeavours.

Reverend Sir, I salute you in the Lord. I shall trouble you onely with two things, first, the mooving causes inducing mee to set upon this worke: secondly, with what successe I have hitherto been entertained, by the blessing of God upon my weake endeavours. For the first of these, I suppose its not unknowne to your selfe, amongst many others, what singular exercise I have had in these parts, and what singular conflicts I have met withall in my travails amongst our owne countrymen, divers of them transported with their (though not singular) fancies, to the rejecting of all churches and ordinances by a new cunning, and I perswade my selfe one of the last but most pernicious plot of the Devill to undermine all religion, and to introduce all atheisme and profanenesse, if it were possible, together with which, I have observed a spirit of pharisaisme and formalitie too, too evidently creeping upon and strongly possessing others generally, beside other discouragements I shall forbear to mention, which considered divers our brethren, together with my selfe, upon consultation had together, were resolved to moove together else whether, where we might hope for more and better encouragement, as touching our communion, if God so pleased: but were dissuaded by divers our honoured friends, both by their letters and more private councills, unto whom we gave way, at least for the present. Not long after, having an hopefull Indian in my house, he propounds to mee a motion of teaching the Indians neere us. And sometime after Mr Eliot invites mee to the same work by his letters: then I thought with my selfe I must stay, and began to tast the motion with more affection, resolving, that if God would please to fit up the roomes of others with the access of such forlorne creatures, and bring in such as wandered in the high wayes, lanes and hedges, and call in the lame and halt, and blind, in stead of those contemners, it would be a mercy; and by no other respects in this world was my breast inclined unto this worke and to attend God in it. As touching the second, for matter of successe and incouragement, I cannot but reckon this one, and that not the least, that though the Indian tongue be very difficult, irregular and anomalous, and wherein I cannot meet with a verbe substantive as yet, nor any such particles, as conjunctions, &c. which are essentiall to the severall sorts of axioms, and consequently to all rationall and perfect discourses, and that though their words are generally very long, even *sesquipedalia verba*,^a yet I finde God helping, not onely my selfe to learne and attaine more of it in a short time, then I thinke I could or did of Latine, Greeke or Hebrew, in the like space of time, when my memory was stronger, & when all known rules of art are helpfull to fasten such notions in the minde of the learner: but also the Indians to understand me fully (as they acknowledge), so farre as I have gone. I am constrained by many ambages and circumlocutions to supply the former defect, to express my selfe to them as I may. The next encouragement I may not without ground omit to mention is this, that it pleaseth God to helpe some of these poore creatures to looke over and beyond the examples of some of our looser sort of English, which I looke upon as a great stumbling blocke to many. It's to be lamented that the name of God so generally professed by those looser sort of English, should be so generally polluted by them, and blasphemed by heathens, through the occasion of their loosenes and deniall of the power of godlinesse, yet God gives some of theirs a spirit of discerning between precious and vile, and a spirit of conviction, to acknowledge (oh that ours would lay it to heart) there is no difference between the worst Indians and such English saying, they are all one Indians, yea and further, to put a like difference between such Indians amongst themselves here and elsewhere, as appeare to be more serious in their inquiries after God, and conscientious according to their light, and such others as are more slight, and meere pretenders to religions. Thirdly for more particular observations. 1. God has brought some of them to a sence of their sinnes, and a feare of his justice. Here I shall insert an example or two, one of them being to repeate such principles I had begun to traine them in, in a catechistical way (for my penury confines mee to this method at present, and I hope it may be never the worse for them) was a good while before he could speake, having his countenance sad before (and as I have understood since a weeke together after our former exercise) and in speaking the teares all the while trickling downe his cheekes. After being demanded by mee what was the matter of his sadnesse, he answeres mee, he did now understand that God was a just God, and for himselfe he had been very wicked, even from a childe. And another, whom I used as my interpreter now and then in teaching them, falls suddenly and publicly into a bitter passion, crying out, and wringing his hands, out of the like apprehension of his condition, as he told mee afterwards, and I finde no one of them (daring men) to speake of their good hearts, but some more some less sensible of the contrary. Secondly, God hath brought some of them to some evangelicall conviction, one acknowledging that though he and others leave their former evils, and should keepe Gods commandements, yet without Christ they must goe to hell. Thirdly, two or three of them have complained of the hardnesse of their hearts, and are questioning of remedies. Fourthly, speaking to them of the mercy of God in Christ, one of them tells publicly, it did him more good to heare of Christ, then to heare of all earthly good things, I would faine hope for deeds of faith in such. Fifthly, two of them I deale withall, particularly for personall evils, by name for the sinne of fornication, which they were carried away into, which my Indian acquainting my selfe with after our exercise I spake unto, shewing them the evils of this sinne, and aggravating of it by the knowledge they now had of God, &c. and exhorting them to repentance, and to

seeke mercy in Christ; whereupon one of them fell into bitter weeping, presently the other though his heart was shut up at present, yet not long after, and with longer continuance sayd, I have observed in others a sence of temptations, spirituall bondage, which they expressed naturally thus: one saith that he and the Devill were all one souldiers, and this in sadnesse of spirit and speech: another laying his hands upon his knees and hammes, complains he was as a man tyed in cords, and prays to God to be unloosed, and in generall they are observed divers of them to pray with much affection, mourning; in so much that they are in this respect a wonderment to their companions, who enquired what is the matter, why they doe so, &c.

A fourth encouragement to me is this, I finde the Devill bestiring himselfe, and betaking of himselfe to his wonted practice of stirring up oppositions against this worke by his instruments, as fearing the ruine of his kingdome, their countrey men manifesting their hatred, threatening they shall not plant, hunt, &c. as before; yea the controversie or enmitie rather arises between parents and children, &c. Lastly, and not long before I was last with you in the Bay upon a second day in the morning before they went away, there came to me to the number of twentie of them, voluntarily professing one by one their desire to feare God, promising that they would leave their sins, (some intermixing acknowledgements of their sins and ignorance: and one that English and Indians knew shee had been very wicked) hereunto calling Jehovah to witness; and this to doe all their dayes, as long as they live: some bringing their children, and causing them to make the like profession; whereupon I was the more stirred towards them in my spirit (though I acknowledge I was loath to make an absolute engagement) to promise them I would endeavor to be as helpfull to them as I could in teaching them: which when I had done, they gave mee thankses publiquely; and since this, they living some seven miles from us, have built a wigwam of purpose neer our towne to receive them when they come on the Lords dayes; and truly Sir, they are so attentive in hearing, that it grieves me I cannot speake to them as I desire, they seeming to be hungry, and I wanting bread for them. And thus Sir, you have a naked narration of our our proceedings, with the events fallen out by Gods providence within not many moneths. It is I believe a day of small things, and so lookt at by our English many of them, who surely would have perished in their darknesse, if all others should have contemned them as they these, I pray God they perish not in the light, however, I am resolved to bable to them as I may, considering that out of the mouths of babes God ordaines praise, and found strength to still the enimie, &c. the beginnings of Gods great works are often in great obscuritie, where he appoints the end to be glorious. Also I remember one sowes and another reaps, which where ever they be, such as are faithfull shall rejoyce together. I doubt not Sir, of your fervent prayers (which I doe further beg of you and others that know how to pittie lost ones) for my selfe and poore Indians, that the Lord will prosper our endeavours this way, and water them with his abundant blessings in Jesus Christ, that the day-spring from on high may visit such poore soules as are in darknesse, and the shadow of death, and bring them to life in Jesus Christ.

*Sandwich this 22th of William Leverich.
the 7th 1651.*

a words one and a half feet long. [Horace, *The art of poetry*, line 97].

The next letter is a testimoniall from a private hand of what Mr Leverich mentions in his to Mr Wilson, where we may see some fruits of his labours testified by a neighbour of his at Sandwich, which is fiftie miles from that place, where Mr Eliot hath taught other Indians for divers years: but we doe not a little rejoyce to heare that Mr Leverich is engaged in this worke, because he is a grave learned, knowing and prudent Christian, one indeed from whom by Gods blessing we may expect much good.

Concerning the Indians I have seene and heard more this sommer then ever I did before, I have seene some Indians crave a blessing before meate, and returne thankses after meate, pray morning and evening, some of them doe frequent our meetings, they come constantly eight or tenne miles every Saturday, and the Monday they returne home againe, while our exercise doth last, they doe attend diligently, but understand but little, but when that is done Mr Leverich and they doe put questions one to another, and Mr Leverich hath an Indian, that speakes good English, and he is interpreter. There is a man that lives neere us, that comes from an island that is called Martins Vineyard, where is a minister that speakes good Indian, he doth preach to them every weeke, he hath told me that that minister told him, that there are some of them Indians, that are able to give a better reason of their faith, then some of the members of their Church; some of them will preach, and they have private meetings, and keepe very good orders.

*Sandwich 22th Anthony Bessey.
September 1651.*

Appendix D - Depositions of William, Ellen and Caleb Leverich
taken by Consent of the Huntington Court on April 18, 1660

The deposition of me Willam Leverig taken, by the consent of the corte the 18 of Aprell 1660.

1. I afferem that whare as Henary Whitne and Samull Blakman depose that I answered Henary Whitnes question namly what shall we do about metings in thes wordes I thinke that I shall preach no more tell satisfackcion be geven that the answer I made to this question wase that I am weak and unabell to preach at presant or in wordes to that efete and to no soch efete as is testified by the sayd H. W. and S. B. namly I thinke I shall preach no more.

2. Whereas the uttering of this odious wordes viz. that I leve amonge a company of hipocrites desembebars if charged upon me by the sayd H. W. and S. Blakman I afferem I used not thos wordes in that discorse at all but in sted thar of used othar wordes which in regard of the season and maner of my speaking I never iustified and it I doute not if they had bine regularly charged upon me I can make good and cold ther.

3. I acknowledge that when Henary Whitne had in this discors sayd wordes to this efete that the towen wase the worse or in a worse condision then when they depended upon mee I answered that if the towne be the worse for me I am sory and if it be so nex if they be worse for me they may use thar libarty to provid them sellfes betar or the like wordes bot used no word in that discorse to signify my mind to set the towne at libarty to loke a new minestar and dismise me exepte it ware upon that condision they ware the worse for me which I beleve they are not unlest at be thar owne defaultt.

4. I acknowledge that aftar H. Whitne in his discorse had implisertely charged me with the breach of the sabathe I wase thare by som what moved and having forthar discorse about som ofenses confesed against me I replyed I am not fete to preach bot if I ware I question whethar I shod preach any more, with refren[ce] to that case only unlest I be othar wise satisfied or the like bot never used the word Huntington in that discorse at all or any resolucion not to preach.

5. I aferem that the wordes he deposeth I added when or as he wase going away viz. that hee shod preach no more etc and so forth with the rest that follow are falls as also the like wordes before haveing ha[d] no discorse of any 3 pason as the word Hee which he sayeth I aded playnly signyfieth as if our discors had bin a bout the preaching or not preaching of som third parson this is all falls then shoting up his discors he sayth thes ware the exprist wordes refering to this as well as the rest of the relasion deposed unto.

Finally I afferem that as the sayd Henary Whitne wase going out he sayd to me God send you your hellth or the like and my answer wase this and this only fareye well and no soch wordes as thay say he added then.

6. I aferem I never used word a bout preaching any mor but onse in that discorse and then I sayd I question and so forth as be fore.

Lastly and to som upall this I say and afferem that the sayd deposition is fals upon the formar testimony whic I give upon sartayn knowledg and parfet remenbanc of the partickulars I presed therin and not upon the best of my remembarans which wordes or the like bein aded in thar deposition (haveing aded wordes and sendanses of thar own heades put on thing for another ometed othar thinges esencial to the clearing up of the treuth and it deposing thes ware the expres [~~word~~ wordes) doth not excuse the fallsnes of thar othes.

This is a trew copy taken by me Tho[mas] Skid[mor], Clark.

The deposition of Ellinor Leverig taken by the consent of the corte the 18 of Aprell 1660.

1. I witnes that the begining of the discors betwen Henary Whitne and my hosban aftar usall sallutation betwen them had passed wase consarning meting and Henary Whitne asking my hosban soch a question what shall we do about meting or the like mi hosban tould hem he wase not set to preach at theat presant inregard of his bodyly weknes or soch like wordes this was his answare and I know he did not then speke of his unsatisfiting to preach nor expres those wordes at that tim which thay say he answered that is I think I shall preach no more untell satisfackcion be given this paseig is not trewe.

2. I afferem upon sartayn knowleg my hosban used not thes wordes hypocrits nor desinelares in this descors nor charged any particular part or parson of the towen with thos names and I parfety remembar what othar wordes he sed then in refaren to som which being not rightly reported am not bound to relate but beleve thay ware trew ye nose.

3. I testifi that in all that discors my hosban never used any word to manifest his mind to dismis the town or to set them at libarty to provid another minestar in his sted only when Henary Whitne had sayd wordes to this efete that the towne ware in a wors condision then befor he came or the like my husban answard I am sori if the towne be the wors for me if it be so thay may us thar libarty to provid them sellves be betar or the like wordes which I undarstand thay have wholly left out of thar othe and have not sayd the wholl treuth.

4. When Henary Whitne had charged my husban in som sort with profaning the Sabbath or being the cus of ites profaning and aftaar som furthar discors which was about sum ofenses taken against my hosban he sayd soch like wordes as thes I

am not set to preach but if I ware I question whether I shod preach any mor tell I am betar satisfied but never menciond Huntington nor any porpos he had not to preach in Huntington bot only spoke in generall and as questioning the such
.....[last line cut off].....

5. I aferem my hosban used no such word as Henary Whitne sayd as he wase going out nor spoke of any fee he shud not preach and so foth nor sayd the towne might gete another if thay wolld and so foth this is fallse as Henary Whitne was going out he sayd to my hosban I pray God send you your hellth or the like wordes in answar thar unto my hoban spake to or three wordes but I can not say what bot am sewer it wase not a bout preaching and satisfackcion or getting a nothar or telling the town.

6. I witnes that in all this discors pased between Henary Whitne and my hosban my hosban nevere spoke but onse consarning his preaching or not preaching untell he was satisfied and then he sayd I question whethar I shall preach any mor tell ar unless I be betar satisfied or the like and then he sayd I question.

This is a trew copy taken by me Thomas Skidmor, Clark.

The deposition of Calebe Leverick taken by the consent of the corte of Huntington Aprell the 18 1660.

1. Consarning my fathars answar to Henary Whitnes question namly what shall we do about meting & testifi that my fathares answar was in wordes to signyfi his own weknes and inability to preach and to no othare efete and thar fore it is a fallshod which if deposed by Henary Whitne, and S. B., namly that in answar to this question he said I think I shall preach no mor untell satisfackcion be given.

2. I testify that my fathar spake not thos word I live among a company of hipcrites desemblares but in sted thar of he used othar words which thou thay are not produced I dout not but he culd mak good to the full.

3. I testify that upon Henary Whitnes saying that the towne ware in wors condision then when thay depended on hem or to this porpos my father answard that I am sory that the town shod be the wors for me and if thay be the wers thay may use thar liberty to provid them sellfes betar or other like wordes but used no othar wordes in that discorse be twen Henary Whitne and hemsellf tending to the dismissing of the towne to get a nothar minestar in his sted.

4. Aftar Henary Whitne had charged my fat[h]ar with the breach of the Saboth and being the case of profan of it at lest in phisekly and upon othard if cors confarning ofenses taken against hem of my fathar replied he answered thes wordes I am not set to preach bot if I ware I question whethar I shold preach any more (with refarens to that case and giveing his resonas for it tell he be othar wayes satisfied or to this efete bot signyfiend not his resolution to the contrary nor used the word Huntington in all that discors.

5. I testify that my fathar sayd not thos wordes which the deponent sayth he aded as he wase going out nor any on[e] of thos sentanses nor was thar any resun or case given at that tim why my fathar shod speke of any 3 pason his not preaching tell satisfackcion wase given of the word Hee thar expresed playnly shous thay depos he did Hee shall preach no more and so forth that if sombody ells bot not my father seur which used the work he as thay depose.

6. I testify that my fathar speking about preaching and satisfackcion in ordar thar unto never spoke of it but ons in this discors and then he sayd I question as is testifyed before.

This is a trew copy taken by me Tho[mas] Skid[mor], Clark.

Appendix E - Proceedings against Members of Case's Crew at the Court of Sessions of the West Riding of Yorkshire and the Court of Assizes of New York in 1675

[Court of Sessions for the West Riding of Yorkshire held at Gravesend on June 15]

Tho: Case) both to bee bound to the good behavior in a bond of 40*l* a piece & to appeare at the
Sam: Scudder) Generall Court of Assizes to answer to what shall then bee objected against them there.

Two depositions sent by Justice Coe from Jamaica about Tho. Case, and Sam. Ruscoes declaracion about hearing the nooes, &c. It was in May last about the time of their meeting at Oysterbay.

Mr Tho. Wandall [a juror] about a scandalous paper directed to Mr Leveridge signed Sam. Scudder.

Sam. Firman bound to the Court of Assizes also in 20*l*.

[Presentation of Mary Case to the Court of Assizes]

Samuel More, Constable of New Towne, presents Mary Casse, the wife of Thomas Casse for that she about the 4th or 5th dayes of September, being Sunday [i.e. September 5, 1675], came into the church or meeting house att New Towne a forsaid a bouthe three a clocke in the afternoone in the tyme of prayers and sermon into the plase aforesaid and did make a publike disturbance of the minister then and there being in the performance and discharge of his duty, &c.

[Entered for trial and hearing at the Court of Assizes beginning on October 6]

Samuel Firman, the Quaker, bound over by the Governor's speciall order to the Court of Sessions at Gravesend, and from that Court to the Assizes in 20*l* bond for the good behavior. Samuel Scudder, a Quaker, bound over by Justice Betts, by order of the Court of Sessions, to bee of the good behavior and to answer a scandalous paper by him sent to Mr Leverich 20*l* b[ond]. Thomas Case, bound over by order of the Court of Sessions, a Quaker and disturber of the peace, to be of the good behavior and to answer his misdemeanors at the Court of Assizes 40*l* b[ond].

[Court of Assizes on October 9]

Samuel Scudder, a Quaker, bound over by order of the Court of Sessions of Gravesend, brought before the Court.

Mr Leverich of New Towne produces Samll. Scudders long and scurrilious lettre.

Eliz. Appleby, a Quaker woman, coming to disturb the Court, ordered to bee committed.

Mr Leverich declares his denyall of the truth of the particulars.

Sam: Scudder committed.

A presentment brought by the Constable of New Towne against Mary Case for disturbance of the minister of New Towne in time of service. Captain Coe declares that hee was then there and heard say to the minister, Come downe thou whited wall, thou art one that feedest thy selfe and starvest thy flock, and as hee thinks seducer. A warrant to bee sent for her, to bee here on Tuesday morne.

Thomas Case brought to the barre. To bee brought againe on Tuesday.

Francis Coely, a Quaker, upon submission, dismist.

[Court of Assizes on October 12]

Thomas Case bound over by the Court of [blank]

Mr Cornell, sworne, saith, that yesterday was three weekes [since] hee saw Tho: Case at Flushing at John Bound's [Bowne's], or before his doore, and did see him make a great disturbance there, and bade him go away and not make such a disturbance, to which hee answered, hee would not goe till hee saw his owne time.

Mr Wandall, sworne, saith, that hee hath knowne Tho: Case severall times since his being bound to the good behavior, preaching and denouncing judgment against the people, and having severall people from Oyster Bay and other places at his house, some singing and others in other postures, with severall tones, in particular of Samuell Scudder's strange actings, and others in Case's house, lying like doggs, hoggs and coves. Thom. Wandall acts some [of them]; it was done before Case.

David Jennings, John Woolstoncraft. Sworne

Woolstoncraft saith, that Tho. Case told him [that] at a particular time there was a great smell of brimstone. Hee replied, hee was afraid Case was going that way. Another time, that David Jennings fell downe as if dead, and Case undertooke to bring him to life. Tho. Wandall was also present the same time.

Jennings, formerly one of that congregacon, relates that hee was, as it were, smitten dead, at the time spoken of by the Lord as he thinks. Hee saith, when hee was one of them, hee did at first shake of his owne accord, but afterwards it tooke him at unawars when others did the like. Hee confesses, that Case hath preached to him severall times.

Mr Cornell saith, hee hath with drawne severall from their families, particularly one Edward Banbury of Mad-Nans Neck, who neglected his family, so that hee and his family were ready to starve. That one of Case's Crew pretended to have the gift of languages at times.

Thomas Wandall saith, that there was a meeting at his house, for 14 dayes together, and keepes many poore people from their families and businesse. In particular, Cleare's wife and Applebye's wife (the woman committed on Saturday).

James Way) Declares upon oath
Tho: Morrell) ½ Quakers

James Way saith, that about a yeare & halfe agoe, Tho. Case told him hee was God, but afterwards hee said hee was of God, and so must hee bee, or bee of the Devill.

Morrell relates Case's catechising of a woman, beginning, Who made thee, etc. Hee saith the same as James Way about God.

William Wyat saith, that going once to heare Tho. Case preach, hee heard him say, that when hee should dye hee should rise againe the third day. Tho. Case, being asked the truth of this, saith, it was reveled to him that hee should rise againe. Wyat saith, that Case pronounced judgment against him.

Mary the wife of Tho. Case

Jonathan Hazard, sworne, saith hee saw and heard her say, looking up to the minister, Come thee downe, thou that feedest thyselfe, and starvest thy flock. Shee pretends shee went in obedience to the Lord to declare against Mr Leveriche's doctrine.

The Constable relates, upon the disturbance, his leading her out of the meeting and perswading her to bee quiet. The Court adjourned till tomorrow morning.

[Court of Assizes held on October 13]

Persons in prison: William Graves, Tho. Case and Mary his wife, Samuel Scudder....

Thomas Case, the Quaker, his case taken into consideracion, the judgment of the Court is, that hee bee fined 20*l* and bee bound to the good behavior until the next Court of Assizes, in penalty of 40*l*. And in case of his pursuing his evill practices, to the disturbance of the government, or bee found amongst any concourse of those who do the like, either at home or abroad, prooffe being made thereof before the next Justice of Peace, the said Justice is to send him to prison, without bayle or mainprize, to answer the misdemeanor at the next Court of Sessions.

Mary Case, for disturbing Mr Leverich and the congregacon, the judgment of the Court is, that shee shall pay immediately the summe of five pounds to the King and to continue in prison till it bee paid, after which to bee of the good behavior.

Samuel Scudder, for his scandalous letter to Mr Leverich, the which hee acknowledged in Court, the judgment of the Court is, that hee pay a fine of 6*l* or suffer two moneth's imprisonment, and to bee after of the good behavior in the penalty of 20*l*.

Elizabeth Appleby to bee released, and bee of the good behavior.

[Governor and Council on November 1]

Mary, the wife of Thomas Case, is brought by the Sheriffe bef[ore] the Go[venor] and Councell, upon the request [of] 3 of her daughters and husbands that l[ive] at Aftercull [Achter Col], that shee may have her liberty. Upon her promise of not goei[ng] abroad to unlawfull meetings, nor su[ffer]ing any at home, shee is ordered to b[e] releas't, the fine to bee levyed upo[n] her husbands estate, its 5*£*, and t[o] bee of the good behavior.

[Bond of Samuel Scudder on November 10]

Know all men by these presents, that I Samuell Scudder of Mashpeth Kills upon Long Island, husbandman, am holden and firmly bound, unto our Sovereigne Lord the King, in the summe of twenty-pounds of good and lawfull money of England, or the value; to the which payment well and truely to bee made, I doe hereby bind mee, my heyres, executors and administrators firmly by these presents. Sealed with my seale, dated the 10th day of November, in the 27th year of His Majesties raigne, Annoque Domini 1675.

The condicion of this obligacion is, that the abovebounden Samuell Scudder bee of the good behavior, which if hee the said Scudder doth truly observe and not act contrary thereunto, for the space of one yeare and a day, then this bond to bee void and of none effect, otherwise to stand and bee in full force.

Sealed and delivered in the presence of
Henry Newton John: Sharpe

Samuell Scudder
[seal]

Appendix F - Examples of William Leverich's Scriptural Notes with the Latin Notes of Johannes Piscator and the Biblical Texts on which they are based

Genesis 3: 12

- Bible* And the man said, The woman whom thou gavest to be with me, she gave me of the tree, and I did eat.
- Piscator* Diabolus quum hominem semel induxit in peccatum, demergit eum subinde profundius, ita ut homo peccata peccatis augeat. Ut in Adamo incredulitatem secuta est inobedientia, inobedientiam dissimulatio, excusatio & defensio peccati: defensionem tandem secuta est blasphema accusatio Dei.....
- William* When ye devill hath once brought a man into his snare, he plunges him further, soe as to add sin to sin. Adam comes from unbeliefe to disobedience thence to dissimulation, excusation & defence ofe sin, thence to blaspheme & accuse God himselfe as if God.

Genesis 18: 5

- Bible* And I will fetch a morsel of bread, and comfort ye your hearts; after that ye shall pass on: for therefore are ye come to your servant.
- Piscator* Vera hospitalitas hoc unum spectat, ut hospiti hospitibusve beneficiat.
- William* Hospitality looks at this one thing especially to doe good to such wee entertaine.

Genesis 27: 32

- Bible* And Isaac his father said unto him, Who art thou? And he said, I am thy son, thy firstborn Esau.
- Piscator* Deus tempora actionum humanarum ita dispensat, ut serviant exsequutioni decretorum ipsius.
- William* God orders tymes ofe mans actions to serve ye execution ofe his decrees.

Genesis 29: 6

- Bible* And he said unto them, Is he well? And they said, He is well: and, behold, Rachel his daughter cometh with the sheep.
- Piscator* Deus actiones hominum providentiâ suâ ita gubernat, ut serviant ad promovenda sancta proposita suorum.
- William* God governes actions ofe men to bring his holy purposes about.

Deuteronomy 2: 5

- Bible* Meddle not with them; for I will not give you their land, no, not so much as a foot breadth: because I have given mount Seir unto Esau for a possession.
- Piscator* In gratiam piorum progenitorum Deus interdum etiam impiis posteris beneficit. Ergo pietati studeamus.
- William* God doth good to wicked posterity for ye sake ofe pious progenitores & forefathers.

Deuteronomy 22: 9, 10 & 11

- Bible* Thou shalt not sow thy vineyard with divers seeds: lest the fruit of thy seed which thou hast sown, and the fruit of thy vineyard, be defiled. Thou shalt not plow with an ox and an ass together. Thou shalt not wear a garment of divers sorts, as of woolen and linen together.
- Piscator* Simplicitati in omnibus actionibus nostris studere debemus.
- William* Wee are to study simplicity in all things then God allowes not mixtures in religion.

Deuteronomy 33: 6 to 26

- Bible* Let Reuben live, and not die; and let not his men be few.....
- Piscator* Vita diuturna, numerosa soboles, victoria contra hostes, recta administratio ministerii ecclesiastici, divitiæ ex negotiatione & re pecuria, copia metallorum, ut ferri & æris: omnia hac, pro donus Dei agnoscenda sunt.

Appendices

William Long life, numerous ofspring, victory against enemyes, ministry, publiq worshippe, pece, abounding with, riches from cattell & merchandise, aboundance of mettalls as iron, brasse, are to be acknowledged ye gifts ofe God.

Joshua 3: 11

Bible Behold, the ark of the covenant of the Lord of all the earth passeth over before you into Jordan.

Piscator Consolentur se hac cogitatione, quòd Deus cui serviunt, sit dominus totius terra: ac proinde ubivis terrarum cultores suos curet.

William We should looke upon God as ye God ofe whole earth, when he undertakes great things for us in transplanting us in strange countryes &c. De meo.

Joshua 4: 6, 7, 8, 9, 21 &c. [chapter 3 in Riker's notes]

Bible That this may be a sign among you, that when your children ask their fathers in time to come, saying, What mean ye by these stones?.....

Piscator Beneficia Dei in recente perpetuâque memoriâ retinenda, & apud liberos nostros commemoranda & prædicanda sunt.

William Benefitts ofe God to be kept in fresh memory & to be propagated to posterity.

Joshua 24: 26 & 27

Bible And Joshua wrote these words in the book of the law of God, and took a great stone, and set it up there under an oak, that was by the sanctuary of the Lord. And Joshua said unto all the people, Behold, this stone shall be a witness unto us; for it hath heard all the words of the Lord which he spake unto us: it shall be therefore a witness unto you, lest ye deny your God.

Piscator Acta magni momenti in libros referenda sunt, ut perpetuum de illis testimonium exstet.

William Acts ofe great moment to be committed to writing for perpetual memory.

Joshua 24: 32

Bible And the bones of Joseph, which the children of Israel brought up out of Egypt, buried they in Shechem, in a parcel of ground which Jacob bought of the sons of Hamor the father of Schechem for an hundred pieces of silver: and it became the inheritance of the children of Joseph.

Piscator Exemplum pietatis proponitur tum in Josepho, qui ossa sua non in Ægypto, ubi mortuus fuit sed in terra Chanaan Israëlitis à Deo donatâ sepeliri voluit, tanquam in symbolo scilicet vitæ æterna: tum in Israëlitis, qui ossa illius secum asportarunt, & in terra illa, sicut majores, ipsorum Josepho juraverant, sepeliverunt.

William The lawful oaths ofe ancestors bynd posterity. De meo.

Judges 4: 18

Bible And Jael went out to meet Sisera, and said unto him, Turn in, my lord, turn in to me; fear not. And when he had turned in unto her into the tent, she covered him with a mantle.

Piscator Deus interdum per inferna instrumenta res magnas efficit: ut hic per mulierem interfecit virum bellicosum.

William God useth weake instruments to doe great things.

Judges 14: 4 & 5 [verses 3 & 4 in King James version]

Bible [14: 3 & 4]And Samson said unto his father, Get her for me; for she pleaseth me well. But his father and his mother knew not that it was of the Lord, that he sought an occasion against the Philistines.....

Piscator Quum Deus decrevit ut hoc vel illud ab homine fiat, frustra laboratur in illo dehortando.

William Gods decrees sway mens wills, thoug they be ignorant ofe them.

1 Samuel 10: 5

Biblewhen thou art come thither to the city, that thou shalt meet a company of prophets coming down from the high place with a psaltery, and a tabret, and a pipe, and a harp, before them; and they shall prophesy.

Piscator Cavenda autem musica quæ excitat animi levitatem ac libidinem.

William Musicke great force to stirre up ye mind & affections ofe it.

1 Samuel 10: 25

Bible Then Samuel told the people the manner of the kingdom, and wrote it in a book, and laid it up before the Lord.

Piscator Libri actorum publicorum studiosè asservandi sunt.

William Publicke records to be studiously preserved of things publike.

1 Samuel 16: 17 & 18

Bible And Saul said unto his servants, Provide me now a man that can play well, and bring him to me. Then answered one of the servants, and said, Behold, I have seen a son of Jesse the Beth-lehemite, that is cunning in playing, and a mighty valiant man, and a man of war, and prudent in matters, and a comely person, and the Lord is with him.

Piscator [on verses 17 & 24] Notetur hic mira vis musica, quòd scilicet per eam pellatur animi perturbatio: quam melancholiam vulgo nominant.

William Force ofe musicke in composeing perturbation ofe mynde.

1 Samuel 22: 2

Bible And everyone that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented, gathered themselves unto him; and he became a captain over them: and there were about four hundred men.

Piscator Exemplo Davidis momentur, licitum esse illis qui ad partem gubernationis reipub. vocati sunt, contra injustam vim regum aut principum armis sese defendere.

William Such as are called to part ofe ye government ofe ye common-wealth may defend themselves with armes against ye unjust force of kinges & princes.

1 Samuel 26: 23 & 24

Bible The Lord render to every man his righteousness and his faithfulness: for the Lord delivered thee into my hand to day, but I would not stretch forth mine hand against the Lord's anointed. And, behold, as thy life was much set by this day in mine eyes, so let my life be much set by in the eyes of the Lord, and let him deliver me out of all tribulation.

Piscator Bona conscientia bonam ex se spem parit. Ut hoc loco David ex conscientia suæ innocentiae spem concipit protectionis sui à Deo.

William Good conscience breedes good hope.

Notes

The following abbreviations are used for frequently cited publications:

<i>ActsPCECol</i>	W. L. Grant & James Munro (ed.), <i>Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial series</i> , ([London], 1908-12).
<i>AlumniCantab</i>	John Venn & J. A. Venn, <i>Alumni Cantabrigienses</i> , part 1, (Cambridge, 1922-27).
<i>AlumniOxon</i>	Joseph Foster, <i>Alumni Oxonienses: the members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714</i> , (Oxford, 1891-92).
Bradford	William Bradford, <i>History of Plymouth Plantation 1620-1647</i> , (New York, 1912).
<i>CalSPCol</i>	W. Noel Sainsbury (ed.), <i>Calendar of state papers, Colonial series</i> , (London, 1860-).
<i>CalSPDom</i>	John Bruce (ed.), <i>Calendar of state papers, Domestic series, of the reign of Charles I</i> , (London, 1858-97).
<i>CMHS</i>	<i>Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society</i> . 1 (1792) -.
<i>CNYHS</i>	<i>Collections of the New York Historical Society</i> . 1 (1811) -.
<i>ConnCR</i>	[Vol. 1] J. Hammond Trumbull (ed.), <i>The public records of the Colony of Connecticut prior to the union with New Haven Colony, May 1665</i> , (Hartford, 1850); [vol. 2] J. Hammond Trumbull (ed.), <i>The public records of the Colony of Connecticut from 1665 to 1678</i> , (Hartford, 1852).
<i>HarlSoc</i>	<i>The publications of the Harleian Society</i> . 1 (1869) -.
<i>HuntingtonTR</i>	Charles Street (ed.), <i>Huntington town records, including Babylon, Long Island, N.Y., 1653-1688</i> , ([Huntington], 1887). This edition of the Huntington town records needs to be used with care as Street treated documents dated from January 1 to March 24 as though they belonged to the previous year - see for example vol. 1: 58-60, where the orders signed by R. Nicolls in March 1664/5 are placed before documents dated in April 1664, whereas Nicolls did not become governor of New York until his capture of New Netherland in August 1664.
<i>MassBayCR</i>	Nathaniel B. Shurtleff (ed.), <i>Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England</i> , (Boston, 1853-54).
<i>NEHGR</i>	<i>The New England historical and genealogical register</i> . 1 (1847) -.
<i>NEQ</i>	<i>The New England quarterly</i> . 1 (1928) -.
<i>NewtownCM</i>	<i>Minutes of the Town Courts of Newtown, 1656-1690</i> , (New York, 1940).
<i>NewtownTM</i>	<i>Town minutes of Newtown</i> , (New York, 1940-41).
<i>NHampPP</i>	New Hampshire, <i>Provincial papers</i> , (1867-1941). The volumes in this series have different titles and editors.
<i>NHavenCR</i>	[Vol. 1] Charles J. Hoadly (ed.), <i>Records of the colony and plantation of New Haven from 1638 to 1649</i> , (Hartford, 1857); [vol. 2] Charles J. Hoadly (ed.), <i>Records of the colony or jurisdiction of New Haven from May 1653 to the union</i> , (Hartford, 1858).
<i>NHavenTR</i>	Franklin Bowditch Dexter (ed.), <i>New Haven town records</i> [vol. 1] 1649-62, [vol. 2] 1662-84, (New Haven, 1917-19).
<i>NPlymouthCR</i>	Nathaniel B. Shurtleff (ed.), <i>Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England</i> , (Boston, 1855-61). Vols. 9-12 were edited by David Pulsifer.
<i>NYGBR</i>	<i>The New York genealogical and biographical record</i> . 1 (1870) -.
<i>NYorkDCH</i>	E. B. O'Callaghan (ed.), <i>Documents relative to the colonial history of the State of New York</i> , (New York, 1853-88).
<i>ODNB</i>	H. C. G. Matthew & Brian Harrison (ed.), <i>Oxford dictionary of national biography</i> , (Oxford, 2004).
<i>OysterBayTR</i>	John Cox Jr (ed.), <i>Oyster Bay town records</i> , (New York, 1916-31).
<i>PCSM</i>	<i>Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts</i> . 1 (1892/93) -.
<i>PMHS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society</i> . (1858/59) -.
<i>RhodelsCR</i>	John Russell Bartlett (ed.), <i>Records of the Colony of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations in New England</i> , (Providence, R.I., 1856-65).
Winthrop	John Winthrop, <i>The history of New England from 1630 to 1649</i> , ed. James Savage, New edn, (Boston, 1853).
<i>WinthropPap</i>	<i>Winthrop papers</i> , (Boston, 1929-92).
<i>WMQ</i>	<i>The William and Mary quarterly</i> . 3rd series, 1 (1944) -.

Great Britain

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- T. C[artwright], *A repleye to An answer made by M. Doctor Whitgifte agaynste the Admonition to the Parliament*, (Hemel Hempstead?, [1573]), 13.
- William Shakespeare, *Mr William Shakespeares comedies, histories & tragedies*, (London, 1623), [Alls well that ends well, Act 1, Scene 3].
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- 12 *By the King: a proclamation for the authorizing and uniformitie of the Booke of Common Prayer to be used throughout the realme*, (London, 1603[4]); *The Kings Majesties speech, as it was delivered by him....on Monday the 19th day of March 1603[4]*, (London, 1604); G. W. Prothero, *Select statutes and other constitutional documents.....of Elizabeth and James I*, 2nd edn, (Oxford, 1898), 417-419; *Constitutions and canons ecclesiasticall*, (London, 1604).
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- 2 Patrick W. Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: a tenth-century cultural history*, (Woodbridge, 1993), 215-235; Alan Crossley (ed.), *A history of the County of Oxford*, vol. 13, (Oxford, 1996), 25.
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- 9 W. P. W. Phillimore (ed.), 'A calendar of wills relating to the counties of Northamptonshire and Rutland proved in the Court of the Archdeacon of Northampton, 1510 to 1652', *The index library*, 1 (1888): 20; The National Archives: PROB 11/39, f.7v-8r; Henry J. Cowell, "'The Father of New England": John Winthrop (1588-1649)', *The Essex review*, 58 (1949): 58-63; H. W. King, 'Some particulars of the descent of the manor of Little Stambbridge not recorded in Essex history', *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society*, Ns7, 2 (1884): 190-206; Antonia Fraser, *Cromwell, our chief of men*, (London, 1973), 25-26.
- 10 Suffolk Record Office (Bury St Edmunds): R2/47, f.57v-58r (registered copy of will), W1/66, f.64 (original will), FL586/4/1; Northamptonshire Record Office: 4P/1A & 114P/202; John Bridges, *The history and antiquities of Northamptonshire*, (Oxford, 1791), 2: 207; William Page (ed.), *The Victoria history of the county of Northampton*, vol. 3, (London, 1930), 161-162. Abraham Leverich of Ecton was involved in a Chancery court case in the period 1617-21 - The National Archives: C 3/316/48.
- 11 'Of them that are to be baptized in private houses in time of necessitie', in *The booke of common prayer, with the psalter or psalmes of David*, (London, 1607); B. Midi Berry & R. S. Schofield, 'Age at baptism in pre-industrial England', *Population studies*, 25 (1971): 453-463.
- 12 John Cole, *The history and antiquities of Ecton in the county of Northampton*, (Scarborough, 1825), Preface, 1; Albert Henry Smyth (ed.), *The writings of Benjamin Franklin*, (New York, 1905-07), 1: 228-229.
- 13 Northamptonshire Record Office: MW19, f.202r-v & MW35, f.63r-v.

- 14 John Rouse Bloxam, *A register of the....members of St Mary Magdalen College in the University of Oxford*, (Oxford, 1853-85), 4: 230; William Dunn Macray, *A register of the members of St Mary Magdalen College, Oxford, Ns.*, (London, 1894-1915), 3: 84-85; The National Archives: PROB 11/82, f.179v-180r; Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch & Queensberry*, vol. 3, (London, 1926), 101-104.
- 15 Francis W. Steer (ed.), 'Scriveners' Company Common Paper, 1357-1628, with a continuation to 1678', *London Record Society publications*, 4 (1968): 44; Marc Fitch (ed.), 'Index to the administrations in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury', vol. 6, 1631-1648, *The index library*, 100 (1986): 255; W. M. Noble (ed.), 'Calendars of Huntingdonshire wills, 1479-1652', *The index library*, 42 (1911): 180.
- 16 Henry Isham Longden, *Northamptonshire and Rutland clergy from 1500*, (Northampton, 1938-43), 14: 11-12; Northamptonshire Record Office: 359p/10; L. F. Salzman (ed.), *The Victoria history of the County of Northampton*, vol. 4, (London, 1937), 11; John Fetherston (ed.), 'The visitation of the county of Warwick in the year 1619', *HarlSoc*, 12 (1877): 408-409. There is a gap from 1591 to 1594 in the Diocese of Peterborough's Institution Book for 1585-98 (Northamptonshire Record Office: X956/3) so that there is no official record of the start of Robert Travell's ministry at Weston Favell.
- 17 Roland G. Usher, *The reconstruction of the English church*, (London, 1910), 2: 361-362 (British Library: Sloane Ms 271, f.20v-21v); Northamptonshire Record Office: X614/38, f.94v & 95r - this document is in poor condition and may contain other references to Robert Travell.
- 18 Northamptonshire Record Office: X956/4, f.12v; The National Archives: SP 38/8.
- 19 Northamptonshire Record Office: MW44, will 255. His will was proved in 1641.
- 20 *MassBayCR*, 1: 287.
- 21 Norfolk Record Office: Norwich Consistory Court, Will register, 1589-90, f.661v-663r.
- 22 I. G. Philip (ed.), 'Journal of Sir Samuel Luke', *The Oxfordshire Record Society*, 29 (1950): 64, 68 & 75, 31 (1950): 92 & 33 (1953): 242 & 250; F. G. Emmison (ed.), *Bedfordshire parish registers*, (Bedford, 1931-), 1: A11 & A80; Bedfordshire & Luton Archives: ABP/W/1684/66 & ABP/W/1688/4; H. G. Tibbutt (ed.), 'The minutes of the first Independent church (now Bunyan Meeting) at Bedford 1656-1766', *The publications of the Bedfordshire Historical Record Society*, 55 (1976).

2 - Cambridge

- 1 Words used to describe Cambridge in Thomas Shepard's autobiography - Alexander Young, *Chronicles of the first planters of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, from 1623 to 1636*, (Boston, Mass., 1846), 515.
- 2 Nigel Goose, 'Household size and structure in early-Stuart Cambridge', *Social history*, 5 (1980): 347-385. Victor Morgan, *A history of the University of Cambridge*, vol. 2, 1546-1750, (Cambridge, 2004) is a recent history of the university in the seventeenth century. Frank Stubbings, *Bedders, bulldogs and bedells: a Cambridge glossary*, Rev. edn, (Cambridge, 1995) is an invaluable guide to university terminology, past and present, by a former Librarian of Emmanuel College. The colleges that existed during William's lifetime were Christ's College, Clare Hall (now Clare College), Corpus Christi College, Emmanuel College, Gonville & Caius College, Jesus College, King's College, Magdalene College, Pembroke Hall (now Pembroke College), Peterhouse, Queens' College, St Catharine's Hall (now St Catharine's College), St John's College, Sidney Sussex College, Trinity College and Trinity Hall.
- 3 Stanford E. Lehmborg, *Sir Walter Mildmay and Tudor government*, (Austin, Texas, 1964).
- 4 Frank Stubbings (ed.), *The statutes of Sir Walter Mildmay....for the government of Emmanuel College*, (Cambridge, 1983), 60 & 90-91. Sarah Bendall, Christopher Brooke & Patrick Collinson, *A history of the Emmanuel College, Cambridge*, (Woodbridge, 1999) is a detailed, modern history of the college.
- 5 Thomas Fuller, 'The history of the University of Cambridge since the Conquest', 147, in, Fuller, *The church-history of Britain*, (1655).
- 6 Stubbings, *The statutes of Sir Walter Mildmay*, (1983), 52 & 74; William Dillingham, *Lawrence Chadderton, D.D.*, (Cambridge, 1884), 9-11.
- 7 [Richard Corbett], *Poëtica stromata*, ([Netherlands], 1648), 30 & 71.
- 8 Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments, England, *An inventory of the historical monuments in the City of Cambridge*, (London, 1959), 61-71.
- 9 Stubbings, *The statutes of Sir Walter Mildmay*, (1983), 32 & 86.
- 10 Ruth Hughey (ed.), 'The correspondence of Lady Katherine Paston, 1603-1627', *Norfolk Record Society*, 14 (1941): 72 (British Library: Add. Ms 36988, f.31r); Frank Shuffelton, *Thomas Hooker 1586-1647*, (Princeton, NJ, 1977), 24-25; Amy M. Charles (ed.), *The Williams Manuscript of George Herbert's poems*, (Delmar, N.Y., 1977), f.75r.
- 11 The Mead - Stuteville correspondence in British Library: Harleian Mss 389 & 390 extends from 1620 until the latter's death in 1631.
- 12 James Heywood & Thomas Wright (ed.), *Cambridge University transactions during the Puritan controversies of the 16th and 17th centuries*, (London, 1854), 2: 325-327 (Harleian Ms 389, f.428v).
- 13 Cambridge University Library: University Archives - Matriculations, 2 (matriculation register) & 6 (college matriculation lists).
- 14 G. E. C., *The complete peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom*, New edn, vol. 5, (London, 1926), 520-521.
- 15 Ivonwy Morgan, *Prince Charles's Puritan chaplain*, (London, 1957); Larzer Ziff, *The career of John Cotton: Puritanism and the American experience*, (Princeton, N.Y., 1962); Sargent Bush Jr & Carl J. Rasmussen, *The library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 1584-1637*, (Cambridge, 1986), 43 & 65-66.
- 16 Morgan, *Prince Charles's Puritan chaplain*, (1957); Steven R. Pointer, 'The Emmanuel College, Cambridge, election of 1622: the constraints of a Puritan institution', in, Laura Lunger Knoppers (ed.), *Puritanism and its discontents*, (Newark, Del., 2003), 106-121; Heywood & Wright, *Cambridge University transactions*, (1854), 2: 312-313 (Harleian Ms 389, f.235).
- 17 Thomas Ball, 'The life of John Preston', in, Samuel Clarke, *A general martyrologie*, [Part II], The lives of thirty-two English divines, 3rd edn, (London, 1677), 94. Clarke entered Emmanuel in 1617, was a pupil of Thomas Hooker and graduated in 1620.
- 18 *True copies of all the Latine orations, made and pronounced at Cambridge on....the 25 and 27 of Februarie last past 1622.... in their entertainment of Don Charles de Coloma....and of....Ferdinand, Baron of Boyscot*, (London, 1623).
- 19 Charles Henry Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, vol. 3, (Cambridge, 1845), 160-161 (British Library: Harleian Ms 389, f.366); Elizabeth Hamilton, *Henrietta Maria*, (London, 1976), 42-54.
- 20 Stubbings, *The statutes of Sir Walter Mildmay*, (1983), 61; Bendall, Brooke & Collinson, *A history of Emmanuel College*, (1999), 71-77; Bush & Rasmussen, *The library of Emmanuel College*, (1986).
- 21 E. S. Leedham-Green, *Books in Cambridge inventories*, (Cambridge, 1986), 1: 574-575; Jefferson Looney, 'Undergraduate education at early Stuart Cambridge', *History of education*, 10 (1981): 9-19; The National Archives: PROB 11/177, f.460r.

- 22 Leverich, 'The Rev. William Leverich', (n.d.), 10; William Munk, *The roll of the Royal College of Physicians*, 2nd edn, vol. 1, (London, 1878), 204-205 & 231-232.
- 23 Christopher Brooke, *A history of Gonville and Caius College*, (Woodbridge, 1985), 61-64 & 93-95; Geoffrey Keynes, *The life of William Harvey*, (Oxford, 1966), 9-34.
- 24 Heywood & Wright, *Cambridge University transactions*, (1854), 2: 364 & 390-391 (Harleian Ms 390, f.361v & 511r); Stubbings, *Bedders, bulldogs and bedells*, (1995), 97-99.
- 25 Stubbings, *The statutes of Sir Walter Mildmay*, (1983), 50; Emmanuel College Archives: CHA 1.4A, f.8r-v.
- 26 Paul Slack, *The impact of plague in Tudor and Stuart England*, (Oxford, 1990), 111-169; *Articles and orders agreed upon by.....John Mansel.....Vicechancellor of the Universitie of Cambridge, and Thomas Purchas, Maior of the towne of Cambridge.....the xi day of July ann. dom. 1625*, ([Cambridge], [1625]).
- 27 Cambridge University Library: University Archives - Grace book Z, p.121 & 122; Emmanuel College Archives: COL 14.1, p.92.
- 28 Heywood & Wright, *Cambridge University transactions*, (1854), 2: 331-332 (Harleian Ms 389, f.483v-484r).
- 29 Leaflet: 'Archaeology at Grand Arcade', [2006].
- 30 Cambridge University Library: University Archives - Supplicats, 1624-26, f.315 & Grace book Z, p.115.
- 31 Cambridge University Library: University Archives - Subscriptiones I (subscription register, 1613-38), p.218 & 224; Heywood & Wright, *Cambridge University transactions*, (1854), 2: 253-255 & 269-270.
- 32 J. E. Foster (ed.), *Churchwardens' accounts of St Mary the Great, Cambridge, from 1504 to 1635*, (Cambridge, 1905), 400-402.
- 33 Young, *Chronicles of the first planters of the colony of Massachusetts Bay*, (1846), 503-506 & 510-515.
- 34 The Ward and Rogers family histories are confused and confusing, and there are few contemporary records of their baptisms and marriages to help. The principal sources used here are John Ward Dean, *A memoir of the Rev. Nathaniel Ward.....with notices of his family*, (Albany, N.Y., 1868) and Joseph Lemuel Chester, 'The Rogers genealogy and the Candler Manuscript', *NEHGR*, 17 (1863): 43-50, who base their accounts on the Matthias Candler manuscripts - British Library: Harleian Ms 6071 & Bodleian Library: Tanner Mss 180 & 257; Joseph Hunter, 'Suffolk emigrants: genealogical notices of various persons and families who in the reign of King Charles the First emigrated to New England', *CMHS*, 3s., 10 (1849). Matthias Candler entered Trinity College as a sizar in 1620, graduated in 1624 and was vicar of Coddensham in Suffolk from 1629 until he was ejected in 1662.
- 35 Dean, *A memoir of the Rev. Nathaniel Ward*, (1868), 121-132 & 135-164; John Blatchly, *The Town Library of Ipswich provided for the use of the town preachers in 1599*, (Woodbridge, 1989); J. M. Blatchly, 'Samuel Ward', *ODNB*, 57: 345-346; Janette Bohi, 'Nathaniel Ward, pastor ingeniosus, 1580?-1652', (University of Illinois, PhD thesis, 1959); Simon P. Newman, 'Nathaniel Ward, 1580-1652', *Essex Institute historical collections*, 127 (1991): 313-326; K. Grudzien Baston, 'Nathaniel Ward', *ODNB*, 57: 334-336. Newman appears to be incorrect when he states at page 318 that John was an elder brother, that Nathaniel and his family lived with him in Ipswich from 1614 during his time as minister of St Clement, Ipswich and that Nathaniel was churchwarden there.
- 36 Dean, *A memoir of the Rev. Nathaniel Ward*, (1868), 184-195; N. H. Keeble, 'Giles Firmin', *ODNB*, 19: 636-637; Giles Firmin, *The real Christian*, (London, 1670), 'To the Christian reader'.
- 37 M. M. Knappen (ed.), 'Two Elizabethan diaries by Richard Rogers and Samuel Ward', *Studies in church history*, 2 (1933): 37-49 & 103-135; Margo Todd, 'The Samuel Ward papers at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 8 (1985): 582-592; Margo Todd, 'Samuel Ward', *ODNB*, 57: 342-345.
- 38 Knappen, 'Two Elizabethan diaries', *Studies in church history*, 2 (1933): 17-35 & 53-102; Francis J. Bremer, 'Richard Rogers', *ODNB*, 47: 578-579; Joseph L. Chester, 'The Rogers family', *NEHGR*, 17 (1863): 326-329; Jason Yiannikou, 'Daniel Rogers', *ODNB*, 47: 544-545; Tom Webster & Kenneth Shippis (ed.), *The diary of Samuel Rogers 1634-1638*, (Woodbridge, 2004); Arthur Searle (ed.), 'Barrington family letters 1628-1632', *Camden fourth series*, 28 (1983): 257-258; Jason Yiannikou, 'Ezekiel Rogers', *ODNB*, 47: 547-548. Bremer is incorrect in stating that Richard's first wife was Mary Duckfield; she was his sister. *AlumniCantab*, 3: 480 suggests that the Samuel Rogers who entered Emmanuel in 1629 was perhaps the third son of John Rogers b[1570], but this is contradicted by the information in his diary.
- 39 Firmin, *The real Christian*, (1670), 75-76; C. Atfield Brooks, *The Dedham lectureship*, (Dedham, 1983); Jason Yiannikou, 'John Rogers', *ODNB*, 47: 562-563; Chester, 'The Rogers family', *NEHGR*, 17 (1863): 329-330; Michael P. Winship, 'Nathaniel Rogers', *ODNB*, 47: 575; Henry F. Waters, 'Genealogical gleanings in England', *NEHGR*, 41 (1887): 174.
- 40 John Angier, *An helpe to better hearts, for better times, indeavoured in severall sermons*, (London, 1647); [Oliver Heywood], *A narrative of the holy life, and happy death of.....Mr John Angier*, (London, 1685), 9 & 84-85; Ernest Axon (ed.), 'Oliver Heywood's Life of John Angier of Denton', *Remains historical and literary connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester*, Ns., 97 (1937); Michael Mullett, 'John Angier', *ODNB*, 2: 158-160. Axon states at 49n1 & 130n3 that the Edmund Angier who married John Rogers' daughter was John Angier's uncle, but he is much more likely to have been his cousin. The entry of both Samuel Rogers and John Angier to Emmanuel on the same day in 1622 suggests that this Samuel Rogers was the son of John Rogers of Dedham.
- 41 S. Winter, *The summe of divers sermons preached in Dublin before L. Deputie Fleetwood*, (Dublin, 1656); J. W[eaever], *The life and death of the eminently learned, pious and painful minister of the gospel, Dr Samuel Winter*, (London, 1671); 'Thomas Holbech', *AlumniCantab*, 2: 387.
- 42 Herbert A. St John Mildmay, *A brief memoir of the Mildmay family*, (London, 1913), 27-30; Walter C. Metcalfe (ed.), 'The visitations of Essex by Hawley, 1552, Hervey, 1558, Cooke, 1570, Raven, 1612 and Owen and Lilly, 1634', *HarlSoc*, 13 (1878): 249-252; Francis J. Bremer, *John Winthrop*, (New York, 2003). Bremer refers at page 373 to Winthrop's fourth wife Martha as the sister of Increase Nowell, but Nowell was the husband of a half-sister of Martha's first husband - Elaine C. Nichols, 'Myles of Sutton, Suffolk', *NEHGR*, 138 (1984): 39-41.
- 43 Robert C. Black III, *The younger John Winthrop*, (New York, 1966); *WinthropPap*, 1: 348-349; W. D. Bushell, *Hobson's Conduit: the New River at Cambridge commonly called Hobson's River*, (Cambridge, 1938).
- 44 John Beresford, *The godfather of Downing Street: Sir George Downing 1623-1684*, (London, 1925).
- 45 Ola Elizabeth Winslow, *Master Roger Williams*, (New York, 1957), 56-94; Helen Darbishire (ed.), *The poetical works of John Milton*, (Oxford, 1952-55), 2: 136-138 & 313-314; Henry F. Waters, 'John Harvard and his ancestry', *NEHGR*, 39 (1885): 265-284; Samuel Eliot Morison, *The founding of Harvard College*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), 103-106 & 210-227; Conrad Edick Wright, 'John Harvard', *ODNB*, 25: 643-644.
- 46 G. D. Scull, 'Letter of the Rev. Nathaniel Ward to the Rev. Mr. Sandcroft', *NEHGR*, 37 (1883): 58-59; Bendall, Brooke & Collinson, *A history of the Emmanuel College*, (1999), 178-181 & 220-222; Cooper, *Annals of Cambridge*, vol. 3, (1845), 283 (Harleian Ms 7033, f.164v-165r).
- 47 Trevor Cooper (ed.), *The journal of William Dowsing*, (Woodbridge, 2001).

- 48 Bendall, Brooke & Collinson, *A history of the Emmanuel College*, (1999), 247-256 & 265-275; Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments, England, *An inventory of the historical monuments in the City of Cambridge*, (1959), 294-298; [Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury tales*, 2nd edn, (Westminster, 1482)], [Bviiiia].

3 - Great Bowden

- 1 'The forme of solemnization of matrimonie', in *The booke of common prayer*, (London, 1629).
 2 Northamptonshire Record Office: X959/4, f.34r & 42r; *Constitutions and canons ecclesiasticall*, (1604), [Canons 34 & 36]; Axon, 'Oliver Heywood's Life of John Angier', *Remains historical and literary connected with the Palatine Counties of Lancaster and Chester*, Ns., 97 (1937): 14-15.
 3 *Constitutions and canons ecclesiasticall*, (1604), [Canons 31 & 32]; Northamptonshire Record Office: X959/4.
 4 Percy W. L. Adams (ed.), 'Gnosall parish register', *Staffordshire Parish Register Society*, [20] [1922]: 39 & 86; *AlumniOxon*, 1: 136.
 5 J. M. Lee & R. A. McKinley (ed.), *A history of the County of Leicester*, vol. 5, (London, 1964), 43; Bennett & Trevor-Roper, *The poems of Richard Corbett*, (1955), xxvi-xxx.
 6 John Nichols, *The history and antiquities of the County of Leicester*, (London, 1795-1811), 2 (2): 471-477; William Burton, *The description of Leicester shire*, (London, [1622]), 50-51; Thomas North, *The church bells of Leicestershire*, (Leicester, 1876), 151-152; Lee & McKinley, *A history of the County of Leicester*, vol. 5, (1964), 45.
 7 Christ Church Archives: Transcript of Ms Estates 44, f.1.
 8 James Gairdner & R. H. Brodie (ed.), *Letters and patents, foreign and domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII*, vol. 21 (2), (London, 1910), 333-338; Christ Church Archives: Transcript of Ms Estates 44, f.3.
 9 Christ Church Archives: Transcript of Ms Estates 44, f.5 & 8; Percival Moore, 'Leicestershire livings in the reign of James I', *Reports and papers of the associated architectural and archaeological societies*, 29 (1907): 140 & 164; Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland: 1D 41/18/4, p.10.
 10 Burton, *The description of Leicester shire*, [1622], 127-128; Nikolaus Pevsner, *Leicestershire and Rutland*, 2nd edn, (Harmondsworth, 1984), 306-309; Lee & McKinley, *A history of the County of Leicester*, vol. 5, (1964), 148-150; Transcript of Christ Church Archives: Ms Estates 44, f.10; Guildhall Library, London: Ms 8319/1.
 11 J. C. Davies, *Bowden to Harborough*, (Market Harborough, 1964), 73 & 77.
 12 Thomas Hutchinson, *The history of the colony of Massachusetts-Bay, from.....1628 until.....1691*, (Boston, 1764), 259.
 13 *Constitutions and canons ecclesiasticall*, (1604), [Canon 70]; Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland: DE 1998/1, DE 1587/1 & 1D 41/3.....
 14 Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland: DE 1998/1.
 15 John Dean Fish, 'The Fish family of Great Bowden in Leicestershire, England', *NYGBR*, 53 (1922): 53-68.
 16 Longden, *Northamptonshire and Rutland clergy from 1500*, (1938-43), 5: 35-37.
 17 Lee & McKinley, *A history of the County of Leicester*, vol. 5, (1964), 45.
 18 Tom Webster, *Godly clergy in early Stuart England*, (Cambridge, 1997), 154-155, referring to Northamptonshire Record Office: PDR CB61 (Peterborough Diocesan Registry, Correction Book 61). Book 61 relates to the period 1628/9-32, but the entry relating to Thomas Hooker has not been identified.
 19 J. Fielding, 'Sir John Lambe', *ODNB*, 32: 297-298; Brian Quintrell, 'John Williams', *ODNB*, 59: 221-233; Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland: 1D 41/13/59, f.183r .
 20 Record Office for Leicestershire, Leicester & Rutland: 1D 41/4/vi/109-112.
 21 Giles Widdowes, *The schismatical Puritan: a sermon preached at Witney concerning the lawfulness of church-authority for ordaining and commanding of rites and ceremonies to beautifie the Church*, (Oxford, 1630), A3r & v.
 22 Anthony Milton, 'William Laud', *ODNB*, 32: 655-670; Julian Davies, *The Caroline captivity of the church*, (Oxford, 1992), 26-31; Fincham, 'Visitation articles and injunctions of the early Stuart church', *Church of England Record Society*, 5 (1998): 37-38.
 23 The National Archives: SP 16/164, f.54r-59v; *CalSPDom*, 1629-31: 233, 240 & 266.
 24 Thomas Prince, *A chronological history of New-England*, New edn, (Boston, 1826), 338-339, who wrote 'I have by me a manuscript of Mr Shepard's, written in his own hand, in which are these words'.
 25 Nichols, *The history and antiquities of the County of Leicester*, (1795-1811), 2 (2): 473; A. Percival Moore, 'The metropolitanical visitation of Archdeacon [i.e. Archbishop] Laud', *Reports and papers of the associated architectural and archaeological societies*, 29 (1907): 490.
 26 *CalSPDom*, 1638-39: 100; Christ Church Archives: Transcript of Ms Estates 44, f.14; G. Lyon Turner (ed.), *Original records of early nonconformity under persecution and indulgence*, (London, 1911-14), 1: 71-72; W. G. Dimock Fletcher, 'Religious census of Leicestershire in 1676', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Architectural and Archaeological Society*, 6 (1888): 299.
 27 Lee & McKinley, *A history of the County of Leicester*, vol. 5, (1964), 47
 28 *Ibid.*, 41 & 48-49; *Census 2001: key statistics for parishes in England and communities in Wales*, (London, 2004).

4 - Great Livermere

- 1 'The administration of baptism to be used in the Church', in *The booke of common prayer*, (1629).
 2 Cambridge University Library: University archives - Subscriptiones I (1613-38), p.353 & Grace book Z, p.205 & 208; British Library: Harleian Ms 595, f.97r.
 3 E. H. Carter, *The Norwich subscription books*, (London, 1937); Norfolk Record Office: DN/REG/16, vol. 23, f.149r; Alice C. Bunten, *Sir Thomas Meautys, secretary to Lord Bacon, and his friends*, (London, 1918); Lisa Jardin & Alan Stewart, *Hostage to fortune: the troubled life of Francis Bacon*, (London, 1998); Walter C. Metcalfe (ed.), 'The visitations of Hertfordshire, made.....in 1572 and.....in 1634', *HarlSoc*, 22 (1886): 75; W. Harry Rylands (ed.), 'A visitation of the County of Suffolk, begun.....1664 and finished.....1668', *HarlSoc*, 61 (1910): 195.
 4 H. Munro Cautley, *Suffolk churches and their treasures*, 5th edn, (Woodbridge, 1982), 326; Nikolaus Pevsner, *Suffolk*, 2nd edn, (Harmondsworth, 1974), 237-238 & 337. The brasses were reproduced in *Portfolio of the Monumental Brass Society*, 1 (1894): part X, plate 4, from the original tracing in the collection of Craven Ord in British Library: Add. Ms 32478, f. 37 & 112.
 5 *Valor ecclesiasticus, temp. Henr. VIII, auctoritate regia institutus*, ([London], 1810-34), 3: 487; Rosemary O'Day, *The English clergy: the emergence and consolidation of a profession 1558-1642*, ([Leicester], 1979), 172-177. The National Archives: IND 1/17002, Suffolk, p.81 lists the payment, but the diocesan return(s) for the period April 1631 to May 1632 appear to be missing from E 331/NORWICH/11. William is not referred to in E 334/19, which lists the payments by instalments.

- 6 The National Archives: C 2/Chas I/H47/36; Suffolk Record Office (Bury St Edmunds): FL601/3/2.
 7 Suffolk Record Office (Bury St Edmunds): FL601/4/1 & FAB500/E14/3/70 & 71.
 8 'The administration of baptisme to be used in the Church', in, *The booke of common prayer*, (1629); David Cressy, *Birth, marriage, and death: ritual, religion, and the life-cycle in Tudor and Stuart England*, (Oxford, 1997), 149-161.
 9 Suffolk Record Office (Bury St Edmunds): FL601/11/1.
 10 Mary Anne Everett Green (ed.), 'Diary of John Rous, incumbent of Santon Downham, Suffolk, from 1625 to 1642', *Camden Society*, 66 (1856): 43, 53-54 & 68-69; Peter Bishop, *The sacred and profane history of Bury St Edmunds*, (London, 1998), 66-67.
 11 Norfolk Record Office: DN/REG/16, vol. 23, pages 44-45; R. Freeman Bullen, 'Sequestrations in Suffolk', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, 19 (1925-27): 15-41 & 142.
 12 J. E. V. Crofts, 'A life of Bishop Corbett, 1582-1635', *Essays and studies*, 10 (1924): 61-96; Green, 'Diary of John Rous', *Camden Society*, 66 (1856): 70-72. The definitions are from Samuel Johnson, *A dictionary of the English language*, (London, 1755).
 13 *CalSPDom*, 1631-33: 507 & 577-578.
 14 *CalSPDom*, 1633-34: 481 & 582; 1634-35: 50, 113, 115, 119, 125, 261, 267, 271, 273, 275, 324, 328, 336, 490, 495, 496, 532, 537-539, 543 & 547; 1635: 184, 186, 192, 198, 201, 207 & 231; 1635-36: 507; Addenda, 1625-49: 486-487; Patrick Collinson, 'Magistracy and ministry: a Suffolk miniature', in, R. Buick Knox (ed.), *Reformation, conformity and dissent*, (London, 1977), 71. No record of any proceedings against William Leverich has been found in the records of the Diocese of Norwich's Consistory Court.
 15 *CalSPDom*, 1633-34: 225; Carter, *The English Reformed Church in Amsterdam in the seventeenth century*, (1964), 69-89 & 189-200.
 16 John Blatchly, 'Dowsing's deputies in Suffolk', in, Cooper, *The journal of William Dowsing*, (2001), 67-88; [S. H. A. Hervey], 'Suffolk in 1674, being the hearth tax returns', *Suffolk green books*, (11) (1905): 196.
 17 Montague Rhodes James, *The western manuscripts in the Library of Emmanuel College*, (Cambridge, 1904); Norman Scarfe, 'The strangeness present: M. R. James's Suffolk', *Country life*, 180 (Nov. 6, 1986): 1416-1419; Rosemary Pardoe & Clive Ward (ed.), *M. R. James at Livermere: a celebration.....1998*, (Hoole, 1998).
 18 Norman Scarfe, *The Suffolk landscape*, (London, 1972), 173-174 & plate 33; *Census 2001: key statistics for parishes in England and communities in Wales*, (2004).
 19 Alex. J. Philip, *History of Gravesend and its surroundings from prehistoric times to the opening of the twentieth century*, (London, 1914), vol. 1, 106-114; Frances Mossiker, *Pocahontas: the life and the legend*, (London, 1977), 280-286.

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 3 *CalSPCol*, 1574-1660: 8, 13, 17 & 24; Stith, *The history of the first discovery and settlement of Virginia*, (1747), Appendix, 8-32; J. H. Lefroy, *Memorials of the discovery and early settlement of the Bermudas or Somers Islands, 1515-1685*, (London, 1877-79), 1: 83-98; John Smith, *A description of New England, or, The observations and discoveries of Captain John Smith.....in the north of America*, (London, 1616); William Brigham, *The compact with the charter and laws of the Colony of New Plymouth*, (Boston, 1836), 1-18.
 4 Coke, *The reports of Sir Edward Coke.....faithfully rendred into English*, (1658), 583-613; Joseph Henry Smith, *Appeals to the Privy Council from the American plantations*, (New York, 1950), 466-469.
 5 Sean Kelsey, 'Robert Rich, Second Earl of Warwick', *ODNB*, 46: 685-691; W. Frank Craven, 'The Earl of Warwick: a speculator in piracy', *The Hispanic American historical review*, 10 (1930): 457-479.
 6 Susan Myra Kingsbury (ed.), *The records of the Virginia Company of London: the court book from the manuscript in the Library of Congress*, (Washington, D.C., 1906), 1: 303; Willison, *Saints and strangers*, (1946), 37-104, 112 & 381-386; Bradford, 1: 367-372 & 440. Keith L. Sprunger, 'John Robinson', *ODNB*, 47: 355-358; Jeremy Dupertuis Banges, 'Towards a revision of the Pilgrims: three new pictures', *NEHGR*, 153 (1999): 3-28. The patent of June 19, 1619 in William Macdonald (ed.), *Select charters and other documents illustrative of American history. 1606-1775*, (New York, 1899), 51 was not used.
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 9 Bradford, 1: 156-158 & 194-196; Willison, *Saints and strangers*, (1946), 144-146, 161, 282 & 381-386; 'The first Plymouth patent', *CMHS*, 4s., 2 (1854), 156-163; Brigham, *The compact with the charter and laws of the Colony of New Plymouth*, (1836), 21-26.
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 11 Bradford, 1: 162-167; *A relation or journall*, (1622), 3-13.
 12 *A relation or journall*, (1622), 37; Bradford, 1: 198-202 & 367-369; Morton, *New Englands memoriall*, (1669), 24.
 13 John Smith, *New Englands trials*, 2nd edn, (London, 1622), B4v-C1v; E[dward] W[inslow], *Good newes from New England, or, A true relation of things very remarkable at the Plantation of Plimouth in New England*, (London, 1624); J. Franklin Jameson

- (ed.), *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*, (New York, 1909), 111-112. Jameson states at page 112n1 that de Rasieres reversed the actual bearings of the crossing street.
- 14 John Ward Dean (ed.), *Captain John Mason, the founder of New Hampshire*, (Boston, 1887), 177-197; R. A. Preston, 'The Laconia Company of 1629', *The Canadian historical review*, 31 (1950): 125-144;
- 15 N. Bouton, 'The Squamscott Patent', *NEHGR*, 24 (1870): 264-266.
- 16 Frances Rose-Troup, *The Massachusetts Bay Company and its predecessors*, (New York, 1930), 10-38 & 59-68; 'The royal charter, or patent, of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay', *PMHS*, 62 (1929): 233-273.
- 17 Bradford, 2: 89-92. The text of the Salem covenant of 1629 is preserved within the text of the Salem church's covenant made in 1636 - Williston Walker, *The creeds and platforms of Congregationalism*, (New York, 1893), 116-118.
- 18 Young, *Chronicles of the first planters of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, from 1623 to 1636*, (1846), 205-212; *MassBayCR*, 1: 361-362 & 386-387; *AlumniOxon*, 1: 182; *AlumniCantab*, 4: 83; Stephen Carl Arch, 'Francis Higginson', *ODNB*, 27: 70-71; A. W. Pollard & G. R. Redgrave, *A short-title catalogue of books printed in England, Scotland & Ireland.....1475-1640*, 2nd edn, (London, 1976-91), 1: 71-72.
- 19 *MassBayCR*, 1: 390 & 395; *AlumniCantab*, 4: 106; Bradford, 1: 369-372.
- 20 Young, *Chronicles of the first planters of the colony of Massachusetts Bay*, (1846), 237; Francis Higginson, *New-Englands plantation, or, A short description of that country*, (London, 1630).
- 21 Bradford, 2: 93-96; William Bradford, 'Governor Bradford's letter book', *CMHS*, 3 (1794): 67-68.
- 22 Roger Thompson, 'Isaac Johnson', *ODNB*, 30: 270; George Hunston Williams, 'The life of Thomas Hooker in England and Holland, 1586-1633', in, George H. Williams (ed.), *Thomas Hooker*, (Cambridge, Mass., 1975), 17-18; *WinthropPap*, 2: 102-105.
- 23 Rose-Troup, *The Massachusetts Bay Company*, (1930), 69-80; *MassBayCR*, 1: 49-51, 58-60 & 70; 'The agreement at Cambridge', *PMHS*, 62 (1929): 275-280. Henry C. Shelley, *John Underhill: captain of New England and New Netherland*, (New York, 1932), 112, suggested that the Cambridge meeting was held at the home of Laurence Chaderton, the former master of Emmanuel College.
- 24 Winthrop, 1: 1-3 & 29-31; John Winthrop, *A journal of the transactions and occurrences in the settlement of Massachusetts, and the other New England colonies, from the year 1630 to 1644*, (Hartford, [Conn.], 1790). His 'Journal' or 'History of New England' is described and discussed in Richard S. Dunn, 'John Winthrop writes his Journal', *WMQ*, 3s., 41 (1984): 185-212.
- 25 *WinthropPap*, 2: 282-295. It is not known when or where Winthrop delivered this sermon - Bremer, *John Winthrop*, (2003), 173-184.
- 26 Bradford, 'Governor Bradford's letter book', *CMHS*, 3 (1794): 74-76; Walker, *The creeds and platforms of Congregationalism*, (1893), 128-131.
- 27 *MassBayCR*, 1: 79-80 & 86-87; Winslow, *Master Roger Williams*, (1957), 95-106.
- 28 Winthrop, 1: 76-80; Ola Elizabeth Winslow, *John Eliot: "apostle to the Indians"*, (Boston, 1968), 22-28; Charles Edward Banks, *The planters of the Commonwealth*, (Boston, 1930), 94-95; Anya Seton, *The Winthrop woman*, (London, 1958); Michael P. Winship, 'Thomas Weld', *ODNB*, 57: 977-979.
- 29 *WinthropPap*, 3: 100-101.
- 30 Ziff, *The career of John Cotton*, (1962), 78-82; Shuffelton, *Thomas Hooker 1586-1647*, (1977), 159-162; Tom Webster, 'Samuel Stone', *ODNB*, 52: 909; Winthrop, 1: 130-132.
- 31 Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, (London, 1702), book 3, 20; [Thomas Hutchinson], *A collection of original papers relative to the History of the colony of Massachusetts-Bay*, (Boston, 1769), 54-58.
- 32 Archibald Percival Newton, *The colonising activities of the Elizabethan Puritans*, (New Haven, 1914), 52-60; Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Providence Island, 1630-1641: the other Puritan colony*, (Cambridge, 1993); David L. Smith, 'William Fiennes, First Viscount Saye & Sele', *ODNB*, 19: 527-534; Morgan, *Prince Charles's Puritan chaplain*, (1957), 203; Ann Hughes, 'Robert Greville, Second Baron Brooke of Beauchamps', *ODNB*, 23: 792-795.
- 33 Benjamin Trumbull, *A complete history of Connecticut*, (New-Haven, 1818), vol. 1, 495-496.
- 34 'The royal charter, or patent, of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay', *PMHS*, 62 (1929): 269; John Cotton, *Gods promise to his plantation*, (London, 1630), 19-20; Thomas Morton, *New English Canaan, or, New Canaan*, (Amsterdam, 1637), 23-24; Paul R. Sternberg, 'The publication of Thomas Morton's *New English Canaan* reconsidered', *The papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 80 (1926): 369-374.
- 35 *WinthropPap*, 3: 86.
- 36 *WinthropPap*, 2: 117-121.
- 37 Cotton, *Gods promise to his plantation*, (1630), 4-6.
- 38 Bradford, 2: 161-164; Winthrop, 1: 145; *WinthropPap*, 3: 146-149; *MassBayCR*, 1: 112; Ruth Barnes Moynihan, 'The patent and the Indians: the problem of jurisdiction in seventeenth-century New England', *American Indian culture and research journal*, 2 (1) (1977): 8-18.
- 39 Alonzo Lewis, *The history of Lynn, including Nahant*, 2nd edn, (Boston, 1844), 61-62; R. A. Lovell Jr, *Sandwich: a Cape Cod town*, 3rd printing, (Sandwich, Mass., 1996), 7; William Wood, *New Englands prospect: a true, lively and experimentall description of that part of America commonly called New England*, (London, 1634), 92.
- 40 *CalSPDom*, 1633-34: 450-451.
- 41 *ActsPCECol*, 1: 199-201.
- 42 Bradford, 2: 183-186; *WinthropPap*, 3: 180-181.
- 43 Eben Putnam, 'Two early passenger lists, 1635-1637', *NEHGR*, 75 (1921): 217-226.
- 44 Young, *Chronicles of the first planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*, (1846), 445-481.
- 45 'Time of arrival in New England of the following ministers', *NEHGR*, 1 (1847): 289; Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, (1702), book 3, 2-3; Richard Waterhouse, 'Reluctant emigrants: the English background of the first generation of New England Puritan clergy', *Historical magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, 44 (1975): 473-488.
- 46 Young, *Chronicles of the first planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*, (1846), 529-530.
- 47 Robert Charles Anderson, 'A note on the changing pace of the Great Migration to early New England', *NEQ*, 59 (1986): 406-407; Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, (1702), book 3, 216. There are brief biographies of the seventeenth-century members of Cambridge and Oxford Universities in *AlumniCantab* and *AlumniOxon*. There are brief though dated references to immigrants to New England in James Savage, *A genealogical dictionary of the first settlers of New England*, (Boston, 1861) and fuller accounts of immigrants before 1634 in Robert Charles Anderson, *The great migration begins: immigrants to New England 1620-1633*, (Boston, 1995). Immigrants in 1634-35 are being covered in Robert Charles Anderson, *The great migration: immigrants to New England 1634-1635*, (Boston, 1999-).

5 - Dover and Boston

- 1 Winthrop, 1: 137. 'Godly' was a word that the Puritans used to describe themselves, and Winthrop referred to other ministers in the same way, e.g. Roger Williams at 1: 49-50.
- 2 *CalSPCol*, 1574-1660: 155-157; Guildhall Library, London: Ms 10091/15, f.35v. Downing supported the Massachusetts Bay settlers in a letter written to Sir John Coke on 12 December 1633 - Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Twelfth report*, Appendix, part II, (London, 1888), 38-39.
- 3 Black, *The younger John Winthrop*, (1966), 55-58 & 67-69; *WinthropPap*, 3: 114-115; 'Declaration of John Allen, Nicholas Shapleigh and Thomas Lake respecting the Dover and Swamscot Patents', *NHampPPP*, 1: 157-158; Winthrop, 1: 137.
- 4 The National Archives: CO 1/8, f.183r-185v; Winthrop, 1: 192. Young, *Chronicles of the first planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay*, (1846), 494n3 states that the *James* which arrived at Boston on June 3 had sailed from Southampton in April with Joseph Avery and Anthony Thacher as passengers, but the *James* that left Southampton on April 6 had a different master.
- 5 The National Archives: E 157/20, f.36v & 43v.
- 6 Bradford, 2: 171-172; Winthrop, 1: 137-138 & 143.
- 7 *WinthropPap*, 3: 120-121. The editor of the letter suggested a date *ca* May 1, 1633, but William was then in England and Hilton in America.
- 8 *Ibid.*, 3: 140. The letter does not have the year as part of its date.
- 9 Black, *The younger John Winthrop*, (1966), 77-99; *WinthropPap*, 3: 198-199.
- 10 Charles W. Hayes & John Scales, 'Map of Hilton's Point and Dover Neck Village', in John Scales, *Colonial era history of Dover, New Hampshire*, (Bowie, Md, 1977); Purcell B. Robertson, *Profiles of the original proprietors of the Town of Oyster Bay, Long Island, 1653*, (1975), 39.
- 11 Jeremy Belknap, *The history of New-Hampshire*, (Philadelphia & Boston, 1784-92), 1: 33; Jeremy Belknap, [Begins] *The subscriber, being engaged in continuing The History of New Hampshire*, (1790).
- 12 Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, (1702), book 1, 15.
- 13 *MassBayCR*, 1: 55; Winthrop, 1: 86.
- 14 Letter, Susan M. Leverich to F. H. Way, November 12, 1902, p.1; 'Early settlers of Dover', *The Dover enquirer*, (October 22, 1850), reprinted in John Scales (ed.), *Historical memoranda concerning persons and places in old Dover, N.H.*, (Dover, N.H., 1900), 1: 23-24; George Wadleigh, *Notable events in the history of Dover, New Hampshire*, (Dover, N.H., 1913), 17; John Scales, *History of Dover, New Hampshire*, ([Dover, NH], 1923), 1: 127.
- 15 'New Hampshire and the National Register', *Historical New Hampshire*, 45 (1990), 195; National Register #83001153; Marian Card Donnelly, *The New England meeting houses of the seventeenth century*, (Middletown, Conn, 1968), 6-19 & 72-78; Don Gleason Hill (ed.), *The early records of the Town of Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1659*, (Dedham, Mass., 1892), 38; Davies, *The worship of the American Puritans*, (1990), 287-292.
- 16 *MassBayCR*, 1: 140 & 148; Pierce, 'The records of the First Church in Boston 1630-1868', *PCSM*, 39 (1961): 20.
- 17 Bradford, 2: 214-215; Young, *Chronicles of the first planters of the Colony of Massachusetts*, (1846), 485-495; Hyatt H. Waggoner (ed.), *The poetical works of Whittier*, (Boston, 1975), 60-61.
- 18 *MassBayCR*, 1: 115-117, 137 & 139; Winthrop, 1: 193-194.
- 19 *MassBayCR*, 1: 160-161. The date September 3 given there for Williams's banishment is corrected in *The complete writings of Roger Williams*, (New York, 1963), 2: 238-240.
- 20 Winthrop, 1: 209-210; Shelley, *John Underhill*, (1932), 102-106 & 120-125; Winslow, *Master Roger Williams*, (1957), 107-130.
- 21 *CalSPCol*, 1574-1660: 197, 199 & 218; Kupperman, *Providence Island, 1630-1641*, (1993), 134 & 244-245; Henry Swinden, *The history and antiquities of the ancient burgh of Great Yarmouth in the county of Norfolk*, (Norwich, 1772), 851-855; Winthrop, 1: 332-333.
- 22 Francis J. Bremer, 'George Phillips', *ODNB*, 44: 111-112; *MassBayCR*, 1: 170-171; Charles M. Andrews, *The river towns of Connecticut: a study of Wethersfield, Hartford and Windsor*, (Baltimore, Md, 1889); Mary Jeanne Anderson Jones, *Congregational commonwealth: Connecticut, 1636-1662*, (Middletown, Conn, 1968), 18-35 & 176-183.
- 23 *MassBayCR*, 1: 168, 172 & 228; B. R. Burg, *Richard Mather of Dorchester*, (Lexington, Ky, 1976), 27-37; Young, *Chronicles of the first planters of Massachusetts Bay*, (1846), 545-546; George Selement & Bruce C. Woolley (ed.), 'Thomas Shepard's confessions', *PCSM*, 58 (1981): 62-69 & 155-164.
- 24 *MassBayCR*, 1: 372; Hutchinson, *The history of the colony of Massachusetts-Bay from1628 until.....1691*, (Boston, 1764), vol. 1, 490-501.
- 25 Alfred A. Cave, *The Pequot War*, (Amherst, Mass., 1996), 108-121; John Underhill, *Newes from America, or, A new and experimentall discoverie of New England*, (London, 1638), 5-6.
- 26 Pierce, 'The records of the First Church in Boston 1630-1868', *PCSM*, 39 (1961): 20-22. There is a substantial literature on the Antinomian Controversy including Emery Battis, *Saints and sectaries: Ann Hutchinson and the Antinomian Controversy in the Massachusetts Bay Colony*, (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1962); David D. Hall (ed.), *The Antinomian Controversy, 1636-1638: a documentary history*, 2nd edn, (Durham, N.C., 1990) and Jean Cameron, *Anne Hutchinson, guilty or not?: a closer look at her trials*, (New York, 1994). Battis listed the adult male settlers of Boston in about 1638 and distinguished the core, support and peripheral groups of Hutchinson's supporters, but she did not place William Leverich in any of these groups.
- 27 Michael P. Winship, 'John Wheelwright', *ODNB*, 58: 447-448; Hall, *The Antinomian Controversy, 1636-1638*, (1990), 152-172; *MassBayCR*, 1: 189; Winthrop, 1: 255-256.
- 28 [John Winthrop], *Antinomians and familists condemned by the synod of elders in New-England*, (London, 1644), 23-25; Shelley, *John Underhill*, (1932), 210-213; Bradford, 2: 249-253.
- 29 Troy O. Brickham, 'Philip Vincent', *ODNB*, 56: 541-542; *MassBayCR*, 1: 211-212; Kupperman, *Providence Island*, (1993), 212-213; Shelley, *John Underhill*, (1932), 219-243. A second edition of Vincent's *A true relation* was published in 1638. John Mason's account of the Pequot War was not published until 1736.
- 30 *WinthropPap*, 3: 436-437, 450 & 456-458; Bradford, 2: 263-268.
- 31 Hall, *The Antinomian Controversy, 1636-1638*, (1990), 311-388; *MassBayCR*, 1: 207, 212 & 226; Cameron, *Anne Hutchinson, guilty or not?*, (1994), 211; Charles H. Bell, *John Wheelwright: his writings*, (Boston, 1876), 30-35.
- 32 Winthrop, 1: 311-312 & 354-355; Isabel MacBeath Calder, *The New Haven Colony*, (New Haven, 1934), 44-50, 55-57 & 68-70; Isabel MacBeath Calder, *Letters of John Davenport, Puritan divine*, (New Haven, 1937), 75-77; Francis J. Bremer, 'Henry Whitfield', *ODNB*, 58: 712-713; Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, (1702), book 3, 94-95.
- 33 *MassBayCR*, 1: 366-379; *NPlymouthCR*, 1: 74.
- 34 *CalSPCol*, 1574-1660: 283-284.

- 35 *WinthropPap*, 4: 317-319; Winthrop, 2: 16-17 & 76; Kenneth G. C. Newport, 'Hanserd Knollys', *ODNB*, 31: 967-970; Susan Hardman Moore, 'Thomas Larkham', *ODNB*, 32: 565-567; Waggoner, *The poetical works of Whittier*, (1975), 115-116; *AlumniCantab*, 3: 162.
- 36 *MassBayCR*, 1: 236; Hotten, *The original lists of persons of quality*, (1874), 54 & 131-132. Several other Swains left London for New England in 1635, but none of them appear to have been close relatives of Richard, William and Francis Swain - *ibid.*, 47-49, 59, 69 & 116-117.
- 37 Berkshire Record Office: D/A1/117/40a & D/P18/1/1; *MassBayCR*, 1: 259, 271 & 375; Joseph Dow, *History of the Town of Hampton, New Hampshire, from its settlement in 1638 to the autumn of 1892*, (Salem, Mass., 1893), 1: 15.
- 38 *MassBayCR*, 1: 325-326 & 342-343 & 2: 29, 38 & 43-44; *NHampPP*, 1: 165-167, 170-171 & 198-199; Bell, *John Wheelwright: his writings*, (1876), 43-46; Charles H. Bell, *History of Exeter, New Hampshire*, (Bowie, Md, 1979), 133-134 & 322.
- 39 Essex Co. Courthouse, Salem, Mass.: Old Norfolk Co. court records, 1648-54, f.4r, 33v, 37v, 40r, 46v & 47v; Records of the County Court of the County of Norfolk, Salisbury and Hampton Courts, in the Colony of Massachusetts, copied by David Pulsifer, 1648-1654, (1852), f.4r, 33v, 36r, 37v, 42v, 43v & 51v. In the original court records, the record of the court held at Hampton on October 3, 1654 is placed upside down between the records of the courts held on October 5, 1652 and April 12, 1653. David Thomas Konig, *Law and society in Puritan Massachusetts: Essex County, 1629-1692*, (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1979), 121-126 discusses various sexual allegations brought before the Essex County Court in the 1670s-90s.
- 40 Dow, *History of the town of Hampton*, (1893), 1: 57 & 2: 985-987; Waggoner, *The poetical works of Whittier*, (1975), 245-247; British Library: K.Top.CXX.7 printed in British Library, *Maps and views of colonial America*, (London, 1975), no. 4
- 41 *CalSPCol*, America and West Indies, 1677-1680: 381-382 & 384; John H. Long (ed.), *Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island: atlas of historical county boundaries*, (New York, 1994), 282-283 & 325; William M. Sargent, *The Weare family of Hampton, New Hampshire, and North Yarmouth, Maine*, (Yarmouth, Me, 1879), 3.
- 42 Isaac W. Hammond (ed.), 'Documents relating to towns in New Hampshire, "A" to "F" inclusive', *NHampPP*, 10: 506; H. Winslow, *A compendious history of the First Parish in Dover*, (Dover, N.H., 1832); *The First Parish in Dover, New Hampshire: two hundred and fiftieth anniversary, October 28, 1883*, (Dover, N.H., 1884); Mary P. Thompson, *Landmarks in ancient Dover, New Hampshire*, Complete edition, (Durham, N.H., 1892); Wadleigh, *Notable events in the history of Dover, New Hampshire*, (1913); Scales, *History of Dover, New Hampshire*, (1923). The Historical Memoranda were partly republished in the *Dover Enquirer* from 1897 to 1900 and were reprinted in book form as Scales, *Historical memoranda concerning persons and places in old Dover, N.H.*, (1900).
- 43 David R. Starbuck, *The archeology of New Hampshire: exploring 10,000 years in the Granite State*, (Lebanon, N.H., 2006), 194.

6 - Sandwich

- 1 *Strength out of weakness*, (London, 1652), 36-37.
- 2 *NPlymouthCR*, 11: 6-19. In spite of the large number of capital offences, the only execution for a crime other than murder was of Thomas Granger of Duxbury in 1642 for buggery 'with a mare, a cowe, two goats, divers sheepe, two calves and a turkey' - *NPlymouthCR*, 2: 44 & Bradford, 2: 328-329.
- 3 Bradford, 2: 236; *NPlymouthCR*, 1: 79.
- 4 Justin Winsor, *A history of the town of Duxbury, Massachusetts, with genealogical registers*, (Boston, 1849), 9-10; Len Travers, 'Myles Standish', *ODNB*, 52: 97-98.
- 5 Bradford, 2: 152; 'Plymouth church records, 1620-1859', *PCSM*, 22 (1920): 69-70.
- 6 *NPlymouthCR*, 1: 79; Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana*, (1702), book 3, 99.
- 7 *NPlymouthCR*, 1: 37 & 73 & 12: 25.
- 8 Amos Otis, 'Scituate and Barnstable church records', *NEHGR*, 9 (1855): 279-287 & 10 (1856): 37-43.
- 9 *NPlymouthCR*, 1: 57; *MassBayCR*, 1: 211.
- 10 Winthrop, 1: 187-188. The New Plymouth General Court regulated the ownership of stranded whales in 1652 and Sandwich the capture of alewives in the same year - H. Roger King, *Cape Cod and Plymouth Colony in the seventeenth century*, (New York, 1994), 205-207 & 212-213.
- 11 [Edward Johnson], *A history of New-England from the English planting in the yeere 1628 untill the yeere 1652*, (London, 1654), 87-90.
- 12 Eben Putnam, 'Two early passenger lists, 1635-1637', *NEHGR*, 75 (1921): 217-226; Lovell, *Sandwich*, (1996), 10; *NPlymouthCR*, 7: 7, 1: 74, 7: 8 & 1: 80.
- 13 Bradford, 2: 271-273.
- 14 *WinthropPap*, 4: 37-38; Winthrop, 1: 318-319.
- 15 *NPlymouthCR*, 1: 88-89.
- 16 *Ibid.*, 1: 97-98, 11: 27 & 1: 107 & 117-118; Justin Winsor, 'Abstract of the first wills in the Probate Office, Plymouth', *NEHGR*, 4 (1850): 33-36.
- 17 *NPlymouthCR*, 1: 118 & 11: 17.
- 18 *Ibid.*, 1: 126 & 11: 31.
- 19 *Ibid.*, 11: 32 & 1: 131.
- 20 *Ibid.*, 1: 133-134 & 3: 153.
- 21 Bradford, 2: 275-276 n1.
- 22 *NPlymouthCR*, 1: 140 & 147-150. There is a slightly different version of the list of settlers in the Sandwich Town Archives: General Records, p.1.
- 23 *NPlymouthCR*, 1: 157.
- 24 Winthrop, 1: 355-356. Savage added that 'Cotton did not often preach more sound doctrine, though I am not satisfied with the pertinency of the text, which was undoubtedly in the second book'.
- 25 Roger Williams, *The bloody tenant yet more bloody*, (London, 1652), 39; Glenn W. LaFantasie (ed.), *The correspondence of Roger Williams*, (Hanover, N.H., 1988), 2: 627-633;
- 26 Eben Putnam, 'Two early passenger lists, 1635-1637', *NEHGR*, 75 (1921): 217-226; *NPlymouthCR*, 11: 33; Pierce, 'The records of the First Church in Boston 1630-1868', *PCSM*, 39 (1961): 22-33.
- 27 Winthrop, 1: 305 & 2: 31; *Records of the First Church at Dorchester in New England, 1636-1734*, (Boston, 1891), 5 & 7; *New England's first fruits*, (London, 1643), 5; Charles Edward Banks, 'Scotch prisoners deported to New England by Cromwell, 1651-1652', *PMHS*, 61 (1927-28): 4-29; Lovell, *Sandwich*, (1996), 184.

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New York

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- 14 *NYorkDCH*, 14: 530; Jameson, *Narratives of New Netherland*, (1909), 282-284; Allen W. Trelease, *Indian affairs in colonial New York: the seventeenth century*, (Ithaca, N.Y., 1960), 79-80; Strong, *The Algonquian peoples of Long Island*, (1997), 183-184; Laer, *New York historical manuscripts: Dutch*, (1974), 4: 279-280; Winthrop, 2: 327; Shelley, *John Underhill*, (1932), 338. One of the two original copies of the Heemstede deed is dated November 13, the other December 13.
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7 - Oyster Bay

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- 2 *HuntingtonTR*, 1: 1-4. The editor Charles Street wrote that 'the original assignment seems to be missing, but I think I have seen it in former years, and its execution is attested by contemporaneous papers'.
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- 21 Robert C. Winthrop Jr (ed.), 'Correspondence of John Haynes and Fitz-John Winthrop', *PMHS*, 2s., 1 (1884-85): 120; 'The Winthrop papers', *CMHS*, 3s., 10 (1849): 12-14.
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- 28 *OysterBayTR*, 2: 690.
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- 32 [Thomas Hall], *The pulpit guarded with XVII arguments proving the unlawfulness, sinfulness and danger of suffering private persons to take upon them public preaching and expounding the scriptures without a call*, (London, 1651), 15; George Fox, *A journal or historical account of the life and....work of the ministry of....George Fox*, vol. 1, (London, 1694), 212*.
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- 49 *Ibid.*, 1: 355.
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8 - Huntington and Newtown

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- 26 *NYorkDCH*, 14: 486-489; Waterhouse, 'Reluctant immigrants', *Historical magazine of The Protestant Episcopal Church*, 44 (1975): 486-488.
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- 28 *NYorkDCH*, 14: 496; Harold Donaldson Eberlein, *Manor houses and historic homes of Long Island and Staten Island*, (Philadelphia, 1928), 182-183.
- 29 *NewtownTM*, 1: 41; *NewtownCM*, 42 & 262.
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- 31 *NewtownTM*, 1: 47; *NYorkDCH*, 14: 514.
- 32 *NewtownCM*, 25, 29-30 & 36; Jessica Kross, *The evolution of an American town: Newtown, New York, 1642-1775*, (Philadelphia, 1983), 37-39 & 41.
- 33 This letter was contributed to the *Long Island family circle*, (June 5, 1852) by James Riker and a cutting from the magazine is included in his papers (New York Public Library: Riker papers, vol. 35, 122). The published letter states that it was 'ordered by the Court held att Salisbury the 11th 2d mo. 65 [April 11, 1665] that this letter be recorded amongst the court records' and that it was 'entered and recorded in the County Court records for Norfolk page (136) the 29th of May 1665'. Riker adds that 'from the memorandum attached to the above letter by the clerk of the Court, it appears that it was sent to England; whence it afterwards found its way back to Long Island', but these court records have not been identified.
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- 48 *CalSPCol*, America and West Indies, 1661-1668: 125, 143-144, 147, 155 & 173; *NYorkDCH*, 3: 46; Wilbur C. Abbott, *Colonel John Scott of Long Island*, (New Haven, 1918), 25; *NewtownTM*, 1: 52-54.

- 49 *NYorkDCH*, 2: 229-234 & 14: 544-545.
- 50 *ConnCR*, 1: 418 & 420-423; *NHavenCR*, 2: 540-542; Alan Marshall, 'John Scott', *ODNB*, 49: 411-412.
- 51 *ConnCR*, 1: 424; *NewtownTM*, 1: 54.
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- 53 *ActsPCECol*, 2: 140-141; *NYorkDCH*, 2: 295-298.
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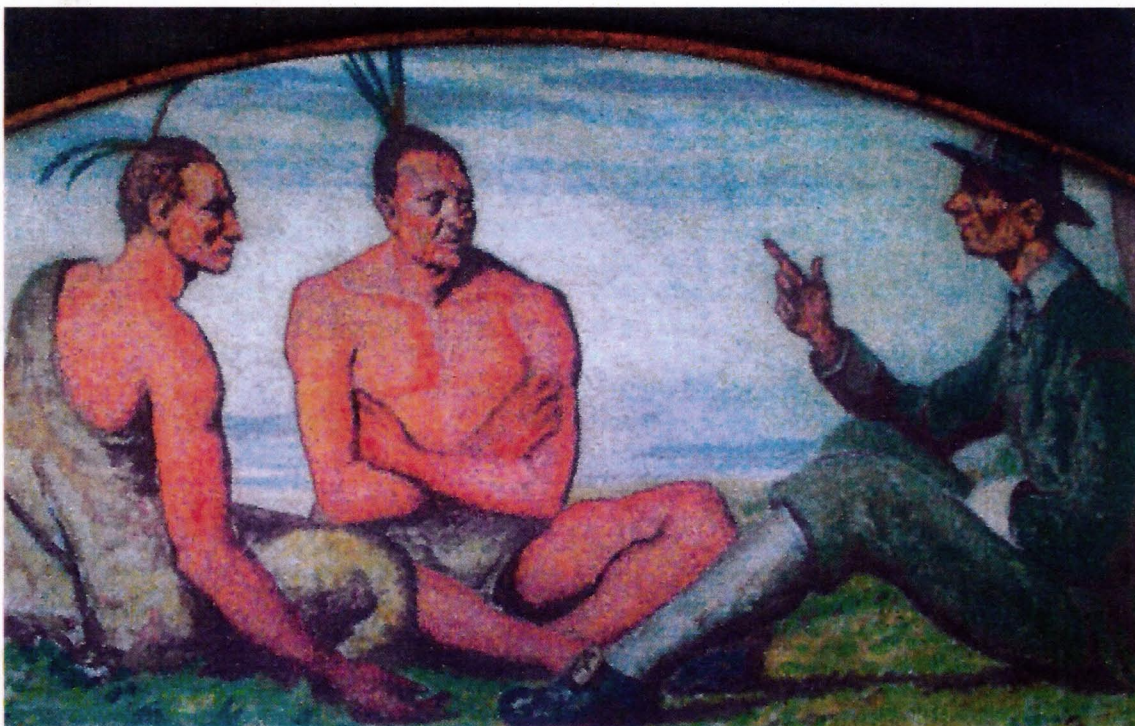
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Godly minister William Leverich graduated from Emmanuel College, Cambridge in 1626 and was ordained as a priest in the Church of England in 1627. His brief curacy of the parish of Great Bowden in Leicestershire ended when he was taken before a church court in 1629. He was then the rector of Great Livermere in Suffolk before emigrating to New England in 1633. He was the minister at Dover in New Hampshire before moving to Sandwich in the colony of New Plymouth in 1637. His sixteen years there included missionary work amongst the Amerindians. William moved to Oyster Bay on the boundary between the British and Dutch areas of Long Island in 1653 and then from 1658 at Huntington to the east and Newtown to the west. He visited Europe in 1660 and died in Newtown in 1677.

William and his family faced the challenges of life in a new continent and he met or knew some of the best-known individuals in early American colonial history. He described his missionary work in a letter that was published in London in 1652 and some of his theological notes survive in the New York City archives. Restless but respected, he is remembered today by Leveridge Lane in Sandwich, Leverich Place in Huntington and Leverich Street in Queens.

Cover design from Johannes Jansson's map of circa 1655.



Courtesy of Oyster Bay Historical Society

Michael Leveridge is a graduate of Selwyn College, Cambridge. He taught biology in various parts of England before retiring to the Cambridge area, where he now researches his family history. William Leverich has not been identified as one of his relatives, but this biography has been written in collaboration with William's descendant, Tom Leverich.