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REPORT
of
COMMITTEE ON THESIS

B

THE undersigned, acting as a committee of the Graduate School, have read the accompanying thesis submitted by Theodore C. Blegen for the degree of Master of Arts. They approve it as a thesis meeting the requirements of the Graduate School of the University of Minnesota, and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

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AN INTRODUCTION TO A BIOGRAPHY OF HUGH PETERS,
WITH A STUDY OF ANTINOMIANISM IN THE
COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

A thesis submitted to the faculty of the
Graduate School of the University of Minnesota
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts, by Theodore Elegen.
May 20th, 1915.

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A PORTRAIT AND A SATIRICAL PRINT OF HUGH PETERS.

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This picture of Hugh Peters was copied from a portrait which precedes the short biography of Peters by Harris, in Smeeton's tracts. The copy was then photographed. According to Bentley, Salem tradition describes Peters as "tall and thin"¹. All the portraits of him, however, represent him as a "full-faced" man, corpulent rather than thin.

1. Mass.Hist.Soc. Coll. 1st ser. VI. p.252.

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This caricature of Peters was copied from a decoration heading a chapter in an old edition of Walter Scott's *Peveril of the Peak*. It was originally printed in a broadside published in 1660, entitled "Don Pedro de Quixot or in English the Right Reverend Hugh Peters." (See bibliography) The print is characteristic of the satires of the time. In the British Museum Catalogue of Prints and Drawings (Satires, Vol. I, 1870) there are descriptions of many caricatures and satirical prints of Peters. The idea of putting a windmill on Peters' head is not altogether clear. The title suggests that there is some notion of Peters making attacks as futile as those of Cervantes' hero. Since Peters was a preacher, however, the windmill may have been put in merely to suggest wind.

Both of the drawings as here included were made by my friend, Mr. Thorleif Adsem.

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PREFACE

The importance of Hugh Peters in relation to the history of his time has neither been fully recognized nor demonstrated. Few characters in English history have been so greatly misrepresented. A glance at the titles of the mass of pamphlets attacking Peters will disclose the fact that he was intensely hated. No regicide's death was hailed with more joy than that of Hugh Peters, though he himself had not signed the king's death warrant. A careful study of his activity and character is necessary in order to account for the popular opinion of Peters. Why had Peters got for himself the special hatred of the Royalists? What was the nature of his activity in the civil war and during the Protectorate? How far did he influence leaders on the side of Parliament? What were the results of his amazing zeal and success as army chaplain? What

were the relations between Peters and Cromwell? What did he have to do with the king's death? How far did his energetic work as a popular preacher serve to mold and direct public opinion and pave the way for political changes? These are but a few of the many questions that arise when one begins a study of the life of Hugh Peters. His relation to the religious movements of the time has never been brought out. The results of his activity in Holland; the far-reaching importance of his work in New England: these must be considered. The character of the man is likewise a fascinating study. Was he a fanatic? Wherein lay his power as a preacher? What traits secured for him the right to be called the "Prince of Army Chaplains"? Was he sincere? What were the secrets of his personality?

The historians Gardiner and Mr. Firth have stripped away much of the false report by which the Royalists obscured the real character of Peters. It is almost literally true that the animosity of the Royalists buried Peters in a scurrilous mass of malicious fabrications. His exhumation has been a comparatively recent process.

Men like Gardiner and Firth have recognized the significance which an exhaustive, scientific study of Peters may have. A study of the present bibliography will impress one with the importance of Peters and the extent of his influence upon the history of his time.

While several biographies of Peters have been attempted, no scientific study (outside of a short article in the Dictionary of National Biography by Mr. Firth) has been made. An exhaustive biography of the man remains to be written. The sources on Hugh Peters are therefore very largely unexplored historical material, both in respect of collation and interpretation, especially the latter.

In this thesis two things will be attempted. The first is a bibliography of materials for his life. This is an absolutely essential preliminary step. In the first place materials are very numerous, and secondly, much careful criticism of sources is necessary before they can be utilized. Peters was a greatly discussed man in the seventeenth century and few persons spoke of him from a non-partizan stand-point. Since so many of the materials

described in the bibliography have not been available here - indeed, most of his own writings and the vast number of tracts that deal with him seem to be procurable only in the British Museum - no attempt has been made to write a biography which would have to be rewritten as soon as these materials are studied. All the sources on the Antinomian controversy and Peter's relation to it have been available. Accordingly a monograph based upon those sources has been written on that subject. It is the intention of the writer to carry on the study of Hugh Peters and complete the biography.

Having used most of the sources available here, one cannot resist the temptation to give in this preface a brief pen picture of Hugh Peters (though of course no final analysis of his character can be attempted until a thorough study has been made, and conclusions as to the historical importance of Peters can be drawn only as the study of his life proceeds exhaustively). "The Lord hath awaked us throughly out of our effeminacie," said Peters in one of his sermons [1]. From his birth in 1598 in Cornwall to his death on the scaffold at Charing Cross in 1660, he is

1. Peters. God's Doings and Man's Duty, p.24.

carried forward by a vigor and strenuosity that outdo even the modern advocate of the "strenuous life." Everywhere in his varied wanderings on the face of the earth, he leaves behind him evidences of untiring zeal and activity. The ministry is for him an "Open, Sesame" to extensive work on political, social and economic lines. Yet he does not neglect his preaching. In tracing the career of Hugh Peters, one is studying the life of a man's man, a forceful, able, impressive personality, distinctly a leader of men, a man born for the times, an ideal pioneer minister, an army chaplain after Cromwell's own heart, a man of convincing, though somewhat rough and sometimes rather incoherent eloquence, an organizer, the sort of man who has ardent admirers and fierce enemies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WRITINGS OF HUGH PETERS.

A. Printed.

1. Master Hugh Peters Subscription before the Bishop of London, Aug. 17, 1627. Found on pp.32-33 of "A Fresh discovery of some prodigious new-wandering blasing stars and firebrands, stiling themselves new lights, firing our church and state into new combustions...By William Prynne. London. 1645. 4to.

Peters had been suspected of heterodoxy and in this statement he set forth his "adhesion to the doctrine and discipline of the English Government, and his acceptance of episcopal government"(D. N. B. XV.p.955). This is neither here nor at Yale or Harvard. There is an abstract of it in the article on Peters in Savage's Genealogical Dictionary. Peters' declaration was evidently more formal than real for he soon got into difficulties again with the authorities.

2. Advice of that Worthy Commander Sir Edward Harwood upon occasion of the French King's Preparations. Also a relation of his life and death (the relation is by Hugh Peters) 4to, 1642. Reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany (London, ed. of 1810) Vol.V. pp.195-206.

3. A True Relation of the passages of God's Providence in a voyage for Ireland....wherein every day's work is set down faithfully by H.P., an eye-witness thereof; 4to, 1642. [D. N. H. XV.p.962. Verified in the Thomason Tracts.]

This is extensively used by Richard Bagwell in his account of Lord Forbes' expedition in his "Ireland under the Stuarts and During the Interregnum". (2 vols. London, 1909) pp.36-42.

4. Church Government and Church Covenant discussed in an answer of elders of severall churches in New England to two-and-thirty questions, etc. (By Richard Mather) 4to, London, 1643. The preface is signed "Thine heartily H. Peters".

5. Mr. Peters' Report from the Armies, 26 July 1645, with a list of the chiefest officers taken at Bridgewater, &., 4to, 1645. Printed by Jane Coe.

The report is very fully quoted in Sprigg's *Anglia Rediviva*, pp.140-144.

6. The Full and Last Relation of all things concerning Basing House, with divers other passages represented to Mr. Speaker and divers Members in the House. By Mr. Peters who came from Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell. 4to. 1645.

The story of Basing is fully told in "The Civil War in Hampshire" (1642-45) and "The Story of Basing House" by Rev. G. N. Godwin (London, 1883). Peters' reports are discussed on pp.227-33 and 237-45. The book does not give Peters' reports verbatim, however. Peters' relation of Basing House is quoted in full, however, in Joshua Sprigg's *Anglia Rediviva* (1647, Oxford reprint, 1854)pp.149-53.

7. Mr. Peters' Report from Bristol made to the House of Commons, from Sir Thos. Fairfax. The Surrender of Bristol, (Sept.9). Printed for Jane Coe, London, 1645.

The siege and taking of Bristol are discussed in

Sprigg's *Anglia Rediviva*, pp. 97-131. It does not give Peters' report, however.

8. Mr. Peters Message delivered in both Houses....from Sir T. Fairfax with the narration of the taking of Dartmouth. London, printed by Jane Coe (26 Jan. 1645) 1646, 4to, pp. 8.

9. Master Peters Message from Sir Thos. Fairfax, Delivered in both houses of the Lords and Commons, With the whole state of the west and all the particulars about the disbanding of the Prince's and Sir Ralph Hopton's Army London. 1645. (23 Mar) 4to, pp. 15.

10. God's Doings and Man's Duty, opened in a sermon preached before Parliament at the last Thanksgiving Day, 2 April 1646. Printed by R. Raworth for G. Calvert. 4to. Yale University has a copy of this book.

11. Mr. Peters Last Report of the English Wars, occasioned by the importunity of a Friend pressing an Answer to seven Queries. Printed by M.S. for Henry Overton. 4to, 1646.

This work is particularly valuable because it contains important biographical data, and is to be compared with the "Last Legacy".

12. A Word for the Army and Two Words for the Kingdom, To clear the one, and cure the other, Forced in much plainesse and brevity from their faithfull Servant Hugh Peters. 4to. 1647. Reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany (London, 1810) Vol.VI. pp.65-73.

(Printed by M.Simmons for Giles Calvert at the Black Spread Eagle, at the west end of Pauls).

13. Good Work for a good Magistrate, or a short out to great quiet, by honest, homely, plain English hints given from the Scripture, reason, and experience for the regulating of most cases in this commonwealth. Concerning Religion, Mercy, Justice. by H.P. Printed by William Du Gard. 12mo. pp.116. 1651.

14. The little horns doom and downfall; or a scripture prophesie of King Iames and King Charles and of this present parliament unfolded. By M(ary) Cary a servant of Jesus Christ. 12mo. London, 1651. Prefixed are some

commendatory remarks signed "Hugh Peters" and occupying three leaves.

15. AÆternitati sacrum. Terrenum quod habuit, sub hoc pulvere deposuit Henricus Iretonus....in sempiternam oujus Herois eximii Memoriam, ne tot praelustres virtutum notae posteris exiderent, suis sumptibus hanc epigraphen typis exaravit Hvggo Peters. n.p. or d. or printer's name. Lond. 1651. s.sh.fol.

16. Operum Guilelmi Amesii Volumen primum...Amstelodami, apud Joannem Janssonium, 1658, 12mo. Contains "lectiones in ol. Psalmos Davidis....Autore....Guil-elmo Amesio, S.S.Theologiae Doctore...." The dedioation to this part is addressed "D. Consulibus Scholiarchus, et toti senatui Roterdamensi" and is signed "Hugo Petrus".

17. The Case of Mr. Hugh Peters, impartially communi-cated to the view and censure of the whole world, written by his own hand. London printed for Sam. Speed and are to be sold at his shop at the signe of the Print-ing-Press in St.Pauls Church-yard. n.d. (1660) 4yo.pp.8.

18. A Dying Father's Last Legacy to an only Child, or Mr. Hugh Peters! Advice to his daughter, written by his own hand during his late imprisonment in the Tower of London, and given her a little before his death. 12mo. Printed twice in 1660. Reprinted in 1683. Reprinted in Boston, 1717, 12mo.

This is the most important of all Peters' writings for biographical material. In it he discusses his own life. The book as the title indicates was written after his imprisonment.

19. A sermon by Hugh Peters preached before his death, as it was taken down by a faithful hand and now published for publick information....London, printed by John Best in Guiltspur-street without Newgate 22 Oct. 1660, 4to. Title and to the Christian Reader 3 leaves. A sermon pp.1-28.

20. Petition of Hugh Peters to Parliament against being excepted from the King's pardon, to which is annexed "Hugh Peters Narrative" - a short account of his life written by himself -. Historical MSS.Comm.App. to Seventh Report, pp.115-116.

21. Thirty five Letters from Hugh Peters to John Winthrop, Governor of Massachusetts, John Winthrop Junior, Governor of Connecticut and others, 1638-57. Collections of Mass. Hist. Soc. 4th Series. Vol.VI, pp.91-117. (1863), with facsimile of signature and seal, Plate ii, 4th Series, Vol.VII, pp.199-204. (1865)
22. A letter from Ireland read in the House of Commons on Friday Sept. 28, 1649 from Mr. Hugh Peters, Minister of God's Word and Chaplain to the Lord Lieutenant Cromwell, of the taking of Tredagh in Ireland...also the taking of Trim and Dundalk. And the Lord Lieutenants marching against Kilkenny. London. 1649. 4to.pp.5.
23. Articles and covenant offered by Mr. Hugh Peters, Minister to the English Congregation at Rotterdam to his congregation before admission into it or to the Lord's Supper to be subscribed. 1633. BR.M^Us.Ad.M^{MS}.6394.fol.155. Printed in Champlin Burrage, The Early English Dissenters (Cambridge 1912) Vol.I, pp.301-303. Another copy is to be found in Cal. State Papers, Dom. 1633-1634. p.318. The former is complete. The latter is in abstract form.

B. Manuscript.

1. Two Letters from H.Peters to Henry Cromwell. Lansd. MSS. 821-823.Fol.352 and 357.
2. Letter from H.Peters to Capt. Thos. Allin, advises him to come home and avail himself of the Act of Oblivion, 24 Jan. 1652-3. Tanner MSS.Bodl.Lib.53, Art.97.
3. From H.Peters to Sec. Rushworth. Brit,Museum Addit. MSS.1519, Art.45.
4. From Hugh Peters to Mr. Boswell appointing a time of meeting. Rotterdam, April, 1633. Br.M. Addit.MSS. 6394, fol.122.
5. Letter from Hugh Peters to Henry Scobell, Clerk to the Parliament concerning his cousin Hugh Trefusis dated Dunkirk the ix of July mdolviii. (F.Peck's Desiderata Curiosa (1779) ii.p.504. The original is in Harl.MSS. 7188, fol.259. Present in the Minneapolis Public Library.

6. Letter from H.P. to Col.J.Clarke in behalfe of Mr. Heylin as a Minister June 2, 1658. MSS.No.777 Cat. Lib.John Young Esq. Sold by Wilkenson and Hodge 12-17 April, 1875. It is not known where the letter is now.

WRITINGS ATTRIBUTED TO HUGH PETERS

The following list is not inclusive of attacks upon him obviously satirical. -----

1. a) The Way to the Peace and settlement of these nations, fully discovered in two letters, delivered to his late highnesse, and one to the present Parliament, as also one to his Highnesse Richard Lord Protector...By Peter Cornelius, Van Zurick-Zee, a lover of truth and peace. London, printed for Daniel White and are to be sold at his shop at the Seven-Starres, in Pauls Church Yard, 4to, pp.30, 1659.
- b) A Way propounded to make the poor in these and other nations happy....By Peter Cornelius, Van Zurick-

Zee, London, printed for G.C. at the sign of the Black-Spread Eagle at the west end of Pauls Church Yard. n.d. 4to, pp.19, 1659.

"Believed to have been written by Hugh Peters who had a man named Cornelius Glonde" (Bibl.Cornubiensis, Vol.II. p.470). This is an error, however, in name, for there is in the Cal.State Papers (1660-1661)p.570, the petition of a Cornelius Glover: "Served the late King in the wars, but after a long imprisonment was sent as a soldier for France, and on his return accepted service under Hugh Peters, only for bread...." There is a note in the copy of "A Way Propounded" in Thomason's Collection in the British Museum saying, "I believe this pamphlet was made by Hugh Peters, who hath a man named Cornelius Glover". (Dict.Nat. Biog. Vol.XV. p.77,A)

2. The none-such Charles his character extracted out of divers original transactions, dispatches, and the notes of severall publick ministers and councillors of state as wel at home as abroad. Published by authority London. printed by R.I. and are to be sold by John Collins in Little Britaine. 80. 1651.

In Cal.State Papers (1661-1662) p.79 there is material relative to Sir Balthazar Gerbier being falsely accused as author of "Hugh Peters' Book called the Nonesuch Charles". Professor Firth believes that Sir Balthazar wrote the book. (Diet.Nat.Biog. Vol.XV,p.77.A)

TRACTS, PAMPHLETS, LETTERS, ETC.,

RELATING TO HUGH PETERS.

A. Chiefly Satirical.

1. A Word to Mr. Peters and two words for the Parliament and Kingdom, or an answer to a scandalous pamphlet entitled A Word for the Armie and two words to the Kingdom, subscribed by Hugh Peters....By a friend to the Parliament, City and Ministry of it (i.e.Rev.Nathaniel Ward?) London, printed by Fr.Neile for Tho. Underhill at the signe of the Bible in Wood-street, 1647, 4to, pp.38.
2. The Northern Intelligencer communicating the affayres of those parts and particularly the agitations of

Mr. Hugh Peters in five severall counties, with a letter directed to him at Northampton. Printed the yeare 1648 (15 Sept.) 4°. 4 leaves.

3. A most pithy exhortation delivered in an eloquent oration to the watry generation aboard their admirall at Graves-end. By the Right Reverend Mr. Hugh Peters, Doctor of the Chair for the famous Universitie of Whitehall and Chaplain in ordinary to the high and mighty K. Oliver, the first of the name, as it was took verbatim in short hand (when he delivered it) by Mercurius Pragmaticus. Printed in the yeare 1649. 4°. pp.6.

4. Hosanna or a song of thanksgiving, sung by the children of Zion and set forth in three notable speeches at Grocer's Hall, on the late solem day of thanksgiving Thurs. June 7, 1649, The first was spoken by Alderman Isaac Pennington. The Third by Hugh Peters (no alderman, but) Clerious in cuerpo...Risum teneatis amici? Printed in the year (12 June) 1649, 4to.

5. Hosanna, of a Song of thanksgiving etc. Reprinted

in Collection of Lord Somer's Tracts (1748) iv.pp.412-418.

6. The Loyal Lovers, a tragi-comedy, written by Major Cosmo Manuche. Lond. printed for Thos. Eglesfield at the Brazen Serpent in St. Pauls Church yard 1652 4to. (In this play Peters is thought to have been held up to ridicule under the name of Phanaticus a priest. See Langbaine's Eng.Dramatic Poets. 1691,p.339.)

7. Hugh Peters' Dreame. n.p. or d. or imprint (1659) 4°.pp.8. Anthony a Wood's Collection, Bodl.Library.

8. Peter's Pattern, or the perfect path to worldly happiness, as it was delivered in a funeral sermon preached at the interment of Mr. Hugh Peters lately deceased. By I.C(aryl) Translator of Pineda upon Job and one of the Triers....London printed in the year 1659, 4to. pp.14. (It is interesting to note that this sermon was published a year before the death of Peters. It is reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany, Vol.VII, pp.73-82.)

9. Peter's resurrection, by way of dialogue between him and a merchant; occasioned upon the publishing

a pretended sermon at his funeral, wherein is affirmed these sayings of Machiavel.....All men were born to play their game....The whole world is but a cheat.... London printed in the year 1659 (Sept 26) 4to,pp.16.

10. A conference held between the Old Lord Protector and the new Lord General, truly reported by Hugh Peters. London printed (19 Moh.1659) 1660, 4to, Title 1 leaf, then pp.1-6. Note: Commences "Oliver in disguise, giving a sop to Cerberus (the Poter of Hell) gets loose from thence and taking a turn or two in St. James Park, meets with Hugh Peters, to whom he directs himself as followeth."

11. A third conference between O.Cromwell and Hugh Peters in Saint James Park. Wherein the horrible plot is discovered about the barbarous murder of our late sovereign lord King Charles the I, of ever blessed memory. London. printed by Tho.Mabb (17May)1660,4to. Title 1 leaf, then pp.1-13.

12. O.Cromwell's thankes to the Lord Generall faithfully presented by Hugh Peters in another conference.

together with an hue and cry after Mercurius Politicus.
Lond. printed by M.T.n.d. (20 may 1660) 4to. Title 1 leaf,
then pp. 1-14.

13. Don Pedro de Quixot or in English the Right Reverend
Hugh Peters. The names of the Rumps twelve chaplains
extraordinary Doctor John Owen &. London printed for R.
Smith (25 July) 1660 s.sh.fol.

Note: The broadside is ornamented with a woodcut of
Hugh Peters bearing on his head a windmill. Behind him and
whispering into his ear is the Devil.

14. The Welsh Hubub (sic) or the unkennelling and earth-
ing of Hugh Peters, that crafty fox. London.
printed by P.Lillicrap (October 3) 1660. s.sh.fol.

15. A relation of the ten grand infamous traytors who
for their...villainy against their late Suveraigne
King Charles the first...were arraigned, tried and executed
in the moneth of October 1660....(2 parts). The tune is
"Come let us drinke, the time invitea." London. printed
for Fr.Coles, T.Vere, M.Wright, and W.Gilbertson, n.d.

(13 Oct. 1660) s.sh. 4to.

Note: a portion of the margin of this broadside reads
"Tuesd. Peters and Cooke."

16. Hugh Peters last will and testament, or the haltering of the divell. To the tune of the guelding of the divel. n.p.or d. or printers name (London 29 nov.1660) s.sh.fol.

17. The most vile and lamentable confession of Hugh Peters of all his bloody advices given to the late Oliver Cromwell toughing all the horrid murders committed upon those ^tmarryrs whose names are all herein specified, immediately after his apprehension near Horsly-down Sept.4. Together with a conference between him and Sir Henry Martin, now in the tower of London.

Sing hay ho my honey, my heart shall never rue,
twenty four traytors now for a penny,
And into the bargain Hugh.

Printed for John Andrews. (London) At the White Lyon near Pie Corner n.d. (1660) 12mo. title 1 leaf, portraits of H. Martin and H. Peters 1 leaf, Confession pp.5-16.

18. The tryall and condemnation of Mr. John Cooke....
and Mr. Hugh Peters, that carnal prophet, for their
severall high-treasons &, at the Sessions House in Old
Baily on Saturday the thirteenth of October 1660, together
with their severall-pleas and answers thereunto...Lond.
printed for John Stafford and Edward Thomas (17Oct) 4to,
pp. 14.
19. The speech and confession of Hugh Peters, close pri-
soner in the Tower of London, and his horrible expres-
sions and doctrine when our glorious soveraign was led to
martyrdome. With the manner how he was taken on Sunday
night last in Southwark...and afterwards escaped to the
house of Mrs. Mun where he was taken with divers pieces of
gold and silver medals sewed in his skirts and a strange
almanack taken out of his pocket. Lond. printed for George
Horton 1660, 4to. Title 1 leaf. The speech & pp.1-5.
20. England's Object or good and true newes to all true
hearted subjects, for the taking and apprehending of
that horrid, deluding sower of sedition Hugh Peters by the
name of Thomson in Southwarke, Saturday, September the first;

with his examination and entertainment by the rest of the rebellious crew now in the Tower of London. The tune is Come hither my own sweet duck. Printed for F.Coles (1660) s.sh. Anthony a Wood's Collection in Bodl.Library.

21. Hugh Peters passing bell rung only in a letter to him, from one that hath been an accurate observer of Hugh Peters and Oliver Cromwell's bloody actions. Lond. 1660. 4to. Signed T.V. (Advocates Lib.Edinburgh)

22. Hugh Peters his figaries or his merry tales and witty jests both in city town and countrey. Lond. 1660, 4to.

23. The Tales and Jests of Mr.Hugh Peters collected into one volume. Published by one that hath formerly been conversant with the Author in his life time; and dedicated to Mr.John Goodwin and Mr.Phillip Nye. Together with his Sentence and the manner of his execution. To which is prefixed a short account of his life. (Portrait) Lond. printed for S.D. and are to be sold by most of the Book-sellers in London 1660, 4to. Title 1 leaf, Dedicati- on signed S.D. 2 leaves, Contents 2l., Tales and Jests pp.1-32.

24. Semper iidem; or a parallel betwixt the ancient and modern phanatics....Lond. printed for Richard Loundes(28 Moh) 1661. 4to.

Note: Contains p.16 A parallel between Hugh Latimer who was burnt at Oxford 16 Oct. 1555 and Hugh Peters who was hanged at Charing Cross 16 Oct. 1660. The tract is re - printed in the Harleian Miscellany (1811)vii,398-407.

In the university library both as a separate tract, and in the Miscellany.

25. The History of the life and death of Hugh Peters that Archtraytor from his cradell to the gallowes with a Map of his prophane jests, cruell actions and wicked counsels. Published as a warning piece to all traytors. At the time of our late Sacred Kings tryall, this was the villainous text to animate their Roman president and the Jeshish Court for the speedy horrid murder. Bind your Kings in chaines of iron and your nobles in fetters. Lond. printed for Fr.Coles at the Lambe in the Old-Baily 1661, 4to. Title with woodcuts of H.Peters preaching and H.Peters being executed 1 leaf, The History pp.1-11, Epitaph signed T.H. pp. 12-13. The woodcut is reprinted on p.14.

26. Rebels no Saints; or a collection of the speeches, private passages, letters and prayers of those persons lately executed, viz. Tho. Harrison...Jo. Carew...Jo. Cook, and Hugh Peters....with observations on the same wherein their pretended sanctity is refuted and a further inspection made into the lives and practices of those unhappy and trayterous politicians. By a person of quality --, Lond. printed and are to be sold by the several Booksellers in London and Westminster Hall. 1661, 12mo. Contains: Mr. Cook to Mr. Peters in Dungeon said (p.36), Some notes taken of a Sermon preached by Mr. H.P. the 14th of Oct. 1660..(pp.77-81), Some memorable passages of Mr. H.P. (pp.81-85).

27. Englands Shame, or the unmasking of a Politick Atheist; being a full and faithful Relation of the Life and death of that Grand Imposter Hugh Peters. Wherein is set forth his whole comportment, Policies and Principles, exercised from the Ingres, in the Progress, and to the Egress of his Unhappy Life. By William Yonge, Dr. Med. (Frontispiece) Lond. printed by Da. Maxwell for theodore Sadler, next door to the Golden Dolphin over against Exe-

ter House in the Strand 1663. 12°. Note: Title 1 leaf, Dedication to Henrietta Maria 2 leaves, To the impartial reader 5 leaves, The Authors Apologie 8 leaves, England's Shame pp.1-88. (In university library)

28. Spectrum anti-monarchicum, or the ghost of Hugh Peters as he lat^ely appeared to his beloved son, the whole assembly of Fanatiok Presbyters. n.p.or d. or printer's name (London 1680) fol. pp.3.

29. Regicides no saints not martyrs; freely expostulated with the publishers of (Edmund)Ludlow's Third Volume, as to the truth of things and characters. With a touch at Amyntor's cavils against our King's curing the evil and the thirtieth of January fast. A supplement to the Just Defence of the Royal martyr. By the same author....Lond. printed for W.Keblewhite at theSwan in St. Paul's Churchyard 1700, 8°. pp.144. (Bodl.Lib.)

30. The Tales and jests of Hugh Peters....Lond. 1660, 4to. Reprinted for J.Caulfield and sold by all the Booksellers in London 1807, 8° . pp.xxiv and 51.

B. Miscellaneous.

1. A declaration of the gallant service performed by the thrice worthy and faithful Minister of the gospel of Jesus Christ, Mr. Hugh Peters, in the west of England; concerning the bringing in of the Irish Army to the obedience of the parliament of England. Also, another declaration sent from the Marquesse of Ormond....Lond. printed for Rich. Woodnoth, and are to be sold at his shop at the Signe of the Starre in Cornwall. 4to. pp.6. 1646.

2. A conference betwixt the kings most excellent majesty and Mr. Peters the minister at Newmarket. Wherein is declared the desires of the said Mr. Peters, to the King's majesty and his majesties reply. (By T. nichols) Lond. printed by B.A. June 22, 1647. 4to. 4 leaves.

This is probably a broadside. It is not included in King Charles Works.

3. A copy of his Highnesse Prince Charles, his letter

to the commander of his Majesties forces, with a copy of his Highnesse commission to Collonel Poyer. Written by Hugh Peters, Minister of God's Word. 4to. 1648.

4. Three Letters intercepted by Sir Thos.Fairfax in Cornwall sent by Master Peters to the House of Commons. Lond. printed for Edw.Husband. Moh.26. sm. 4to. pp.8. (London Institute)

5. A Discourse betwixt Lieutenant-Colonel John Lilburn, close prisoner in the Tower of London, and Mr.Hugh Peters upon May 25, 1649. Published by a friend for the publick benefit. Lond. printed in the year 1649. 4to.pp.8.

6. Examination and correction of a paper entitled, a relation and discourses between Mr.Hugh Peters and Lt.Col.Lilburn in the Tower of London, with vindication of Mr.Peters by Dr.Robert Massey. 4to. 1649. (Note: Dr.Massey accompanied H.Peters in his visit to Lilburn)

7. A perfect diurnall of some passages in parliament and from other parts of the kingdom....Printed for Francis Coles and Laurence Blaickdock and are to be sold

at their shops in the Old Baily and at Temple-Bar, no.1,
 June 26, 1643 to no.323, Oct.8, 1649. 4to. Note: Contains,
 Letter from Mr.P. to Council of State. Signed H.Peters,
 Milford Haven. Aug. 16, 1649. no.318, pp.2736-2737. Letter
 representing taking of Droghedah. Hugh Peters. Dublin. Sept.
 15, 1649. no.322. p.2809. Drogheda discussed and Peters'
 letter used in Bagwell: Ireland under the Stuarts, Vol.II.
 pp.191-195.

8. A true copy of two letters brought by Mr.Peters this
 October from my L.Forbes from Ireland. The one to the
 House of Peers, the other to the House of Commons...Lond.
 printed by L.N. for Henry Overton in Popes-head alley (12
 Oct.) 1652.

9. The second part of a short demurrer to the Lewes,
 long discontinued, remitter into England....By William
 Prynne, Esquire....Lond. 1656, 4to. Portion referring to
 Peters on pp.136-147.

10. Israels condition and cause pleaded; or some argu-
 ments for the Jews admission into England. Objections
 answered, cautions added, with a vindication of Mr.Peters

from those foul and unjust aspersions cast upon him by W. Prynne, Esq. Lond. printed by P.W. for William Larnar and Jonathan Ball at the Black Moor. 8mo. 1656.

The whole subject of the admission of the Jews to England is discussed in the introduction to "Menasseh Ben Israel's Mission to Oliver Cromwell", London, 1901, by Lucien Wolf, the editor. The book contains reprints of the Pamphlets published by Menasseh Ben Israel from 1649-1656. As early as 1647 Peters was urging the readmission of the Jews (See art.X of his "Word for the Army and Two Words for the Kingdom".) In 1651 he argues their cause in his "Good Work for a Good Magistrate". Mr.Wolf refers to Peters as a "stalwart Tolerationist" who clamoured for "unconditional Readmission"(Wolf.p.XXVIII). Later he speaks of Peters as one of the chief exponents of the "Secular Tolerationists". Mr.Wolf discusses in some detail the relation of Peters to the Jews. The book contains no reprints other than those of Menasseh Ben Israel.

11. Nineteen cases of conscience, submissively tendered to Mr.Hugh Peters and the rest of his fellow-commissioners. Lond. printed in the year 1659, 4to, pp.8.

12. The speeches and the prayers of some of the late King's judges, viz. Major General Harison, Oct.13. Mr. John Carew, Octob.15. Mr. Justice Cooke, Mr. Hugh Peters, Octob.16. Mr. Tho. Scott, Mr. Gregory Clement, Col. Adrian Seroop, Col. John Jones, Octob.17. Col. Daniel Axtell and Col. Fran. Hacker, Octob.19, 1660, the times of their death. Together with severall occasionall speeches and passages in their imprisonment till they came to the place of execution. Faithfully and impartially collected for further satisfaction. Printed Anno Dom. 1660, 4to. pp.96.

13. The manner of the arraignment of those twenty eight persons who were appointed to be tried at the Sessions House in the Old Bayly on Wednesday the tenth day of October 1660... Lond. printed for J. S. and Edward Thomas (11 Octob) 1660 4to. pp.8. (Hugh Peters was among the twenty eight)

14. The speeches and prayers of Major-General Harison, Oct.13; Mr. John Carew Octob.15; Mr. Justice Cooke, Mr. Hugh Peters Octob.16; Mr. Tho. Scott, Mr. Gregory Clement, Col. Adrian Seroop, Col. John Jones Octob.17; Col. Daniel Axtell and Col. Fran. Hacker Octob.19. the times of their death,

1. Present in the University collection of unbound tracts.

together with severall occasionall speeches and passages in their imprisonment till they came to the place of execution. Faithfully and impartially collected for further satisfaction. Printed (7 Dec.) 1660, 4to. Contains: "Mr.Cooke to Mr.Peters in the dungeon said", p.28. Some notes taken of a sermon preached by Mr.Hugh Peters the 14th of October 1660 after his condemnation in the prison of Newgate pp.58-61. Some memorable passages of Mr.Hugh Peters in his imprisonment at Newgate and at the time of his execution at Charing-Crosse Oct. 16, 1660 pp.62-64.²

15. An exact and most impartial account of the indictment, arraignment, trial and judgment (according to law) of twenty nine regioides the mvrtherers of his late sacred majesty...Lond. printed forAndrew Crook...1660. 4to. pp.287. The portion referring to Hugh Peters is contained in pp.30, 153-184, 286.¹

16. Collection of Speeches of Regioides. Lond.1661.
Trial of Regioides. Lond. 1660.

17. A Compleat collection of the lives... of those persons lately executed...By A person of quality. Lon-

1. This tract is included in the University set of bound volumes of tracts, Volume VI. The portion from p. 152 to 184 is the report of the trial of Hugh Peters.

2. Present in University collection of unbound tracts.

don. printed 1661. 8o. Note: The account of Hugh Peters is on pp.79-112. The frontispiece has a small likeness of H.Peters.

18. Het boertig leven, oproerigh bedrijf, wijtloopigh-ondersoeck en schan-delijkedoodt, van Mr.Huygh Peters. Getrocken uyt de wijtloopige schriften van ooghetuygen, en soodanigen als gemeensamen ommeganck met hem hebben gehadt. Te Dordrecht. By Abraham Andriessz, boeckverkooper by't Stadt-huys in't Jaer 1661, 12°. Portrait of H.Peters etc. 1 leaf, Title 1 leaf, To the Reader 3 leaves, Contents 2 leaves, Life of H.Peters, with view of his execution pp.1-106.

19. The Assembly-Man, written in the year 1647... By Sir John Birkenhead. Lond. printed for R.Marriot and are to be sold at his shop under St.Dunstons Church in Fleet St. 16⁶²/₆₃--, sm.4to. pp.22. London 16⁸¹/₈₂. 4to. Lond. 1704, 4to. Reprinted in Scott's Collection of Lord Somer's Tracts (1811) V.pp.487-93. Harleian Miscellany (1810) Vol. V.98-104. Refers to body of divines who met at Westminster for the establishment of church discipline upon the Presbyterian plan.

20. Lines written by a Spectator of Hugh Peters' Execution. J.Morgan's Phoenix Britannicus (1732) p.288.
21. The trials of 29 Regicides at the Old Bailey for High treason which began the 9th day of October A.D. 1660, 12 Charles II. Cobbets Complete Collection of State Trials (1810) V.947-1301.
22. The Usurper; A Tragedy As it was acted at the Theatre Royal by his Majesties Servants. 4to. 1668. Written by Edward Howard. Oliver Cromwell was represented in the character of Damocles, and Hugh Peters appeared as Hugo de Petra (Camb.Hist.Eng.Lit. Vol.VIII.p.23, footnote). Samuel Pepys makes the following entry in his diary for Dec.2, 1668: "So she and I to the King's playhouse, and there saw 'The Usurper'; a pretty good play, in all but what is designed to resemble Cromwell and Hugh Peters, which is mighty silly" (Diary & Corr. of Sam'l Pepys, Ed. Braybrooke, 4th ed. Phil. n.d. Vol.IV. p.60.) See also Langbaine, Eng.Poets, p.274, and Diot.Nat.Biog.Vol.XXVIII, p.13, A.

COLLECTIONS.

1. Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum. 1642-1660.

Collected and edited by C.H.Firth and R.S.Rait.

3 vol. London. 1911.

The third volume contains a valuable introduction, a chronological table of acts and ordinances, and indexes to subjects, names, places, and things. The books contain important material on Hugh Peters, and since the materials consist of official acts and ordinances, they are absolutely authentic; and a few important facts not used elsewhere. The act by which Peters became one of the commissioners for the approbation of public preachers is printed in full.

2. Calendars of State Papers, Domestic.

From 1631 to 1660 there are continual references to Hugh Peters in the Calendars of State Papers. A great deal of information is to be had from them, especially in regard to the Dutch period of his life and the period after his return to England. The Calendars are exceptionally

well indexed. Much of the information is of an unofficial character.

3. Carte, Thomas. Collection of Original Letters and Papers. 1641-1660. 2 vols. London, 1739.

Carte was a historian who lived from 1686 to 1754. The books contain materials found among the Duke of Ormonde's papers. Most of them are letters to the Duke. There is no index. The work contains some important material on Hugh Peters.

4. Clarendon Papers, Calendar. 3 vols., Oxford.

A calendar of the Clarendon State Papers preserved in the Bodleian Library. Volume I (covering the period 1523 to Jan.1649) is edited by O.Ogle and D.H.Bliss. (Oxford, 1872). A number of letters to Peters, and his instructions for raising money in Holland are briefed. Volume II is edited by W.D.Macray.(Oxford, 1869), and includes papers covering years 1649 to end of 1654. Volume III, for the years 1655-57, is also edited by W.D.Macray,(Oxford,1876). The books have separate indexes. There is little direct material on Peters in the 3d volume, but much in volumes I and II.

5. Clarendon State Papers. 3 vols. Oxford, 1767-1786.

This is a collection of the greater part of the sources which Clarendon used in writing his history. Each of the three volumes has an index. There is little material bearing directly on Hugh Peters.

6. Clarke Papers. (Camden Society and Royal Hist.Soc.)

Edited by C.H.Firth. 4 vols. 1891-1901.

Clarke was Secretary to the Council of the Army, 1647-1649, and to General Monck and the commanders of the Army in Scotland, 1651-1660. In vol.iii there are several letters in which direct reference is made to Hugh Peters; and much information on miscellaneous points is to be found in the volumes.

7. Collectanea Curiosa. Collected and edited by John

Gutch. 2 vols. Oxford. 1781. A collection of miscellaneous tracts. There are a few tracts - only a few - dealing with this period. There is some valuable material relating to life at the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge in tracts 27 to 34, Vol.I.

8. Commons, House of. Journals.

9. Cromwell, Oliver. Letters and Speeches. Carlyle's collection, edited by Mrs. S.C.Lomas. 3 vols.

London, 1904.

10. Cromwelliana. A Chronological Detail of Events in which Oliver Cromwell was engaged; from the year 1642 to his death 1658; with a continuation of other Transactions, to the Restoration. Arranged by Machell Stace. Westminster, 1810.

Excerpts from contemporary newspapers of the period from the civil wars to the Restoration. There are many references to Hugh Peters, and as the book is provided with an index it is easy to find them.

11. Firth, C.H.

Stuart Tracts 1603-1693. Introduction by C.H. Firth. Westminster, 1903.

The collection includes: "Thomas Lord Fairfax. Short Memorials of some things to be cleared during my command in the Army, and A Short Memorial of the Northern Actions during the war there". Mr.Firth discusses the

pamphlet in his introduction.

12. The Fairfax Correspondence. Memoirs of the reign of Charles I. Edited by Geo. W. Johnson (vols. I and II) and Robert Bell (vols. III and IV). London, 1848-49.

Letters interspersed with comments by the editor on events and characters. A very interesting letter from Hugh Peterd to Sir Thomas Fairfax is printed in Vol. III, pp. 279-280. But the characterization of Peters that precedes it is misleading in many respects. The volumes are important in connection with Peters' service under Fairfax as army-chaplain.

13. The Harleian Miscellany. 10 vols. London, 1808-1813.

A well-known collection of tracts for the period. Trevelyan says that it and Lord Somers Tracts are the "two collections of pamphlets, etc., on all subjects, political, religious and social, most easily obtainable by, and most valuable to, general readers and students." How valuable the Harleian is for this study is seen by the fact that it contains of those titles listed in this bibliography under "Hugh Peters' own writings": numbers 2 and 12 (the latter

being the famous "Word for the Army and two Words for the Kingdom);¹ and of the satirical pamphlets, numbers 8 and 24.² (number 8 is "Peters' pattern" --the spurious funeral sermon); and of miscellaneous titles, number 39 (The Assembly Man).³

14. Historical Collections of the Essex Institute. Salem, Mass. Volumes I(1859), II(1860), IV(1862), V(1863), VI(1864), VII(1865), VIII(1868), IX(1869, first vol. 2d series), X(1870).

Contain a mass of contemporary material - note-books, church records, town records, land deeds, etc., --for the early years of the town and colony. Hugh Peters' name occurs frequently, and there is some valuable information concerning him. The covenant which he drew up with the Salem congregation upon becoming their minister is printed in one of the volumes, giving a full list of the signers. There is also much secondary material included in the volumes.

15. Historical MSS. Commission, Reports.

The manuscripts are unarranged, and it is difficult to find the material. In the Appendix to the Seventh Report,

1. See above, pp. 2, 5.

2. *Ibid.* pp. 14, 20.

3. *Ibid.* p. 29.

pp.115-116, there is important material on Peters--in fact, his own narrative, which was annexed to his petition of July 13th, 1660, to Parliament.

16. Hutchinson, Thomas. A Collection of Original Papers Relative to the History of the Colony of Massachusetts. Boston, 1769.

17. Laud, William. Works. (Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology) 7 vols. Oxford, 1847.

Particularly the "History of the Troubles and Tryall" which Laud wrote while confined to the Tower of London, and the Diary of his life which is prefixed to it. These are found in vol.III, p.111 et seq. and all of vol.IV. There is an index to all the volumes at the end of vol.VII. Laud suspected Peters of a plot to get him transported to New England. The relations between the two men were extremely bitter. Peters was later given the library of Laud. These are the chief points concerning Peters that are brought out.

18. Lords, House of. Journals.

19. Maseres, Frances. Select Tracts Relating to the Civil Wars in England. 2 vols. London, 1815.

Includes Thomas Fairfax's Short Memorials, Clement Walker's Presbyterian and Independent, and the Memoirs of Denzil Hollis. These do not contain much material specifically concerning Peters, but they have information of a general character that has been used, especially Clement Walker's Presbyterian and Independent.¹

20. Massachusetts Historical Society, Collections.

There is much contemporary and secondary material in these volumes relating to the early history of the Mass. Bay Colony; and the references to Hugh Peters are almost innumerable. Of chief importance are the thirty-five letters written by Hugh Peters himself, in Vol.VI of the 4th series. In Vol.Vii there is a facsimile of Peters' seal and signature. Materials will be discussed more fully in the New England section of this bibliography. The collections for 1800 and 1809 have material. In the third series Vols.I, III, VIII, IX and X are important. In the fourth series Vols. VI, VII and VIII have been used.

¹. See also below, p. 49, number 19.

21. Massachusetts Historical Society, Proceedings.

The Collections of the Mass.Hist.Society contain chiefly sources bearing on American history. The Proceedings contain a large amount of secondary material. Yet they contain so much of source material also---often fragments and miscellaneous bits of material contemporary with the early periods---that they have to be included in this section of the bibliography. Such an important source, for example, as the report of the Church Trial of Mrs.Hutchinson in March 1638, (the Stiles MS.) is included in full in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for October, 1888. (Series II, Vol.IV.pp.161-191.)

22. Nicholas Papers. Correspondence of Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State. Edited by George F. Warner. 3 vol. Camden Society. 1886-1897.

23. O'Callaghan, E.B. Documents Relating to Colonial History of State of New York. Procured in Holland, England, and France. Volumes I and II. Albany, 1856.

The documents relating to Hugh Peters are taken from MS. in the Royal Archives at the Hague (FileEngeland). They

deal with the New Netherland commission to Peters. The commission, translated from the Dutch, is given in full in Vol.II, p.568.

24. Phoenix Britannicus. Morgan, J. London. 1732.

A collection which contains no.21 of miscellaneous pamphlets of this bibliography: "Lines written by a Spectator of Hugh Peters' Execution."

25. Prince Society, Publications. 1876, edited by C.H. Bell (Boston); 1894, edited by C.F.Adams (Boston).

Contain most of the documents of the Antinomian controversy. For discussion of their contents see section on New England source materials.

26. Records of Governor and Colony of Mass. Bay in New England. Edited by Nath.B.Shurtleff.

Vol.I.	(1628-1641)	—Boston,	1853.
"	II. (1642-1649)	"	"
"	III.(1644-1657)	"	1854.
"	IV.Part I (1650-60)	"	"

In these official records we have the chief source of information (with the exception of Winthrop's Journal) for Peters' New England period from 1635 to 1641. There is

also not a little material for the years between his departure from New Eng., and his death.

27. Records of Colony of New Plymouth in New England.

Court Orders. 4 vols. Years 1633 to 1668. Edited by Nath.B.Shurtleff. Boston, 1855.

28. Records of Colony of New Plymouth in New England.

Acts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England. 1643-1679. Vols.I and II.

Several letters concerning the mission of Peters and his associates to England.

29. Rushworth, John. Historical Collections. 8 vols.

London, 1682-1701.

A great collection of official papers with a running narrative between them written by a clerk of the House of Commons. Important source for period. Much information about Hugh Peters.

30. Somers, John. Collection of scarce and valuable

tracts. 13 vols. London, 1809-15.

Many tracts of value to this study are included in the great Somers collection. The seventh volume especially

has in it many references to Hugh Peters. No.5 of the satirical and no.29 of the miscellaneous pamphlets¹ of this bibliography, are in the Somers collection.

31. The University set of bound volumes of tracts and the uncatalogued tracts kept in Mr. Gerould's office.
32. Thurloe, John. A Collection of State Papers. Edited by Thomas Birch, 7 vols. London, 1742. Especially vols. I, V, VI, VII.

SINGLE WORKS.

Besides the writings of Peters, the satirical pamphlets, and the miscellaneous tracts, already enumerated, the following primary single works must be included:

1. Baxter, Richard. Reliquiae Baxterianae. Narrative of the most memorable passages of his life and times. Published from his original manuscripts by Mathew Sylvester. London, 1696.

1. See above . pp. 13-14.
2. Ibid. p. 29.

"The early part gives a picture from the inside of Puritanism before civil war. Later, the point of view of a moderate Presbyterian." Trevelyan, Eng. Under the Stuarts, p.526. It is interesting to compare Baxter and Peters as army chaplains. Baxter failed; Peters succeeded.

2. Brereton, Sir William, Bart. Travels in Holland the United Provinces England Scotland and Ireland. 1634-1635. Vol.I Chetham Society Publications. Edited by Edward Hawkins. 1854.

Brereton was in Rotterdam in May, 1634, heard Peters preach, and had several conversations with him. Information concerning Holland period not to be found elsewhere. Brereton was a shrewd observer, and seems absolutely reliable.

3. Burrage, Champlin. The Early English Dissenters. 2 vols. Cambridge, 1912.

Vol.II contains a great deal of source material about the Puritan ministers in Holland. It is taken from Add.MS. 6394, British Museum, on the binding of which is stamped: "Relative to the English Church in the Netherlands, 1600-1648". There are several letters relating to Hugh Peters,

and his famous covenant with the English church of Rotterdam is included. In Vol.I the covenant is printed in full, and also the abbreviated copy from the Cal.State Papers, Dom. 1633-1634 (p.318). The materials in Burrage throw much additional light on the Independents, and especially on the activity of Peters from 1629 to 1635.

4. Burton, Thomas. Diary. 1656-1659. Edited by J.T. Rutt. 4 vols. London, 1828.

Contains a number of allusions to Hugh Peters. In the editor's footnotes there are some interesting comments about the relation between Peters and Cromwell. (See Vol. II, p.346. Also an opinion about Peters, p.420.)

5. Clarendon, Edward, Earl of. The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England begun in the year 1641. Edited by W.Dunn Macray. 6 vols. Oxford, 1888.

The famous history refers to Peters in sharp critical fashion. One can not expect the great royalist to have any sympathy for so active an anti-royalist as Peters. Speaking of the Hotham trial, Clarendon calls Peters the "ungodly confessor". (Vol.III.p.529) Clarendon makes of course

no attempt to state the importance of Peters' services.

6. Dugdale, William. Life, Diary and Correspondence.

Edited by William Hamper, London, 1837.

The diary, which is very meagre, begins in 1643, and is carried out to 1685. Dugdale was born in 1605 and died in 1685.

7. Edwards, Thomas. Gangraena. London, 1646.

8. Evelyn, John. Diary. 1620-1695-6. Edited by William Bray. London-N.Y. (Every Man's Library).

The diarist makes the following note for the 17th of Jan., 1648-49: "To London. I heard the rebel, Peters, incite the rebel powers met in the Painted Chamber, to destroy his Majesty." Little use made of the diary.

9. Hutchinson, Mrs. Lucy. Memoirs of the Life of Colonel Hutchinson. London, 1884. Edited by Rev. Julius

Hutchinson. "Gives the point of view of the upper - class Independents, and is the most interesting personal story of all the memoirs of the period." Trevelyan, E. U. S. p. 528.

10. Hutchinson, Thomas. History of the Colony (and Province) of Massachusetts Bay. 3 vols. London, 1765, 1768, and 1828. Vol. I (1628-1691); Vol. II (1691-1750); Vol. III (1798-1803). Also History of Mass. Bay. 2 vols. 3d ed., Boston, 1795.

A secondary work, yet this history contains much source material not found elsewhere, and he has evidently had access to other sources not now available. In Vol. I (1795 ed.) is found the letter of Peters excommunicating Roger Williams and his followers from the church of Salem. This is also printed in Felt's Ecclesiastical History of New England. (Vol. I, pp. 379-380)

11. Johnson, Capt. Edward. Wonder-working Providence. 1628-1651. Edited by J.F. Jameson. New York, 1910.

(Original Narratives of Early American History).

Discussed in New England section of bibliography. Dr. Jameson gives an account of the author and an estimate of the value of the source in his introduction. The question of its authorship is exhaustively discussed. Formerly it has been attributed to Sir Fernando Gorges. The real author, as Dr. Jameson proves conclusively, was Capt. Edward Johnson

of Woburn, Mass., and the book was probably written about the year 1650 or 1651.

12. Kennett, Bishop White. An Historical Register and Chroniolo of English Affairs before and after the Restoration of the King Charles II. London, 1744.

References are given to sources used. A good deal is taken from sources that are unavailable. Especially is Barwick's Life of Barwick used in the earlier parts of the book. The book is an original authority for Charles II's reign, but otherwise is secondary. It begins in Jan. 1659-60.

13. Lechford, Thomas. Plain Dealing, Newes from New England. London, 1643. Reprinted in the Collections of the Mass. Historical Society. Third series, Vol. III, pp. 54-128.

14. Ludlow, Edmund. Memoirs. 1625-1672. 2 vols. Oxford, 1894. Edited with appendices of letters and illustrative documents, by C. H. Firth.

The Memoirs were first published in 1698, six years after the author's death. Trevelyan says of it: "Gives the strict Republican (anti-Cromwellian) point of view and type

of character." In Vol.II, pp.311-314, there is a brief account of the life and execution of Hugh Peters. Possibly he used Peters' Last Legacy. He did use the printed account of the trial of the Regicides, and Mr.Firth says he used the tract: "A compleat collection of the Lives, Speeches, and Prayers etc., of those persons lately executed". This pamphlet is included in the present bibliography as title 17 of miscellaneous tracts.¹ It was printed in 1661. A comparison of the account of the execution in Ludlow with that in no.14 of miscellaneous tracts² convinces me that either Ludlow used the latter (which was printed in 1660) or else, if he used the former, then the former was based on the latter. Almost word for word the Ludlow account and the 1660 account are identical. Of course the two pamphlets may have had a common source.

15. Pryme, A.De La. Diary. No.54 in Surtees Society. 1869. References to Peters, pp.51-52.

16. Sprigge, Joshua. Anglia Rediviva. London, 1647. Trevelyan calls it "semi-official history of operations of New Model, 1645-46." It gives valuable information

1. See above, pp. 28-29.
2. Ibid. p. 27-28.

on Peters as army-chaplain, both of his work as preacher and organizer, as well as his reports of the army's activities. See especially pp.129-33, 139-42, 207. (Public Libr)

17. Vicars, John. England's Worthies. London, 1647.
Accounts of Earls of Essex, Warwick, Manchester, Denbigh, Stamford, Leven, Lord Fairfax, Sir Thos.Fairfax, Cromwell, Skippon, Edw.Massey, Sir Wm.Brereton, Sir Wm. Waller, Col.Langhorn, Gen.Poyntz, Sir Thos.Middleton, Rich. Brown, Mitton.

18. Vicars, John. The Burning Bush. London, 1646.
Have been unable to get this book. Vicars lived from 1582 to 1652. There is important material on Peters in the book. Vicars was personally acquainted with Peters.

19. Walker, Clement. The Mystery of the two Juntos and the History of Independency. London, 1661.
In Pt.II, pp.49-50, he tells of a sermon delivered by Peters before the two Houses; and characterizes Peters as a pulpit-buffoon. His paragraph is called "A MookFast kept by the two Houses, and Hugh Peters Comick Sermon."

20. Winthrop, John. "Winthrop's Journal" History of New England, 1630-1649. Edited by James K. Hosmer. 2 vols. New York, Scribners, 1908. (Original Narratives of Early American History series; General editor, J.F. Jameson. Auspices American Historical Association).

This work more fully discussed in New England section of bibliography. Hosmer's edition supercedes the old one of Savage, th' occasionally Savage's footnote comments are worth looking up. Winthrop is of course the standard source for the early history of Mass. Bay and is the chief source of information on Peters' activity in New England.

21. Ibid. Savage's edition. Boston, 1853.

In the appendix of Vol. I a number of important letters are found which give valuable information about Peters. Among these is the letter which Vane, Winthrop, and Peters wrote to the Conn. settlers as agents for Lords Say and Brook for the management of the estate of the patentees of Connecticut. (Vol. I, p. 477, App. C.)

SECONDARY MATERIALS.A. Biographies of Hugh Peters.

1. Englands Shame, or the unmasking of a politick Athe-
 ist; being a full and faithful Relation of the Life
 and death of that Grand Imposter Hugh Peters. Wherein is
 set forth his whole comportment, Policies and Principles, ex-
 ercised from the Ingres, in the Progress, and the Egress of
 his Unhappy Life. By William Yonge, Dr.Med. London, 1663.

The title of this book is a good indication of its char-
 acter. Written by the chief witness against Peters in his
 trial, the book is a deliberate attempt to justify the exe-
 cution of Peters. The sources used are meagre, being main-
 ly the reports of the trial, Peters' Last Legacy, various
 satirical pamphlets, and Yonge's own memory. All slanders
 are accepted, almost every fact is distorted, and the book
 is exactly what Mr.Firth calls it: "A scurrilous collect-
 ion of fabrications."

1. This book has recently been added to the University library.

2. Harris, William. "Historical and Critical Account of Hugh Peters?" Prefix of Vol.I of Harris' "Historical and Critical Account of the Lives and Writings of James I and Charles I and of the Lives of Oliver Cromwell and Charles II after the Manner of Mr. Bayle from Original Writers and State Papers". 5 vols. London, 1814. Printed also separately, and in Smeeton's Tracts. ¹

This is the first attempt at an impartial biography of Hugh Peters. An honest attempt is made to use reliable sources. The book is based principally on Peters' Last Legacy. Besides this Whitelocke's Memorials have been used, as well as Carte's Ormonde Papers, Rushworth, Clarendon, Barwick, The Trial of the Regicides, and Langbaine's Dramatic Poets. In a short postscript a few extracts concerning Peters are given from Thurloe's State Papers. The account consists largely of footnotes (there are only ninety lines of text). Only five lines are given to the Holland and New England periods, and the whole account is little more than a sketch; but it corrects many of the errors of Yonge.

3. Peters, Rev. Samuel. A History of Rev. Hugh Peters, A.M. New York, 1807.

1. Smeeton's tracts are in the Minneapolis Public Library. Harris' 5 volume work is in the University library.

This book, written by a descendant of Hugh Peters, is too laudatory, and too evidently an attempt to exaggerate and glorify his ancestor. He uses no sources that Harris had not used, gives practically no attention to the New England period, and continually launches off into general discourses on religion and morals. The book contains 155 pages. Of these 108 are given to the life of Peters. The rest form an appendix dealing with the American descendants of Hugh.

4. Felt, J.B. Memoir and Defence of Hugh Peters. Boston, 1851.²

This supercedes the other accounts and is a more pretentious biography of Peters. A much more thorough examination of the sources has been made. John Winthrop, Johnson's Wonder Working Providence, Hutchinson, Colonial Records, and a few other sources have been used for the New England period. No references to his authorities are given, but they are usually quite obvious. One of the chief faults of the book is its arrangement. Thruout the whole account this plan is followed: a date is given, and following it, a statement of what Peters did on that particular day. There is no attempt at classification. Nor does he go much into

1. The library of the State Historical Society of Minnesota has a copy of this book.

2. University library.

the significance of his facts,—the influence and importance of Hugh Peters, for example. Of course there are many important sources that he has failed to use.

5. Firth, Charles H. Article on Hugh Peters in the Dictionary of National Biography. Vol.XV. pp.69-77. There is more information about Peters in this article than in all the other accounts combined. It is a scientific, compact study, using a large number of sources. It suggests the possibilities that lie in an exhaustive study of Hugh Peters.

B. The following books are of value either because of references to, or accounts and estimates of Hugh Peters, or for the history of his time, and more particularly the history of the movements with which Peters himself was concerned.

Adams, Brooks.
Emancipation of Massachusetts.
Boston, 1887.

- Adams, Charles Francis.
 Three Episodes of Massachusetts History.
 2 vols. Boston, 1892.
 Massachusetts, Historians and History.
 Boston, 1893.
- Allen, William,
 Biographical Dictionary.
 (3d ed.) Boston, 1857. (pp. 655-57, 873)
- Appleton, W.S.
 Ancestry of Priscilla Baker.
 Published 1870.
- Backus, Isaac.
 History of New England.
 2 vols. Boston, 1777-1784.
- Bentley, William.
 History of Salem. Collections of Mass.
 Hist. Soc. First Series VI (1800)
 Gives Peters credit for much of the early
 economic progress and development both of Salem
 and of the Colony.
- Boase, Geo.C. and Courtney, Wm.P.
 Bibliotheca cornubiensis.
 3 vols. London, 1874-1882.
 A catalogue of the writings, both manuscript
 and printed, of Cornishmen, with short biogra-
 phies and references to sources. Especially
 valuable in securing titles of many of the tracts
 relating to Hugh Peters, especially the satiri-
 cal ones. Peters was a Cornishman.
- Cambridge Modern History.
 13 vols. Cambridge, 1902-1912.
- Caulfield, James.
 The High Court of Justice, memoirs of the
 principle persons who sat in judgment on

King Charles the First and signed his death warrant.

London, 1820.

Peters neither sat in judgment on the king nor signed his death warrant. He is however always included with the regicides, and is therefore dealt with in this work. The account of Peters is untrustworthy. There is a good portrait of Peters.

Catalogue of Portraits exhibited at Exeter at Meeting of Royal Archaeological Institute. 1873.
2d ed. p.28. (Also Athenaeum, Aug. 15th, 1874)

Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in British Museum.
Div. I. (1870) i. pp. 262, 424, 480, 518, 522, 528, 532, 535-37, 538, 539-42, 684.

Channing, Edward.

Hist. United States. Vol. I. The Planting of a Nation in the New World, 1000-1660.
New York, 1909.

Deane, J.B.

Life of Richard Deane.
London, 1870.

Regards Peters as a very important figure. On pp. 364-381 there is an account of his life. Credits contemporary assertions that Peters first thought of putting the King to death, and suggested it to Oliver Cromwell. Emphasizes Peters' position of adviser to Cromwell. Includes two interesting poems—one in Latin, the other an English translation—written by contemporaries eulogizing Hugh Peters.

Dexter, H.M.

Congregationalism. As to Roger Williams.
Boston, 1876.

Dictionary of National Biography.

- Dowden, E.
Puritan and Anglican.
London, 1900.-
- Doyle, J.A.
Eng. Col. in America.
5 vols. New York, 1882-1907.
- Edwards, Edward.
Libraries and Founders of Libraries.
London, 1864.
Memoirs of Libraries.
London, 1859.
- Ellis, George E.
Puritan Age and Rule in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1629-1685.
Boston, 1888.
Also his Life of Anne Hutchinson, included in Spak's American Biography.
- Farmer, John.
Genealogical Register of First Settlers of New England.
Lancaster, Mass. 1829.
- Felt, Joseph B.
Annals of Salem.
2 vols. Salem, 1849.
Strictly chronological statement of what has happened in Salem. Has the same faults which his short biography of Peters has. Of much value, however.
Ecclesiastical History of New England.
2 vols. Boston, 1855-1862.
- Firth, Charles Harding.
1. Oliver Cromwell and the rule of the Puritans in England. In Heroes of the Nations series. Ed. by E. Abbot.
New York, 1900.

Firth, Charles Harding (cont'd)

2. Cromwell's Army.
London, 1902.
Especially valuable for the discussion of the work of Hugh Peters as chaplain to Oliver Cromwell.
3. Article on Hugh Peters. Dictionary of National Biography. Vol.XV.
4. The Last Years of the Protectorate. 1656-1658. (A continuation of Gardiner's History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate) 2 vols. London, N.Y. 1909.

Everything that Firth says about Peters is valuable because he has made a more complete study of the sources on Hugh Peters than any other man. Like Gardiner, Firth takes a favorable view of the character of Hugh Peters. Apparently he thinks that a thorough study of Peters' life will prove Peters a far more important figure than has been recognized. His work as army-chaplain for example was of great significance. Peters was an ideal army-chaplain.

Fiske, John.

The Beginnings of New England.

Gardiner, S.R.

1. History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War. 1603-1642.
10 vols. new ed. London, 1899.
2. History of the Great Civil War. 1642-1649.
4 vols. London, N.Y. 1904-05.
3. Commonwealth and Protectorate. 1649-1656.
4 vols. new ed. London, N.Y. 1903.
4. The First Two Stuarts and the Puritan Revolution. 1603-1660.
London, N.Y. etc. 1899.
5. Notes and Queries. 7th series. Vol.IV.
pp. 394-395.
A short article on Hugh Peters written

in answer to an attack on Peters made in the same magazine. Most of the graver charges against the character of Hugh Peters are disposed of, though Gardiner does not by any means make as strong a defence of Peters as can be made from a study of all the sources on his life. Gardiner takes the same matter up in practically the same words in his history of the civil war.

Googh, G.P.

English Democratic Ideas in the 17th Century.
Cambridge (Eng.) 1898.

Hanbury, Benj.

Historical Memorials relating to Independents.
3 vols. London, 1839-1844.

Hosmer, J.K.

Life of Young Sir Henry Vane.
Boston, 1888.

Vane and Peters arrived at Boston at the same time, and the relations between the two men both in New and old England form an interesting study. Hosmer hardly appreciates Vane's part in the Antinomian controversy.

Hubbard, Wm.

General History of New England.
Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. 1848.

Hutchinson, Thomas.

History of the Colony (and Province) of Mass.
Bay. 3 vols. Vol. I. (1628-1691), Vol. II (1691-
1750), Vol. III (1758-1803);
London, 1765, 1768, 1828.

An edition including the first two volumes was published in 1795. In the appendix of Vol. II is the report of the Hutchinson trial in Nov. 1637.

- Littlefield, George Emery.
The Early Massachusetts Press. 1638-1711.
3 vols. Boston, 1907.
Contains several letters with interesting references to Hugh Peters, especially one telling of Mr. Peters' activity in connection with the first building for Harvard College.
- Masson, David.
Life of Milton.
6 vols. London, N.Y. 1871-1880.
Almost as good as a primary source, because of the mass of reliable information that it contains. Volumes IV, V and VI especially have much information in regard to Peters.
- Mullinger, J.P.
University of Cambridge.
3 vols. Cambridge, 1873-1911.
- Neal, Daniel.
The History of the Puritans or Protestant Non-conformists; from the Reformation in 1517, to the Revolution in 1688.
New ed. 3 vols. London, 1837.
- Oliver, Peter.
Puritan Commonwealth.
Boston, 1856.
- Osgood, H.L.
The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century. Vol. I, Sect. 2, Chapters III-IV on Antinomian controversy.
3 vols. New York, 1904.
- Osgood, C.S. and Batchelder, H.M.
Historical Sketch of Salem. 1626-1879.
Salem, 1879.
The part that refers to Hugh Peters is rather largely based on Bentley's account, and not altogether reliable.

- Palfrey, J.G.
 Compendious History of New England.
 4 vols. Boston, N.Y. 1883 (new ed.)
- Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. Vol. XIII.
 Boston, 1912.
- Quincy, Josiah.
 History of Harvard University.
 2 vols. Cambridge, 1840.
 Peters was one of the founders of Harvard.
- S.P.
 Essay on Life and Character of Peters.
 Monthly Repository. XIV. pp.525-32, 602-607.
 (1819)
 The writer is presumably Samuel Peters.
- Savage, James.
 Genealogical Dictionary of first Settlers.
 4 vols. Boston, 1862.
 By far the best of the genealogical dictionaries. In the articles on Peters original sources have evidently been used, some of which are not available here.
- Shaw, W.A.
 History of the English Church 1640-1660.
- Sprague, Wm.B.
 Annals of American Pulpit.
 4 vols. New York, 1857.
- Stevens, William.
 History of Scottish Church, Rotterdam.
 London, 1832.
- Straus, Oscar B.
 Roger Williams: the Pioneer of Religious Liberty.
 New York, 1894.

- Trevelyan, George Macaulay.
 England under the Stuarts.
 5th edition. N.Y. and London, 1914.
- Tyler, L.G.
 England in America. 1580-1652. American Nation
 series, Vol.IV.
 N.Y. and London, 1904.
- Tweedden, William B.
 Economic and Social History of New England.
 1620-1789.
 2 vols. Boston, N.Y. 1890.
 He discusses the activity of Hugh Peters
 during the years 1635-1641 from the economic
 and social standpoint. He gives Peters a prom-
 inent place in the history of New England ship-
 building.
- Upham, C.W.
 Address at the Re-dedication of the First Church
 in Salem, Mass. Dec. 8, 1867.
 Salem, 1867.
 Discusses fully the Salem church covenant of
 1636 and the relation of Hugh Peters to it.
 Prints the covenant in full. Mr. Upham is prone
 to overstatement. ¹
- Second Century Lectures (Boston, 1829)
 Salem Witcraft (1867. Vol. I. pp. 50-59)
- Walker, Williston.
 A History of the Congregational Churches in the
 United States.
 New York, 1894.
- Webber, C.H. and Nevins, W.S. ²
 Old Naumkeag.
 Salem, 1877.
 Good statement of Peters' relation to Roger
 Williams. Statements are rather extravagant,

1. In Minnesota State Historical Society Library.
 2. Ibid.

however. refers to house in which Peters lived as "the home of Hugh Peters, the birthplace of literature and science in Salem". p.73.

White, D.A.

New England Congregationalism.

Salem, 1861.

Discusses relation of Peters to the church covenant in the Salem church.

Winthrop, Robert C.

Life and Letters of John Winthrop.

2d ed. 2 vols. Boston, 1869.

A DISCUSSION OF THE SOURCES FOR THE NEW ENGLAND PERIOD

In Peters' own writings there is less material on his New England period than one might expect. In his Last Report of the English Wars, his Legacy, and his Narrative (appended to this bibliography) there are brief references to the years spent in Massachusetts, but they give little more than his general impressions.

Winthrop's Journal is the chief source of information on Peters' activity in New England. Here are recorded contemporaneously accounts of his arrival, his activity in setting on foot the fishing business, his arbitration of the Dudley-Haynes-Winthrop controversy, his activity as a preacher, his interest in the economic betterment of the colony, his efforts to promote ship-building, his participation in the Hutchinson controversy, his connection with Harvard College, his work as an arbitrator of disputes, and his departure for England in 1641 as a commissioner of the colony. It is unnecessary here to discuss the reliability of Winthrop's Journal. Of course in writing of the Antinomian controversy, he labors under stern theocratic prejudices, but in his facts he is almost always right.

The Hosmer edition of the Journal is better than Savage's, both in the index and footnotes, as well as the introduction. There is much to be got from Savage's footnotes, however, and sometimes Hosmer simply quotes in full. Savage gave full rein to his personal feelings in his footnotes, and many of them are extremely interesting. Savage has been compared by C.F. Adams to Dr. Samuel Johnson. "Like Johnson, Savage while most laborious, scrupulously honest, and always resolute and unshrinking, was testy, prejudiced and opinionated," a man with his "bete noires" and his favorites. (Hosmer, Vol. I. p. 18)

Next to Winthrop's Journal the most important source is Records of the Governor and Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, edited by N.B. Shurtleff. (Boston, 1853. Vols. I and II) Peters was active as early as 1629 in connection with the company in London. In these Massachusetts Records there is much material, absolutely authentic of course, in regard to his public work, service on committees (for example, to draw up laws, to oversee the College, to consider oppression in wages, etc.), grants of land to him, his commission to represent the colony in England. These

official records give mainly the decisions of the court and they are greatly supplemented by Winthrop's account.

Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence is an original authority for the period, though not of very great value as compared to Winthrop. The author, who was Capt. Edward Johnson of Woburn, Massachusetts, and who wrote in 1650 and 1651, was of a poetical and philosophical turn of mind. The arrival of Peters moves him to indite a poem which begins:

With courage bold Peters a Souldier stout
In Wildernesse for Christ begins to war,
Much worke he finds 'mongst people, yet hold out;
With fluent tongue he stops phantastic jar.

The book discusses the religious controversy, and also Peters' return to England, but everything he writes is in a high-flown, fantastic manner.

Thomas Lechford's "Plain dealing, Newes from New England", published in London in 1642 and reprinted in Vol. III of Third Series of the Mass. Hist. Soc. Collections, gives the first-hand impressions of a hard-headed English lawyer who has visited in Massachusetts. There is some valuable material to be got from his work. In speaking of Peters' work in the settling of disputes Lechford says, "Some of the learnedst, and godliest in the Bay, begin to understand

Governments; that it is necessary, when ministers or people fall out to send other ministers, or they voluntarily to go among them, to seek by all good wayes and meanes to appease them" (p.106).

The Historical Collections of the Essex Institute have a mass of information about the early history of Salem. The grants of land made to Peters, the church covenant of 1637, the economic improvement of the town (especially the stimulus given to fishing and ship-building)--- these are got from original copy books, letters, records, church registers, etc. Volumes I and IV and V are especially important. Good indexes make the Essex books very convenient to use.

The Prince Society Publications are important in any study of early Massachusetts history. The publications for 1894 and 1876 are particularly valuable for this period, and especially the Antinomian phase. The publication of 1894 was edited by Charles Francis Adams. His introduction is largely given over to proving that the "Short Story" was written by John Winthrop and not by Thomas Weld. The first document in the book is "A Short Story of the

Rise, Reign, and ruine of the Antinomians, Familists And Libertines, that infected the Churches of New England" etc. This was printed as a tract in London in 1644. The work includes a virulent preface which is signed by Weld, and which gives the extreme ministerial point of view. This is followed by a catalogue of erroneous opinions condemned at New Town, August 30th, 1637. The next part of the Short Story is the account of the general court in November 1637 at which Mrs. Hutchinson was tried and condemned. The paper is not strictly a report, but is also a justification of the proceedings of the court. Next comes "A briefe Apologie in defence of the general proceedings of the Court, holden at Boston the ninth day of the first moneth, 1636, against Mr. J. Wheelwright". The closing part of the Short Story is very similar to the account in Winthrop's Journal.

Following the Short Story in the 1894 Prince Publication is the report of the trial of Mrs. Hutchinson first printed in the appendix of Hutchinson's History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay. The account differs considerably from the report in the Short Story. The origin of the manuscript is unknown. Hutchinson used it in preparing

his History. But how it came into his possession is unknown. It is authentic. Hutchinson says of it: "An ancient manuscript of the trial at large, having been preserved, discovers nothing in her (Mrs. Hutchinson's) conduct but what might naturally be expected from a high degree of enthusiasm" (Prince Pub.p.235) It appears to be a more literal report of the trial than the one that is in the Short Story.

The next document included is an original report of the "Trial of Mrs. Ann Hutchinson before the Church in Boston, March, 1638". The original manuscript is not traceable. The MS. was found and copied by President Stiles of Yale College in 1771. His copy is at Yale, and was printed in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for October, 1888. (Series II, Vol. IV, pp. 161-191) The report has generally been accepted as an authentic, reliable one.

In 1648 Cotton published his famous "The Way of The Congregational Churches Cleared". Of this, section 13 is entitled "Of Cottons pretended Antinomianisme and Familisme". This is printed in the 1894 Prince Publication

and is a denial by Cotton that he held the opinions charged to him in the Short Story, and a defence of his actions in the controversy. The last document in the Prince volume "Robert Keayne's Note-book", throws little light on the controversy.

In the 1876 volume of the Prince Society, edited by Charles H. Bell, there are two important documents bearing on the controversy, namely, the famous Fast Day Sermon of 1637 (discussed in chapter on Antinomianism) and his Mercurius Americanus, published in 1645. The latter is written by Wheelwright as a complete answer to the Short Story.

There are several other important sources for information on his New England period. The Collections and Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society are discussed elsewhere in this bibliography. There is a vast amount of primary material to be gleaned from miscellaneous letters and notes published in them. In Vol. VI, 4th series, a large number of letters contemporary to that period is published, many of them containing references to Hugh Peters. There are also Peters' own letters

1. The publications of the Prince Society for the years 1876 and 1894 are to be found in the library of the Minnesota State Historical Society.

--35 in number--though in these there is not so much information as one anticipates. Many of them are written after he returned to England. Many of the Winthrop letters are also found in Robert Winthrop's "Life and Letters of John Winthrop"--2 vols. Boston, 1869.

There are a few other miscellaneous sources. For example, material relating to Peters' New Netherland commission is found in O'Callaghan's "Documents Relating to Colonial History of State of New York"--vols. I and II. These materials are taken from manuscript in the Royal archives at the Hague. In the Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England (see no. 27 of titles under heading "Collections") there is primary material. Thomas Hutchinson's "Collections of Original Papers Relative to the History of the Colony of Massachusetts", Boston, 1769, is valuable, though many of the documents there included are printed elsewhere.

There is a considerable body of source material in secondary works. These have been sufficiently indicated in the section on secondary materials.

HUGH PETERS AND THE ANTINOMIAN CONTROVERSY
IN THE COLONY OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY,
1636-1638.

Antinomianism--the very name itself--suggests to the modern mind a dreary theological controversy the study of which promises but meagre results for the historical student. Mr. Charles F. Adams has said, "Theological controversies are as a rule the most barren of the many barren fields of historical research; and the literature of which they were so fruitful may, so far as the reader of today is concerned, best be described by the single word impossible."¹ This painful truth is deeply impressed upon him who plunges into the literature of the controversy that raged about the personality and religious views of Mistress Anne Hutchinson. However fascinating the nimble mind and spiritual personality of that gifted woman may be, however absorbing the dramatic interest of her one-sided struggle, so long as the controversy be regarded from a theological point of view its issues are unintelligible, its pros and cons of little interest, and its historical significance extremely slight. But the historian who studies it from that point of view fails absolutely to grasp its real meaning. For it was

1. Charles Francis Adams. Three Episodes of Massachusetts History. Vol.I. p.366.

infinitely more than a theological controversy. Mr. Charles Francis Adams, the one writer who has truly interpreted its deep-rooted influence upon our colonial history, characterizes the struggle as "the first of the many New England quickenings in the direction of social, intellectual, and political development,—New England's earliest protest against formulas. The movement of sap in a young tree was not more natural, and the form the quickening took, and the individuals who participated in it were the only matters of chance."¹ Studying it with that belief it assumes vital importance and real interest. One must approach its study in a broad and non-partizan way. For the purposes of this monograph the nature of the participation of Hugh Peters is of more immediate concern, but his part in this colonial drama can not be understood unless the broader significance of the controversy upon New England history serve as a background. Necessarily certain details of the struggle must be examined, though the Antinomian controversy has heretofore been made the subject of rather extensive investigation by historians.²

1. Adams. op.cit. Vol.I.p.567.

2. Charles Francis Adams has made a brilliant study of the Antinomian controversy in his "Three Episodes of Mass.History," Part II. He has also edited the documents relating to the controversy, in the 1894 publication of the Prince

Society, "Antinomianism in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 1636-1638". George E. Ellis has written a "Life of Anne Hutchinson"---included in Spark's American Biography series---and has also devoted the ninth chapter of his "Puritan Age in Massachusetts" to the controversy. Palfrey has dealt with it in Chapter XII of his History. In the Prince Society publication for 1876 which includes the writings of John Wheelwright, the subject has been gone over by Charles H. Bell in his "Memoir" of Wheelwright. The controversy has been studied by Thomas Hutchinson---himself a descendant of the famous Anne---in his History of Mass.Bay. Chapter I of "The Quakers in the American Colonies" by Mr.Rufus M.Jones (1911) deals with the controversy under the title "A Pre-Quaker Movement". (Mr.Jones seems ignorant of the fact that "The Short Story" was written by Winthrop and not by Weld). Brooks Adams in his "Emancipation of Massachusetts treats of the controversy with severe condemnation of Mrs.Hutchinson's opponents. So also does Peter Oliver in his "Puritan Commonwealth". John A.Vinton (The Antinomian Controversy of 1637) and Henry M.Dexter (As to Roger Williams and his Banishment from the Massachusetts Plantation) present the matter with a defence of her opponents. (See Hosmer's Edition of Winthrop's Journal, Vol.I, pp.242-3) In almost all writings dealing with this period the Antinomian controversy receives its share of learned discussion. Colonial histories, encyclopedias, etc., invariably take it up. See bibliography.

As a term applied to the doctrines of Mrs. Hutchinson and her followers, Antinomianism is very decidedly a misnomer. The word is defined as "the doctrine that faith frees the Christian from the claims and obligations of the moral law."¹ Considering it historically "Antinomianism has existed in three forms: in the early church, as a species of Gnosticism, in the doctrine that sin is an incident of the body, and that a regenerate soul cannot sin; later in the Reformation, as a reaction against the doctrine of good works in the Roman Catholic Church, in the antagonistic doctrine that man is saved by faith alone, regardless of his obedience to or disobedience of the moral law as a rule of life; finally as a phase of extreme Calvinism, in English Puritan theology, in the doctrine that the sins of the elect are so transferred to Christ that they become his transgressions, and cease to be the transgressions of the actual sinner."² Mr. Ellis has more definitely traced the origin of the word as used by the authorities in Massachusetts. "In Europe", he says, "the sect known as Antinomians were the disciples of John Agricola, a tailor, born at Eisleben in 1493, afterward a

1. Century Dict. (1893) Vol. I. p. 91.

2. Adams. Prince Society Publication (1894), introduction. pp. 12-13.

university scholar, rector, and preacher, and in 1526
 chaplain of the Elector of Saxony at the diet of Spire. As
 a disciple and worker with, and afterward an opponent of,
 Luther and Melancthon, he carried to extreme the doctrine
 of the former of justification by faith, in opposition to
 the Roman church doctrine of good works. He afterward re-
 nounced his errors. Both his disciples and his enemies
 perverted doctrines which he had carefully and guardedly
 defined. So Antinomianism came to stand for--what the
 authorities of Massachusetts held it to be--a grossly im-
 moral doctrine; superseding the need of good works, and
 reaching the monstrous conclusion that nothing which a be-
 liever might do could be sin.¹ It is significant, how-
 ever, that John Wheelwright, whose Fast-day sermon of 1637
 proved the fire-brand of the controversy, very explicitly
 admonished his followers there in these words, "Let vs
 haue a care to be holy as the Lord is holy, let vs not giue
 an occasion to those that are coming on, or manifestly op-
 posite to the wayes of grace, to suspect the way of grace,
 let vs cary our selues, that they may be ashamed to blame
 vs, let us deal vprightly wth those, wth whom we haue oo-
 casion to deale, and haue a care to guide our families

1. G. E. Ellis. Puritan Age in Mass. pp. 312-313.

& to performe duties that belong to vs, and let vs haue a care that we giue not occasion to others to say we are libertines or Antinomians, but Christians."¹ The misnomer adhered, however, and the controversy has gone down in history with that name.

This leads us to the consideration of the personalities, issues, and events of the struggle. The storm-center, Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, whom Winthrop characterizes as "a woman of ready wit and bold spirit,"² arrived in Boston in September 1634 with her husband, William Hutchinson.³ In England she had come under the influence of the minister John Cotton who before coming to New England Boston had preached his doctrines in the St. Botolph's church of English Boston. Her coming to America was largely influenced by her deep admiration for Cotton and his teachings.⁴

The penetrating intelligence of the woman, the charm and magnetism of her personality, as well as her peculiar ability in dealing with "ailments peculiar to her sex", marked her for leadership among women.⁵ Not long after

1. Prince Soc. Pub. (1876) Wheelwright's Fast-day Sermon, pp. 174-175.

2. Winthrop's Journal. Vol. I. p. 195.

3. Adams. Three Episodes, Vol. I. p. 370; Winthrop, The Short Story (Prince Pub. 1894) p. 158. Winthrop says of Anne's husband: "a man of a very mild temper and weak parts, and wholly guided by his wife". (Journal. I. p. 299)

4. Rufus Jones. The Quakers in the Am. Colonies. pp. 4-5.

5. Ibid. pp. 5-6; the Short Story (Prince Pub. 1894) p. 158 "Being a woman very helpful in times of child-birth, and other occasions of bodily infirmities, and well furnished with means for those purposes, shee easily insinuated her selfe into the affections of many."

her arrival she began to hold weekly meetings, the primary purpose of which was to discuss the Sunday sermon of the minister. These proved immensely popular, and it was not long before she began to supplement the reading of the sermon with teachings of her own. Weld, in the preface to the Short Story, writes characteristically, "...was Mistress Hutchinsons double weekly -lecture, which she kept under a pretence of repeating Sermons, to which reported sundry of Boston, and other Townes about, to the number of fifty, sixty, or eighty at once; where, after she had repeated the sermon, she would make her comment upon it, vent her mischievous opinions as she pleased, and wreathed the Scriptures to her owne purpose; where the custom was for her Scholars to propound questions, and she (gravely sitting in the chaire) did make answers thereunto."¹

Rev. John Cotton was the teacher in the church of Boston, and Rev. John Wilson the minister; and in the attitude of Mrs. Hutchinson toward these two men and toward Rev. John Wheelwright, who arrived in New England in May, 1636,² lay the beginnings of the trouble. For Wilson was

1. Prince Soc. Pub. (1894) The Preface to the Short Story,
p. 79.
2. Bell. John Wheelwright, p. 6.

in every characteristic the opposite type of Mrs. Hutchinson. Mr. Adams says, "...the Rev. John Wilson, though doubtless in his way a worthy, well-intentioned man of the common - place, conventional kind, had about him little that was either sympathetic or attractive. Harsh in feature and thick of utterance, he was coarse of fibre,—hard, matter-of-fact, unimaginative."¹ More than that he was in peculiar measure narrow, bigoted, intense in his hatred and opinions. He was a man, says Mr. Boyle, "than whom orthodoxy in New England had no champion more cruel and ungenerous."² Cotton was precisely the reverse—a man of large heart and tolerant spirit, kindly, not apt to emphasize greatly matters of external observance, one whose teaching "aimed to kindle a deep heart-piety, calm, serene, and self-assuring."³ A critical comparison of the two by the woman who had crossed the ocean to hear the one was inevitable. It was not long before Rev. Wilson began to look with suspicious eyes upon the activity of Mrs. Hutchinson.⁴ Apparently it was no pleasant thing for an orthodox minister in New England at that time to have his opinions criticized and challenged. Soon Wilson became openly hostile, and she herself scornfully met him on his own ground. She and

1. Adams. Three Episodes. Vol. I. p. 407. The characterisations of Mr. Adams must be taken critically, for his censure of all those in the ministerial party is extreme and moved by deep indignation. Cotton speaks in a charitable way of Wilson (Cotton's Way Cleared, Prince Pub. 1894, p. 367); but most historians have taken essentially

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- the same view that Mr. Adams expresses.
2. J.A. Doyle. The English in America: The Puritan Colonies, I. p. 419.
 3. Ellis. The Puritan Age. p. 308.
 4. John Cotton. The Way of Congregational Churches Cleared (Prince Pub. 1894) p. 367.

her followers took no pains to conceal the contempt which they felt for Wilson and the other ministers who preached "a covenant of works."¹ "You might have seen many of the opinionists rising up, and contemptuously turning their backs upon the faithful Pastor of that Church, and going forth from the Assembly when he began to pray or preach", writes the offended Mr. Weld.² More bitterly still, he says, "Now, after our Sermons were ended at our publike Lectures, you might have seene halfe a dozen Pistols discharged at the face of the Preacher, (I mean) so many objections made by the Opinionists in the open Assembly against our doctrine delivered, if it suited not their new fancies, to the marvellous weakening of the holy truths delivered."³

The real issue was stated when, after the arrival of Rev. John Wheelwright in 1636, Mrs. Hutchinson, desiring to have him as an assistant teacher to Mr. Cotton, singled out him and Mr. Cotton as the only two ministers in the Bay who walked in a "Covenant of Grace". Mr. Wilson and the other ministers, she intimated, were not sealed with the spirit, and were walking under a "Covenant of Works."⁴

In attempting to distinguish between the two theological positions indicated by "covenant of works" and

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1. Weld. Preface to the Short Story. (Prince Soc. Pub. 1894)
p. 82.
 2. Weld. Preface to the Short Story. (Prince Soc. Pub. 1894)
p. 82.
 3. Ibid.

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4. Hutchinson. History of Mass. Bay. Vol. II. Appendix. pp. 428-39.
(Mr. Hugh Peters' speech stating the evidence against
Mrs. Hutchinson on the point). Also pp. 430-32, 435,
437-38. The Short Story (Prince Soc. Pub. 1894) Preface
pp. 81-82. Adams, Three Episodes, I. pp. 411-412. Ellis,
The Puritan Age, pp. 299-304. Winthrop's Journal. I. pp.
195-197. Bell, Wheelwright, pp. 7-8, 9.

"covenant of grace" there is a subtle danger of reading modern meanings into the words. "In the theological parlance of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," declares Mr. Adams, "neither grace nor works, as applied to the two covenants, signified what they signified in the beginning, or what they signify now."¹ The theory of works and grace may be explained as follows: man's relations with God have always been in the nature of a covenant--a covenant which ceases to be binding when violated by one party. The covenant by which Adam had received the earth was a Covenant of Works. Under it--certain forms being observed as expounded in the old testament--all would be saved. But alas, Adam sinned, and with the fall of man came the annulment of the covenant of works. Thereupon a new one was made whereby only a few persons could be saved--those few through God's mercy alone and elected by him for salvation. These walked in a Covenant of Grace. For one to be held under a covenant of works was as much as to say that he lived under a compact long since rendered void.² Mr. Rufus Jones has curtly, but inadequately, disposed of the matter by declaring that the issue was "between what we nowadays call

1. Adams. Three Episodes. I. p. 404.

2. Based partly on statement in Ellis, Puritan Age in Mass. pp. 301-304, and upon explanation in Adams, Three Episodes I. pp. 402-406. Also, Bell, Wheelwright, p. 8. The best contemporary statement is that contained in the famous Fast-day sermon by John Wheelwright, pp. 153-179 of Bell's John Wheelwright.

'religion of the first hand type' and 'religion of the second-hand type!' ¹ This Mr. Jones explains as follows: "...Against this legalistic religion of rules and commandments, with its remote, absentee God, she set what she called the "covenant of grace—a religion grounded in a direct experience of God's grace and redeeming love, a religion not of pious performances, of solemn fasts and sombre faces, of painful search after the exact requirements of the law, but a religion which began and ended in triumphant certainty of Divine forgiveness, Divine fellowship, and present Divine illumination.²....It was the old yet ever new issue between a religion of the past and a religion of the present, a religion based on historical facts and promises and a religion based on inward personal experience."³ Mr. Jones permits his zeal to run away with him, and is committing the error of reading into the term "Grace" a distinctly modern interpretation. Studying the literature of the controversy without a "tendens", one is forced to accept the conclusion of Mr. Adams. In his exposition of the problem he declares, "Grace was no longer an act of supreme mercy, as at first, nor was it a conscientious carriage in life, as now; but it

1. Rufus Jones. The Quakers in the Am. Colonies. p.8.
 2. Jones. op.cit. p.10.
 3. Ibid. p.14.

implied a certain vague and mystic exaltation and serenity of soul arising from the consciousness of a Heaven-directed heart,—a serenity not to be obtained by the most exact observance of the formalities of religion; the word works, on the other hand, did not imply, as now it would, the idea of a life devoted to good deeds, as distinguished from one of mere empty professions, but it meant simply a rigid and exact compliance with the forms of pietism, —its fastings, its prayers, its sanctimoniousness and harsh discipline—in a word, with all external observances involving continuous mortification of soul as well as body. Viewed from a modern point of view the seventeenth century Covenant of Grace was asmystic, indefinable and delusive as its Covenant of Works was harsh, material and repulsive.¹

At any rate, the implication so far as the other ministers were concerned was quite apparent when Mrs. Hutchinson singled out Wheelwright and Cotton as the only two walking in a Covenant of Grace. There were other issues involved also. Winthrop, in his Journal, declares that Mrs. Hutchinson "brought over with her two dangerous errors: 1. That no sanctification can help to evidence to us our justification.—From these two grew many branches; as, 1. Our

1. Adams. Three Episodes. I. p/404.

union with the Holy Ghost, so as a Christian remains dead to every spiritual action, and hath no gifts nor graces, other than such as are in hypocrites, nor any other sanctification but the Holy Ghost himself."¹

The whole matter was at first distinctly a local affair, confined to the church of Boston. On October 25th, 1636, however, on the occasion of a general court at Boston, the ministers from the other parts of the colony (Hugh Peters was among those present) convened for a general discussion of the difficulties.² No doubt the agitation for the election of Wheelwright was partly responsible. Both Wheelwright and Cotton, as well as Wilson, were there. There was general agreement on the point that "sanotification did help to evidence justification".³ There was some disagreement as to the "indwelling of the person of the Holy Ghost", and none of them went so far as to admit the "personal union" with the Holy Ghost, a tenet that Mrs. Hutchinson and Governor Vane—her loyal sympathizer—held.⁴

On the 30th of October the question of Mr. Wheelwright's election as teacher came up. Winthrop evidently objected strenuously to his election, declaring that not only was Wheelwright's position on the doctrine of "personal union"

1. Winthrop's Journal. I. pp. 195-96.

2. Ibid. p. 196.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid. See also p. 201 for statement of Gov. Vane's position.

questionable, but that the church was "well furnished already with able ministers," and that at best, Wheelwright was a man who was apt to stir up trouble.¹ Decisive action was postponed until the next day, and then, owing to Winthrop's influence, the attempt to elect Wheelwright was abandoned.²

The juvenile Governor Vane had already taken a part in the controversy, and there was no doubt as to his sympathetic attitude toward the female transcendentalist, Mrs. Hutchinson.³ Political issues became more definitely bound up in the struggle when on December 10th, the Governor assembled the court for the purpose of tendering his resignation as Governor of the Colony.⁴ He desired, he informed them, to devote himself to urgent matters connected with his own estate.⁵ The next morning "one of the assistants using some pathetical passages of the loss of such a governor in a time of such danger as did hang over us, from the Indians and the French, the governor brake forth into tears," and confessed that the real cause of his departure was "the inevitable danger he saw of God's judgments to come upon us

1. Winthrop. Journal. I. p. 197. See also footnote, same p.

2. Ibid. p. 198. Bell, Wheelwright, pp. 11-12.

3. For a clear statement of the effect of Vane's participation see Bell, Wheelwright, pp. 9-10. Bell believes that had not Vane been implicated in the "notions" of Mrs. Hutchinson, they would speedily have died a natural death. In other words, the formal opposition exalted them into a matter of importance. Bell probably overstates slightly.

4. Winthrop. Journal. I. p. 201. Colonial Records. I. p. 185.

5. Winthrop. Journal. I. p. 202. Colonial Records. I. p. 185.

for these differences and dissensions, which he saw amongst us, and the scandalous imputations brought upon himself, as if he should be the cause of all." ¹ The deputies naturally declined to accept his resignation following this emotional outburst; but in a few moments the governor recovered his self-control and, reverting to his former reasons, insisted upon the acceptance of his resignation. The Court thereupon accepted, and agreed to hold an election of his successor a few days later. ² Obviously the way was opening for Winthrop's return to the governorship and power. This the Hutchinson contingent was naturally anxious to avert, and accordingly "divers of the congregation met together" and persuaded Vane to withdraw his resignation. The result was that the election was postponed until the following May. ³

Both factions were exceedingly eager to secure the open support of John Cotton. A group of ministers had met about the time of the proposed election to try and win over Cotton. Led by Hugh Peters they "had drawn into heads all the points, wherein they suspected Mr. Cotton did differ from them, and had propounded them to him, and pressed him to a direct answer, affirmative or negative, to every one; which he had promised, and taken time for." ⁴ Gov. Vane was

1. Winthrop. Journal. I. p. 202.

2. Ibid. pp. 202-203. Colonial Records. I. p. 185.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid. p. 203.

indignant because he had not been consulted by the ministers in regard to this conference. A few days later at a court to which the ministers had been called to discuss the situation, the impulsive Sir Harry freely expressed his discontent at the course the ministers were pursuing. It remained for Rev. Hugh Peters--by this time very prominent among the Massachusetts ministers--to take the youthful governor to task for his expressions. This he did in no uncertain words. Peters frankly told him "(with all due reverence,)...how it had sadded the ministers' spirits, that he should be jealous of their meetings, or seem to restrain their liberty, etc."¹ A sharp dialogue ensued. Vane "excused his speech, as sudden and upon a mistake."² Peters plainly told him that "before he came, within less than two years since, the churches were in peace, etc."³ Here the Governor interrupted with the remark that "the light of the gospel brings a sword, and the children of the bondwoman would persecute those of the freewoman."⁴ Peters proceeded thereupon severely to lecture the young Sir Harry, requesting him "humbly to consider his youth, and short experience in the things of God, and to beware of peremp-

1. Winthrop's Journal. I. pp. 203-204.

2. Ibid. p. 204.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid.

tory conclusions, which he perceived him to be very apt unto." The minister seized the opportunity to go into a discussion of the controversy, declaring that he had observed "both in the Low Countrie and here, three principal causes of new opinions and divisions thereupon: 1. Pride, new notions lift up the mind, etc. 2. Idleness. 3. (blank)".¹

The minister Wilson then took the floor and, in the words of Gov. Winthrop, "made a very sad speech"² of the condition of our churches, and the inevitable danger of separation, if these differences and alienations among brethren were not speedily remedied; and laid the blame upon these new opinions risen up amongst us, which all the magistrates, except the governor and two others, did confirm, and all the ministers but two."³ The discussion that followed is in words that almost defy interpretation. Suffice it, that the main point considered was whether "evident sanctification could be evidence to a man without a concurrent sight of his justification."⁴ Cotton and Vane denied that it could, and Cotton especially took Wil-

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1. Winthrop's Journal. I. p. 204. In Winthrop's Journal the third cause is left blank. Hubbard in his General History of New England (p. 290) reports the speech, giving as the three causes: "pride, idleness, and ungrounded knowledge". Whether this is taken from another source or not I do not know. Possibly he had access to Winthrop's Journal before the word had become erased.
 2. Hubbard says of this speech: "But the speech of Mr. Wilson it seems did stick in many of their stomachs." (Gen. Hist. of New Eng. p. 291)
 3. Winthrop's Journal. I. p. 204.
 4. Ibid.

son's speech very ill. The speech aroused the Boston congregation, so much so, indeed, that they desired "to present censure" against the pastor, a course so extreme, however, that Cotton, though radically disagreeing with Wilson, urged the members to desist from it. Winthrop, likewise, came strongly to the support of the Boston minister. Wilson continued to preach in the Boston church, and for a time Cotton in "loving and gentle" answers justified his course before the congregation.¹

At about this time, namely in December 1636, a consultation of the clergy with Mrs. Hutchinson was held.² She was told of the reports current that she had declared their ministry different from the ministry of the Gospel, that they taught a covenant of works. The ministers desired her to state her position frankly, and, if possible, to clear herself.³ "She was very tender at first", says Hugh Peters;⁴ but upon being pressed for proof, she declared defiantly, "The fear of man is a snare, why should I be afraid?"⁵ Hugh Peters then, as spokesman for the clergy, asked her plainly what difference she conceived to be between her teacher and the ministers.⁶ She replied that there was a broad difference between Mr. Cotton and them. Upon being pressed for a more definite answer she told them

1. Winthrop's Journal. I. pp. 204-206.

2. This statement is based upon the evidence of Hugh Peters and other ministers at the trial of Mrs. Hutchinson. In

Peters' testimony he tells of the assembly of the court and the examination of Cotton, and continues, "and so going on in the discourse we thought it good to send for this gentlewoman, and she willingly came" Hutchinson. The History of Mass. Vol.II.3d ed. (1795) Appendix. pp.428-429. Also Prince Pub. 1894. pp.246-247.

3. Speech of Peters. Hutchinson, op.cit.pp.428-429; Prince Pub.op.cit. pp.246-247.
4. Hutchinson, op.cit. p.429. Prince Pub.op.cit.p.247.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.

that Mr. Cotton preaches "the covenant of grace and you the covenant of works, and that you are not able ministers of the New Testament, and know no more than the Apostles did before the resurrection of Christ."¹ The ministers of the Bay had not the "seal of the spirit", she insisted.² The other ministers, during the trial, substantially confirmed this as the substance of the discussion with Mrs. Hutchinson.³ More bitterness was added by the fact that she singled out Weld and Shepard and Phillips as particularly shining examples of ministers under a covenant of works and unsealed by the spirit.⁴

The trouble was becoming widespread and the situation extremely tense. A good index of the nature of the situation is afforded in Gov. Winthrop's comment that "other opinions brake out publicly in the church of Boston,— as that the Holy Ghost dwelt in a believer as he is in heaven; that a man is justified before he believes; and that faith is no cause of justification. And others spread more secretly,—as that the letter of the scripture holds forth nothing but a covenant of works; and that the covenant of grace was the spirit of the scripture, which was known only to believers; and that this covenant of works was given by

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1. Hutchinson. op.cit. II.p.429. Prince Soc.Pub.op.cit.p.247.
 2. Ibid.
 3. See speeches of Weld, Phillips, Simmes, Wilson, Shephard, and Eliot. (Hutchinson II.pp.429-431.)
 4. Speech of Mr. Phillips (Ibid.p.430)

Moses in the ten commandments; that there was a seed (viz., Abraham's carnal seed) went along in this, and there was a spirit and life in it, by virtue whereof a man might attain to any sanctification in gifts and graces, and might have spiritual and continual communion with Jesus Christ, and yet be damned. After, it was granted, that faith was before justification, but it was only passive, an empty vessel, etc; but in conclusion, the ground of all was found to be assurance by immediate revelation."¹ With these opinions all the congregation of Boston, with the exception of Winthrop, Wilson, and a few others, agreed.² These few, however, sought actively, through writing and speech, to combat the errors.³ There was evidently no little suspicion as to the views of Cotton, for the other ministers of the Bay drew up a list of sixteen questions which they desired him to answer. "Some doubts he well cleared," says Winthrop, "but in some things he gave not satisfaction."⁴ All the ministers prepared answers to the questions, showing their dissent and the grounds thereof.⁵ How bitter the controversy had become may well be shown by Winthrop's statement that "every occasion increased the contention, and caused great alienation of minds; and the members of Boston (frequenting the lectures of other ministers) did

1. Winthrop. Journal. I. p. 206.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid. pp. 206-207.

5. Ibid. p. 207.

make such disturbances by public questions, and objections to their doctrines, which did any way disagree with their opinions; and it began to be as common here to distinguish between men, by being under a covenant of grace or a covenant of works, as in other countries between Protestants and papists."¹

The nineteenth of January² is a very important date in the history of New England Antinomianism, for on that day was preached the sermon that led directly to the culmination of the bitterness of the controversy, and to its tragic climax. It was a day of general fasting in all the churches, the occasion being "the miserable state of the churches in Germany", the calamitous situation in England, the Indian troubles in Connecticut and Massachusetts, and the "dissensions in our churches."³ In view of the situation existing at the time, the sermon of Rev. Wheelwright does not seem extremely startling, but it did afford a very definite pretext for open struggle between the two factions.⁴ Winthrop says of the sermon, "Mr. Wheelwright... inveighed against all that walked in a covenant of works,

1. Winthrop's Journal. I. p. 209.

2. Winthrop has incorrectly entered this under the date of Jan. 20th. (See Bell, Wheelwright, p. 13 and footnote p. 20; also The Short Story in Prince Pub. 1894, p. 201 and fn.)

3. Winthrop's Journal. I. p. 208.

4. The Fast-day sermon is printed in the 1876 publication of the Prince Society, pp. 153-179, (edited by C. H. Bell.)

as he described it to be, viz., such as maintain sanctification as an evidence of justification, etc. and called them anti-christs, and stirred up the people against them with much bitterness and vehemency."¹ The sermon was delivered under circumstances that made it particularly aggravating. After having preached in his church at Mount Wollaston in the morning, Wheelwright had gone to Boston where, following a sermon by Cotton, in Mr. Wilson's own church, he arose and sternly applied the text of Math. 9:15 to the situation in Massachusetts.² We need not go into the details of the sermon. The position of Wheelwright was peculiar. "Too sensible and cool-headed to go the whole length Mrs. Hutchinson went," says Mr. Adams, "he (Wheelwright) did not believe in her misty transcendental revelations; but, as regards the dogmas of sanctification and the personal presence of the Holy Ghost in the true believer, he stood in advance probably of Cotton, and by the side of Vane."³ The opposition at once centered upon Wheelwright; on March ninth he was called to account for his utterances.⁴ A General Court was convened at that time, at which Peters and his fellow-ministers were present.⁵ The evidence points to a very exciting meeting. Wheelwright appeared and produced the manuscript of his

1. Winthrop. I. p. 211.

2. Adams. Three Episodes. I. p. 437. Bell, Wheelwright, pp. 13-15, p. 153. The text is as follows: "And Jesus

said unto them, can the children of the bridechamber mourne, as long as the Bridegroom is with them? but the dayes will come, when the bridegroom shall be taken from them and then they shall fast." (Bell, Wheelwright, p.152.)

3. Adams. Three Episodes. I. p. 536. Short Story (Prince Society Pub. 1894) p. 83. Mercurius Americanus (Prince Pub. 1876). A reply to the Short Story, giving a complete defence of Wheelwright. Mercurius Americanus was probably written by Wheelwright himself. It was brought out in London, 1645. (Prince Pub. pp. 180-228)
4. Bell. Wheelwright. pp. 14-15.
5. Winthrop. I. pp. 210-211. Adams. Three Episodes, Vol. I. p. 441. The Short Story (Prince 1894) pp. 133, 134, 141, 203-204. Also Samuel Groom: Glass for the People of New England (London, 1676) Quoted in Bell, Wheelwright, p. 14, fn.

sermon. The following day he was again brought up before the body. So great was the sympathy of the Boston church for Wheelwright that they drew up a petition pleading his case which was presented to the Court.¹ The position of the other ministers, however, and the attitude of the Court brought his condemnation. Not only had he called the ministers Antichrists by implication, but he had used the fast-day--set apart for the purpose of healing the differences--for stirring them up.² The court judged him guilty of sedition, and also of contempt,³ not without considerable debate however. Governor Vane and several others protested in vigorous language against the action of the court.⁴ Sentence was deferred until the next session of the court, however, and he was not actually banished until in November, 1637.⁵

We now approach rapidly the climax of the controversy. How completely political issues were involved in the struggle is evident from the character of the spring election of 1637 which was held in Newtown (now Cambridge) on May 17th. The fact of its meeting at Cambridge and not Boston is in itself important. The meeting was engineered by the opponents

The petition is given in Bell, Wheelwright, pp. 20-22. "The doctrine it self being no other but the very expressions of the Holy Ghost himselfe,..cannot be branded with sedition", they declared. (p.21) "The Covenant of free grace held forth by our brother hath taught us rather to become humble suppliants to your Worships." (p.21)

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2. Winthrop. Journal. I. p. 211.

3. Ibid. See also Col. Records. I. p. 189.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid. Also Rufus Jones, the Quakers in the Am. Colonies, p. 15.

of Vane.¹ It opened in a dramatic way, with the presentation of another petition in behalf of Wheelwright.² This immediately produced a tumult, the Winthrop party declaring that it was out of order and demanding that the Court should proceed to the election at once. Governor Vane held his ground however, insisting that the paper be read and discussed. The majority of those present were with Winthrop, and amidst indescribable confusion—Wilson, the pastor of the Boston church, so far forgot his dignity as to climb up an oak tree and launch into an impassioned speech while clinging to one of its branches,³—the Governor lost his case. The election was taken up following a vote that the majority should decide the order of the court. Still Vane refused to give in. He and his whole party were badly defeated in the election.⁴ The significance of this as the turning point of the struggle must be emphasized. On August 3d of that summer Vane sailed for England. With his departure the heart dropped out of the opposition to the Winthrop party.⁵ The complete downfall of Mrs. Hutchinson and her followers became now simply a matter of time.

We turn at this point to the first Synod ever held in America—that which met at Cambridge August 30th, 1637 and

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1. Ellis. Puritan Age in Mass. Bay. p. 323.
 2. Adams. Three Episodes. I. p. 452. Winthrop. I. p. 215.
 3. Ellis. Puritan Age. p. 324. Mr. Ellis humorously remarks,

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- "Mr. Wilson then inaugurated 'stump speaking' at an election on this continent."
4. Winthrop's Journal. I.p.315. Colonial Records I.p.195. A lively account of the election is given in Adams, three Episodes. I. Chapter VI.
 5. Winthrop I.p.229. Before leaving, Vane had engaged in a spirited written argument with Winthrop. The court had passed an act forbidding any resident to entertain a stranger for more than three months, or sell land to him, without special permission from the magistrates. The order caused much dissatisfaction. The object was obviously to keep out persons who were sympathetic to the Antinomian party. Winthrop wrote a "Defence" of the order, which brought out an "Answer" by Vane. To this Winthrop responded with his "replication". (Hutchinson's Collection of Papers, pp.67-100. Ellis. Puritan Age in Mass. Bay, p.326)

continued for twenty-four days. All the ministers of the colony--among them, Hugh Peters--were present.¹ "All the teaching elders through the country, and some new come out of England....as Mr.Davenport" were there.² Besides these there were of course lay members and magistrates. Altogether it was no inconsiderable body. The synod attempted to gather together all the "erroneous opinions" prevalent in the country. No less than eighty-two such heretical opinions were taken down.³ A thorough discussion ensued. The outcome is neatly put by Winthrop: "There were about eighty opinions, some blasphemous, others erroneous, and all unsafe, condemned by the whole assembly; whereto near all the elders, and others sent by the churches, subscribed their names; but some few liked not the subscription, though they consented to the condemning of them."⁴ There was not absolute harmony in the Synod. "Some of the church of Boston, and some others" were dissatisfied with this accumulation of heresies, and demanded that definite charges be made as to who held them; and finally in great disgust they left the assembly.⁵ One other important matter occupied the Synod. That was the question of agreement

1. Winthrop's Journal.I.p.232. Prince Soc.Pub.1894(The Short Story)pp.95-130. Adams, Three Episodes.I.pp.470-474. Jones.the Quakers.pp.15-16.
2. Winthrop.Journal.I.p.232.
3. See Short Story (Prince Soc.Pub.1894)p.95 sq. Also Cotton's Way Cleared,ibid,p.342.
4. Winthrop.Journal.I.p.232.
5. Ibid.pp.232-233.

with Wheelwright and Cotton.¹ Three statements were finally drawn up, covering the main differences, and Cotton at last agreed, though Wheelwright tenaciously held to his position.² On the 22nd of September the Synod adjourned, having first agreed that women's meetings of the character of Mrs. Hutchinson's, were "disorderly and without rule."³ John Cotton had come over to the side of the ministers.⁴ It remained, then, to punish Wheelwright who had long before been adjudged guilty of sedition. The Governor (Winthrop) was so well pleased with the outcome of the meeting that he proposed that like meetings should be held once a year—"everything had been concluded peacefully, comfortably, in all love."⁵

We come then to the drastic actions of the "legalists" in the last phases of the controversy. Shortly after the adjournment of the Synod of ministers, the Court was dissolved and the election of a new one ordered. This newly elected court gathered for a decisive settlement of the Antinomian controversy on November 2d, 1637.⁶ The grim, unyielding determination of the theocracy is well indicated by their efforts, before dealing with Wheelwright, to rid the assembly of his supporters. "Two so opposite parties

1. Adams. Three Episodes. I. p. 472.

2. Winthrop. I. p. 233. The three points are worth noticing as an index to the character of the whole discussion:

1) That the new creature is not the person of a believer, but a body of saving graces in such a one; and that Christ, as a head, doth enliven or quicken,

preserve and act the same, but Christ himself is no part of this new creature.

- 2) That though, in effectual calling, (in which the answer of the soul is by active faith, wrought at the same instant by the Spirit,) justification and sanctification be all together in them; yet God doth not justify a man, before he be effectually called, and so a believer.
- 3) That Christ and his benefits may be offered and exhibited to a man under a covenant of works, but not in or by a covenant of works.

Winthrop.I.pp.233-234.

Adams.Three Episodes.I.p.472.

3. Winthrop.I.p.234. Johnson's Wonder-Working Providence (Ed.J.F.Jameson in Original Narrative Series)pp.170-176. An account of the synod is given in Hubbard's Hist. of New Eng.pp.298-304.
4. In Cotton's "Way of Congregational Churches Cleared"(London,1648) he makes a defence of his position in the Antinomian controversy. He denies that he ever sided strongly with the Hutchinson faction.
5. Winthrop's Journal.I.p.235. Also Ellis,Puritan Age, p.333.
6. Winthrop.I.p.239. Adams, Three Episodes.I.pp.475-478.

could not contain in the same body, without apparent hazard of ruin to the whole," remarks John Winthrop complacently.¹ Three prominent supporters of Mrs. Hutchinson who were present were Aspinwall, Coggeshall, and Coddington.² Of these Aspinwall had been a signer of the petition in behalf of Wheelwright. He was now "for the same dismissed, and after called to the court and disfranchised and banished."³ His loyal friend Coggeshall, though he had not signed the petition, was unwilling to remain. He therefore expressed his approval of the petition, and was forthwith "dismissed, and after disfranchised."⁴ The Boston congregation deeply resented this action by the Court. Upon being requested to send deputies in the place of Coggeshall and Aspinwall, they wanted to return the same two men in defiance of the Court. From doing this they were dissuaded only by the advice of Cotton.⁵ Two others were elected, though even one of these was, like Aspinwall, a signer of the Wheelwright petition, and therefore not permitted a seat in the assembly.⁶

These preliminaries being disposed of, the case of Wheelwright himself was next considered. He was called before the Court and ordered to confess his offences.⁷ He

1. Winthrop. I. p. 239.

2. Adams. Three Episodes. I. p. 479.

3. Winthrop. I. p. 239. Colonial Records. I. p. 205.

4. Winthrop. I. p. 239. " " I. p. 205.

5. Winthrop. I. p. 239.

6. Adams. Three Episodes. I. p. 480. Prince Soc. Pub. (1876)
Bell's Memoir, p. 28.

7. Bell, Wheelwright. p. 28.

replied that he was innocent and not responsible for the applications of his teachings which they insisted upon making.¹ He could not convince the Court, however; it took but a short time before the sentence was passed: "Mr. John Wheelwright being formerly convicted of contempt and sedition, and now justifying himselfe and his former practise, being to the disturbance of the civill peace, hee is by the Court disfranchized and banished,² having fourteen days to settle his affairs."³ Though Wheelwright at first claimed an appeal to the King from the sentence, yet on the next day, realizing the hopelessness of his opposition, he gave in, and accepted the sentence that was to send him, a few days later, afoot out in the snows to the northward in the direction of New Hampshire.⁴

The trial of the woman whose activity had been the main source of their religious dissensions, "the breeder and nourisher of all these distempers,"⁵ remained as the next logical step in the enforcement of orthodoxy. The two extant reports of the examination of this "seventeenth century prophetess"⁶ show that there was no uncertain spirit in the attitude of the court and the ministers toward the

1. Bell. Wheelwright. p. 28.

2. Ibid.

3. Colonial Records. I. p. 207.

4. Bell. Wheelwright. pp. 29-30. Winthrop. I. p. 240. Adams, Three Episodes. I. p. 482.

5. Prince Soc. Pub. (1894) pp. 157-158.

6. The phrase is used by Adams in the ninth chapter of his Three Episodes, Vol. I.

frail¹ lady,² It is important at this point to note the composition of the court. "All told," says Mr. Adams, "the Court consisted of some forty members, nine of whom were magistrates; but the little church was thronged, for the outside attendance was large, almost every person of note in the province being there."³ Winthrop was the presiding officer and took the lead in the prosecution. Among the magistrates were Endicott and Dudley.⁴ Of course all the ministers were there,—in a double capacity, in fact, for they were both prosecutors and witnesses.⁵ Among these were Wilson, Cotton, Phillips, Symmes, Shephard, Eliot, Thomas Weld of Roxbury, and Hugh Peters. Speaking of the last two, Mr. Adams, who has only the severest condemnation for both, says, "The fanatical Peters had come from Salem; and he and Thomas Weld of Roxbury, having been the most active promoters of the prosecution, were now to appear as chief witnesses against the accused."⁶

The trial was opened by Governor Winthrop in a speech enumerating certain charges against Mrs. Hutchinson. He placed upon her in large measure the blame for the disturbances that had so shaken the colony—her "erroneous

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1. At the time of her trial Mrs. Hutchinson was soon to give birth to a child, and was in a weakened condition.
 2. The two reports of the trial are given in the Prince publication "Antinomianism in the Col. of Mass. Bay," pp. 164 et seq., 235 et seq. The latter is also given as an appendix to Vol. II of Hutchinson's Hist. of Mass. (3d edition, pp. 423-427)
 3. Adams. Three Episodes. I. p. 486.
 4. Ibid. p. 487.
 5. Ibid. p. 486.
 6. Ibid.

opinions", her encouragement of those "who have sowed seditions amongst us", partly through her disparagement of the ministers of the colony, and partly through her maintenance of "weekly and publick meetings" in her house, especially since they had been condemned by the General Assembly—all these were placed before her by the Governor with the question as to whether she would presume to justify her position,¹ or, in short, whether she justified Wheelwright's sermon and petition.² To this Mrs. Hutchinson calmly answered, "I am called here to answer before you, but I hear no things laid to my charge."³ A spirited dialogue between the Governor and Mrs. Hutchinson followed. Winthrop declared that she had broken a law, namely, the fifth commandment. In other words, by her actions she had dishonored the "fathers of the commonwealth".⁴ To this Mrs. Hutchinson raised the question, "May not I entertain them that fear the Lord because my parents will not give me leave?"⁵ Thereupon the Governor turned somewhat hastily to the matter of weekly meetings. In the questions and answers that followed, it was evident that the sharp retorts of Mrs. Hutchinson were rapidly putting Winthrop at a

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1. Prince Pub. 1894. The Trial. pp. 164-165, 235-236.
 2. Ibid. p. 236.
 3. Ibid.
 4. Ibid. pp. 237-238, 165-166.
 5. Ibid. p. 238.

disadvantage. At length the Deputy-Governor, Dudley, interrupted, saying, "I would go a little higher with Mrs. Hutchinson."¹ This he did by bringing up the charge that Mrs. Hutchinson had declared the ministers of the colony, with a few exceptions, to be under a covenant of works—"and therefore being driven to the foundation and it being found that Mrs. Hutchinson is she that hath depraved all the ministers and hath been the cause of what has fallen out, why we must take away the foundation and the building will fall."²

Mrs. H. I pray Sir prove it that I said they preached nothing but a covenant of works.

Dep. Gov. Nothing but a covenant of works, why a Jesuit may preach truth sometimes.

Mrs. H. Did I ever say they preached a covenant of works then?

Dep. Gov. If they do not preach a covenant of grace clearly, then they preach a covenant of works.

Mrs. H. No Sir, one may preach a covenant of grace more clearly than another, so I said.

Dep. Gov. We are not upon that now but upon position.

1. Prince Pub. 1894. The Trial. pp. 243.
2. Ibid.

Mrs.H. Prove this then Sir that you say I said.

Dep.Gov. When they do preach a covenant of works do they preach the truth?

Mrs.H. Yes Sir, but when they preach a covenant of works for salvation, that is not truth.

Dep.Gov. I do but ask you this, when the ministers do preach a covenant of works do they preach a way of salvation?

Mrs.H. I did not come hither to answer to questions of that sort.

Dep.Gov. I will make it plain that you did say that the ministers did preach a covenant of works.

Mrs.H. I deny that.

Dep.Gov. And that you said they were not able ministers of the New Testament, but Mr.Cotton only.¹

The acrid word-duel continued a few moments longer, and in the bitterness of the sharp retorts and cross-fire, the essential charges had not yet been laid forth. At this stage the ministers enter with their charges and evidence, Hugh Peters leading them with the first speech.

This represents a turning point in the trial in so far as

1. The dialogue is taken from the Hutchinson report of the examination, pp.427-428 of the Appendix of Vol.II. (3d ed.) of his Hist.of Mass. The original Ms. has been lost. The report is reprinted in the Prince Soc.Pub.(1894) pp.243-244.

it brings to issue the essential point of the ministers not being able ministers, not having the seal of the spirit, and laboring not under a covenant of Grace as did their brothers Cotton and Wheelwright.

"That which concerns us to speak unto", began Hugh Peters, "as yet we are sparing in unless the court command us to speak, then we shall answer to Mrs. Hutchinson notwithstanding our brethren are very unwilling to answer."¹ The Governor reassured him and at once he began his speech ---a speech so important both for the light it sheds upon the controversy and upon the relation of Hugh Peters to it, that it is necessary to give it here in full.²

"We shall give you a fair account of what was said," began the minister, "and desire that we may not be thought to come as informers against the gentlewoman, but as it may be serviceable for the country, and our posterity to give you a brief account. This gentlewoman went under suspicion from her landing that she was a woman not only difficult in her opinions, but also of an intemperate spirit. What was done at her landing I do not well remember, but as soon as Mr. Vane and ourselves came this controversy began yet it did not reflect upon Mrs. Hutchinson and some

1. Prince Pub. (1894) p.245.

2. Ibid. pp.246-247.

of our brethren had dealt with her and it so fell out that some of our ministry doth suffer as if it were not according to the gospel and as if we taught a covenant of works instead of a covenant of grace. Upon these and the like we did address ourselves to the teacher of that church, and the court then assembled being sensible of these things, and this gentlewoman being as we understood a chief agent, our desire to the teacher was to tell us wherein the difference lay between him and us, for the spring did then arise as we did conceive from this gentlewoman, and so we told him. He said that he thought it not according to God to commend this to the magistrates but to take some other course, and so going on in the discourse we thought it good to send for this gentlewoman, and she willingly came,¹ and at the very first we gave her notice that such reports there were that she did conceive our ministry to be different from the ministry of the gospel, and that we taught a covenant of works &c. and this was her table talk, and therefore we desired her to clear herself and deal plainly. She was very tender at the first. Some of our brethren did desire to put this upon proof, and then her words upon that were The fear of man is a snare why should I be afraid.

1. Probably the same assembly at which Wheelwright had been examined and judged guilty of sedition. See above p.

These were her words. I did then take upon me to ask her this question. What difference do you conceive to be between your teacher and us? She did not request us that we should preserve her from danger or that we should be silent. Briefly, she told me that there was a wide and broad difference between our brother Mr. Cotton and ourselves. I desired to know the difference. She answered that he preaches the covenant of grace and you the covenant of works and that you are not able ministers of the new testament and know no more than the apostles before the resurrection of Christ.¹ I did then put it to her, What do you conceive of such a brother? She answered he had not the seal of the spirit. And other things we asked her but generally the frame of her course was this, that she did conceive that we were not able ministers of the gospel. And that day being past our brother Cotton was sorry that she should lay us under a covenant of works, and could have wished she had not done so. The elders being there present we did charge them with her, and the teacher of the place said they would speak further with her, and after some time she answered that we were gone as far as the apostles were before Christ's ascension.

1. In these words we have the real source of the extreme bitterness felt by the ministers toward Mrs. Hutchinson. To say that they were not able ministers of the new testament and that they knew no more than the apostles before Christ's resurrection was equivalent to saying that they had no right whatever to preach the gospel of Christ, and that they were the sheerest hypocrites. Over and over again during the trial one is brought back to the point that she had declared them "legal" and "unsealed" by the spirit, and not "able ministers."

And since that we have gone with tears some of us to her."

The speech of Hugh Peters being concluded, the other ministers were called upon to corroborate the testimony which he had presented. First Weld, then Phillips, and Symmes, then Wilson, and Shephard testified, all of them substantiating the main points brought out by Peters.¹ The Deputy-Governor again took charge of the examination and in the questions and answers that followed Mrs. Hutchinson materially weakened her case by quibbling over the exact order in which her statements had been made; giving Hugh Peters the opportunity to say: "We do not desire to be so narrow to the court and the gentlewoman about times and seasons, whether first or after, but said it was."² A few moments later the Court was adjourned until the next day, Governor Winthrop admonishing the advocate of Grace carefully "to consider of" her course before returning the following morning."³

Much excitement was occasioned at the opening of the next day's session by Mrs. Hutchinson's demand that the ministers should "speak upon oath".⁴ She had "perused some notes out of what Mr. Wilson" had written, and had discovered that things were not as had been alleged the day before.⁵

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1. Prince Society Pub. (1894) The Trial. pp. 247-252.
 2. Ibid. p. 253.
 3. Ibid. p. 255.
 4. Ibid. p. 256.
 5. Ibid.

Hence she desired that the ministers should be sworn. A heated debate took place on the point, many regarding the request as a direct insult to the ministers. The case was not a jury case, however, and so the Governor concluded that the Court could decide the matter.¹ Mrs. Hutchinson insisted firmly, and it was finally decided to administer the oath. Peters represented the attitude of the clergy when he remarked, "We cannot tell what was first or last, we suppose that an oath is an end of all strife and we are tender of it, yet this is the main thing against her that she charged us to be unable ministers of the gospel and to preach a covenant of works."²

First, however, Mrs. Hutchinson's witnesses were called upon. The first of these, Mr. Coggeshall, who had been present at the ministers' conference with Mrs. Hutchinson, declared that "she did not say all the things which they lay against her".³ The statement aroused the ire of Hugh Peters who turned to him with the stern rebuke: "How dare you look into the court to say such a word?"⁴ Mr. Coggeshall had little of the spirit of the woman on trial; he said at once, "Mr. Peters takes upon him to forbid me. I shall be silent."⁵ Leverett was the next witness. He

1. Prince Soc. Pub. (1894) The Trial. pp. 256-260.

2. Ibid. p. 261.

3. Ibid. p. 263.

4. Ibid.

5. Ibid. Hugh Peters has been severely condemned for this bit of brow beating.

testified that during the examination, after being urged with much "vehemency and entreaty" by Hugh Peters to tell the difference between Mr.Cotton and them, she had answered that "they did not preach a covenant of grace so clearly as Mr.Cotton did, and she gave this reason of it because that as the apostles were for a time without the spirit so until they received the witness of the spirit they could not preach a covenant of grace clearly."¹ Thereupon Mr. Cotton himself took the stand in behalf of Mrs.Hutchinson. He made a masterly defence of the woman. Peters led the other faction in an attempt to break down the testimony of Cotton,² but the teacher was too skilful; when he had concluded his testimony "the prosecution had broken down."³ The final blow was given when, in response to the question whether Mrs.Hutchinson has said that they were not able ministers of the new testament, Cotton replied, "I do not remember it".⁴

Unfortunately for Mrs.Hutchinson at this point, with her case almost won, she began a lengthy and indiscreet account of her religious experiences, and by blundering upon the subject of direct divine revelations, she played

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1. Prince Pub.(1894) The Trial.p.264.
 2. Ibid. pp.266,267.
 3. Adams. Three Episodes.I.p.499.
 4. Ibid. p.499. Prince Pub.(1894)p.268.

into the hands of her enemies and lost her case; She had left England because of a revelation from God that in New England she should not only hear the gospel preached purely, but that she herself should suffer persecution. "I bless the Lord", she exclaimed, "he hath let me see which was the clear ministry and which the wrong....Now if you condemn me for speaking what in my conscience I know to be truth I must commit myself unto the Lord."¹

Mr.Nowel. How do you know that that was the spirit?

Mrs.H. How did Abraham know that it was God that bid him offer his son, being a breach of the sixth commandment?

Dep.Gov. By an immediate voice.

Mrs.H. So to me by an immediate revelation.

Dep.Gov. How! an immediate revelation.

Mrs.H. By the voice of his own spirit to my soul.²

One can imagine the thrill of the assembly at these words, giving them precisely the evidence necessary for her conviction. All along, the one doctrine they most feared had been the very one of "immediate revelation". Immediately

1. Prince Pub.(1894) The Trial.p.269.

2. Ibid.

the discussion turned to the new phase, and the first charges were again considered in the light of these opinions. "The case is altered and will not stand with us now", said the Governor, "but I see a marvellous providence of God to bring things to this pass that they are"—a remark that unconsciously revealed the half-logic of his position, believing in special providences, but rejecting revelations¹—. Mr. Cotton again attempted in a kindly way to protect his unfortunate friend, but his efforts were of no avail. The case was hurriedly pushed on to conviction. The conversation of Mrs. Hutchinson with the ministers was again the subject of testimony. Hugh Peters who at no time forgot the main point at issue, said near the close of the trial, "I was much grieved that she should say that our ministry was legal. Upon which we had a meeting as you know and this was the same she told us that there was a broad difference between Mr. Cotton and us. Now if Mr. Cotton do hold forth things more clearly than we, it was our grief we did not hold it so clearly as he did, and upon those grounds that you have heard."²

Mr. Eliot and Mr. Weld, together with Hugh Peters, took

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1. Prince Pub. (1894) p. 275.
 2. Ibid. pp. 282-283.

solemn oath as to the truth of their testimony. There was no hesitation. A few moments later the Governor put the motion: "If it be the mind of the court that Mrs. Hutchinson for these things is unfit for our society, and if it be the mind of the court that she shall be banished out of our liberties and imprisoned till she be sent away, let them hold up their hands."¹ The practical unanimity of opinion was indicated when all but three held up their hands.² The Governor then pronounced the sentence.³ The trial was closed by the following question and answer:

Mrs.H. I desire to know wherefore I am banished.

Gov. Say no more, the court knows wherefore and is satisfied.⁴

Because it was wintertime, Mrs. Hutchinson was not immediately sent away, but committed to the home of Joseph Weld at Roxbury, under the supervision of Rev. Weld.⁵ There she passed the winter, subject at all times to the admonishments of the clergy who were preparing for the final blow to her prestige, namely the extreme discipline of the church to which she belonged. In the meantime the Court had proceeded to exterminate the anti-clerical party with such a

1. Prince Pub. (1894) p.283.

2. Ibid. pp.283-284.

3. The court record of the sentence is to be found on p.207

of Col. Records. It reads as follows: "Mrs. Hutchinson, (the wife of Mr. William Hutchinson,) being convented for traduceing the ministers and their ministry in this country, shee declared voluntarily her revelations for her ground, & that shee should bee delivered & the Court ruined, with their posterity, & therevpon was banished, & the meane while was committed to Mr. Joseph Weld vntill the Court shall dispose of her."

4. Prince Pub. (1894) the Trial. p. 284.
5. Winthrop. I. p. 240. Adams. three Episodes. I. p. 509.

vengeance that the word "thorough" might well be applied to their policy. The fining, disfranchising, and censuring of those who had signed the Wheelwright petition was carried out rigorously, even to the point of disarming as many as seventy-five persons suspected of pro-Hutchinson feelings—a fact that proves strikingly how violently the very foundations of Massachusetts society had been rocked by the controversy.¹

During the winter interest in Mistress Anne Hutchinson had not slackened. The ministers spent much time with her, endeavoring to convince her of her errors, but carefully noting her expressions of old and new beliefs so that at the proper time they might bear witness against her.² In fact a careful collection of errors had been made by the elders, and these had been forwarded to the church of Boston. In this new indictment of Mrs. Hutchinson there were twenty-nine separate counts.³ The church of Boston at last requested the General Court to permit Mrs. Hutchinson to come before the congregation at Boston, and the 15th of March was appointed for the church meeting.⁴

Mrs. Hutchinson returned to Boston for the ordeal.

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1. Winthrop. I. pp. 240-241. fn. p. 241. Colonial Records Vol. I. pp. 207-212. Adams. Three Episodes. I. pp. 510-511.
 2. Winthrop. I. p. 243. Taken from the Short Story (Prince Pub. 1894, p. 217)
 3. They are given in The Short Story (Prince Pub. 1894) pp. 218-220, and are included in Winthrop's Journal. I. pp. 244-246.
 4. Winthrop. I. p. 244. The Short Story (Prince, 1894) p. 218. Adams. Three Episodes. I. p. 516.

How deep the interest of the colony remained in the struggle is evidenced by the fact that Boston was crowded with visitors eager to be present at her examination.¹ The church trial was a long and wearisome one, lasting ten hours. Article after article was gone over; Mrs. Hutchinson continued obdurate; Rev. Cotton who had long wavered, had now unequivocally cast his lot with the ministerial party. Now at the church he very earnestly admonished his friend to recede from her opinions; but still her will remained firm, and little progress had been made when, in the evening, the exhausted assembly adjourned.²

The next two weeks were spent at the home of Rev. John Cotton, and there, under the influence of Rev. Cotton and Rev. John Davenport, the woman at last surrendered; her will had been broken. When she came before the church for a second time, on the day set, it was with the intention of publicly confessing the error of her ways.³ Indeed, she had even prepared written answers to the articles, and was ready to give satisfaction to the congregation.⁴ Her humiliation was complete. "She confessed that when shee was at the Court, shee looked only at such failings as she

1. Adams. Three Episodes. I. pp. 516-517.

2. The Short Story. (Prince Pub. 1894) pp. 220-225. Adams, Three Episodes. I. pp. 516-522.

3. The Short Story (op. cit.) p. 225. Adams (op. cit.) p. 523.

4. The Short Story (op. cit.) p. 225.

apprehended in the Magistrates proceedings, without having regard to the place they were in, and that the speeches shee then used about her revelations were rash, and without ground, and shee desired the prayers of the church for her."¹

But her repentance came too late to save her from her fate. For the men before whom she bowed her head in submission would not accept her recantation as sincere. And so the record which exists of the church trial is one unpleasant to read--the story of a woman forced by men unsympathetic, to meet the severest penalty of the church. Hugh Peters was present, and was one of those who insisted on extreme measures. His attitude is well revealed in the remarks which he made during the course of the trial. Mrs. Hutchinson had aroused the anger of the ministers when, upon being cross-examined, she confessed: "My judgment is not altered though my expression alters."² A moment later Hugh Peters spoke: "We did thinke she would have humbled herselfe for denyinge Graces this day, for her opinions are dayngerous & fundamentall & such as takes downe the Articles of Religion, as denying the Resurrection, & fayth, & all sanctification, soe that some Elders have made whole Sermons, for fayth, as if fayth should never hould up her Hed

1. The Short Story (Prince Pub.1894)p.225.

2. Ibid. p.323.

agayne in this Cuntrye; as it hath done in our native Cuntry." Even more indignant and rigid is the speech that Hugh Peters made a short while after, the latter part of which illustrates particularly well the attitude of Mrs. Hutchinson's enemies toward her. "I would desier Mrs. Hutchinson in the name of the Lord", he begins, "that she would serch into her hart farther to helpe on her Repentance-, for though she hath confessed some Thinges yet it is far short of what it should be, & therfore

1. I fear you are not well principled & grownded in yo^r Catechisme.

2. I would commend this to yo^r Consideration that yow have stept owt of yo^r place, yow have rather bine a Husband than a Wife, & a preacher than a Hearer; & a Magistrate than a Subject, & soe yow have thought to carry all Thinges in Church and Commonwealth as yow would, & have not bine humbled for this."¹

Again Peters insists: "We are not satisfied in her Repentance, in that she hath expressed, wherin she layes her Censuer or Imprisonment to be the Cawse of all her Errors, as if she wear Innocent befor."²

1. Prince Pub.1894. The Church Trial.pp.328-329.

2. Ibid. p.330.

At another point Hugh Peters breaks forth in most bitter language as he reverts to the sore point of Mrs. Hutchinson's opinion of the ministers: "I would say this, whan I was once speakinge with her about the Woman of Elis:¹ she did exceedingly magnifie her to be a Womane of 1000, hardly any like to her. & yet we know that the Woman of Elis: is a dayngerous Woman, & houlds forth greewous Things, & ferfull Errors, & whan I tould her that hear was divers wörthy and godly Weomen Even amongst us, & than. she sayd, she ment she was better than soe many Jewes, Soe, that I beleeve. that she hath vilde Thoughts of us, & thinkes us to be no-thinge but a company of Jewes, & that now God is convirt-inge of Jewes."²

It remained finally for Mr. Wilson--the man, of all her opponents, for whom Mrs. Hutchinson had the greatest contempt, and who had been, partly because of wounded personal feelings, and partly because of his own vindictive, utterly harsh nature, her fiercest and most relentless enemy--to pronounce at the conclusion of the dismal trial the awful sentence of excommunication. "Therfo^r I com- mand yow in the name of Ch. Je: & of this Church as a Leper

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1. "No plausible explanation of this allusion has been suggested. The 'Woman of Elis' is apparently referred to as a person then living, and not as an historical or Biblical character; neither is it clear whether 'Elis' is a full name or an abbreviation". (Footnote, Adam's edition of the Church Trial, Prince Pub. 1894. p. 325.)
 2. The Church Trial. op. cit. p. 325.

to withdraw yo^r selfe out of the Congregation; that as formerly yow have dispised & contmned the Holy Ordnances of God, & turned yo^r Backe one them, doe yow may now have no part in them nor benefit by them."¹

And so, Mrs. Anne Hutchinson rose and passed out of the church, and out of the colony, defeated by the intolerance of the theocracy of Massachusetts, but like Roger Williams, unsubdued, uncrushed, eager to seek a new environment where, to the content of her heart, she might indulge in whatever theological or religious beliefs she chose to espouse.

We need not go into the question of the influence of the controversy upon the history of New England. The absolutely rigid, theocratic system had been established. "Magistrates and clergy had definitely committed themselves to a close alliance for the purpose of upholding a system of strict orthodoxy".² How completely the governmental ideals of Winthrop and his followers dominated the colony may be seen from the fact that it was actually possible to

1. The words of the sentence of excommunication are given in full on p.336 of the Prince Pub.1894, The Church Trial.

2. Osgood. American Colonies in the 17th Century. Vol.I.p.254

maintain conformity in the strictest sense for sixty years, and, perhaps more important still, "a type of thought which was essentially Puritan for nearly one hundred and fifty years longer."¹ Of course one must not misunderstand the importance of the Antinomian controversy in this respect. For it stands but as a great evidence of what Osgood calls "the appearance of the first learned class within the American colonies, and of its alliance with the secular authorities."² The result of that alliance, in all its manifold directions—religious, social, political, even economic,—can only adequately be understood when the whole subsequent history of the New England colonies is read and understood.

Most writers, in commenting on the part of Hugh Peters in the struggle, have been ignorant of the rapid development of his ideas on toleration after he returned to England. Mr. Adams, in his manly sympathy for brave Mrs. Hutchinson, and in his righteous indignation at her harsh treatment, lashed Hugh Peters most unmercifully as one of the chief and most relentless of her many opponents. His characterisation of Peters is worth noting: "There was more

1. Osgood. op.cit. p.255.
2. Ibid.

than an absence of natural fineness in his composition; he was coarse-grained. Over ten years Vane's senior, tall and thin, nervous and active both in mind and in body, Peters was voluble in speech and afraid of nothing. With his strong voice and fiery zeal, he was looked upon in his day as the typical Puritan fanatic and preacher; and already, before coming to New England, he was famous for the success with which he swayed great audiences. He had himself experienced persecution; yet it was not in his nature to brook opposition from others.¹ The short sketch of his life that Mr. Adams adds is very misleading, emphasizing merely the points in Peters' later career that tend to strengthen his own view.² Mr. Firth cautiously says, "In ecclesiastical matters Peters was at this time less liberal than he subsequently became."³ The activity of Peters in the Hutchinson case was unquestionably on the illiberal side. He was an important factor in the establishment of orthodoxy in the colony. In view of his later career it is no easy matter to explain his attitude. Indeed, he was far less liberal than he had been before coming to New

1. Adams. Three Episodes. I. pp. 374-375.

2. Ibid. For example, he uses Burnet's characterization of Peters as a "sort of enthusiastical buffoon preacher." He tells of his abuse of Laud. He maintains that at Peters' execution his courage failed him completely, a view that my investigations have failed to justify, and that Firth does not accept. In fact I shall show that Peters rose quite to the occasion, that he met his death bravely. C. H. Firth. p. 956.

England. The truth of it is that Peters was never greatly interested in doctrinal disputes. The whole activity of his life shows clearly his passion for social reform. And as he got farther away from the narrowness of the New England environment, he became broader and more tolerant in his views. Mr. Firth, indeed, goes so far as to say, "No one advocated toleration more strongly than Peters, but his arguments were rather those of a social reformer than a divine." The development of his views on the subject will be taken up in detail in later sections of this biography. Suffice it to observe here, that it was because of the broadening of his tolerant attitude toward the views of men that he became such an ideal army-chaplain. "The Prince of Army Chaplains" he has been called.¹ As he mingled with soldiers, under Fairfax and Cromwell, he gradually came to sympathize and care for all sorts and conditions of men regardless of their differences in doctrine, a characteristic that Baxter, his fellow-chaplain did not possess. As our study continues we shall see how Peters pleaded for better relations between sects in England, advising men to cease their bickerings on points of doctrine and unite in

1. Gardiner. Great Civil War. II. pp. 457-459. He writes of Peters, "His difficulty was not to avoid quarrels but to understand why men should quarrel" (p. 301). Gardiner takes a very favorable view of Peters.

social service for the common good. The practical sense of his views may be illustrated by several statements in his "Last Report of the English Wars." He wrote: "Truly it wounds my soul when I think Ireland would perish and England continue her misery through the disagreement of ten or twenty learned men....Could we but conquer each other's spirit, we should soon befooled the devil and his instruments; to which end I could wish that our ministers might pray together, eat and drink together, because, if I mistake not, estrangement hath boiled us up to jealousy and hatred."¹ "I could wish," he said, "some of my learned brethren's quarrelling hours were rather spent upon clearing the originals, and so conveying over pure scripture to posterity, than in scratching others with their sharpened pens, and making cock-pits of the pulpit."² "He suggested that if the state would punish everyone who spoke against either presbytery or independency, till they could define the terms aright, a lasting religious peace might be established."⁵ A very profound practical insight is revealed in these statements. Surely they evidence the lack of cant, of fanaticism in the man's nature. So, in truth, does also his

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1. Mr. Peters Last Report of the English Wars. (E. 351, 12)
Quoted in Gardiner, Great Civil War, II. p. 301. Also referred to in Firth's article in the D.N.B. Vol. XV, p. 957, giving a reference to Mr. Peters Last Report, (1646, 4to) pp. 7-8. I have not been able to secure the pamphlet.
 2. Gardiner. G.C.W. II. pp. 457-459. Peters' sermon "God's Doings and Man's Duty" confirms nicely our impression of Peters' attitude on polemics.
 3. Taken from Firth, D.N.B. XV. p. 957 quoting Peters, Last Report, pp. 7-8.

tireless activity both in New England and Old England along social lines-- helping the poor, aiding economic development, fostering all good practical projects. Mr. Adams takes little account of all this. But the controversy was evidently an impressive lesson to Peters. Von Ranke calls attention to a letter contained in Somer's Tracts,¹ from a certain Peter Cornelius, Van Zuriok-Zee, to the Lord Protector, in which "the different formularies of faith were declared to be imitations of the Romish religious system, the end and aim of which was to depose and keep in subjection the secular authorities. It would be far better to abolish all these varieties, and to conduct the exercises of religion in general assemblies, where the wisest should be heard. God has entrusted the magistrate with the duty of protecting the good against the wicked, and that among men of all kinds, who must be tolerated. The sword would never be fully respected till it was wielded without any respect to one-sided doctrines, each claiming absolute predominance."² To this the historian adds the following words, "These utterances acquire a certain significance when we find in the titles of old copies that the letter is

1. Somer's Tracts. Vol.VI.p.487.

2. Ibid.

Von Ranke. A history of England principally in the Seventeenth Century. Vol.III.p.152.

attributed to Cromwell's trusted chaplain, Hugh Peters. It was not so much addressed to Cromwell as addressed by a friend of Cromwell's to the public."¹

The whole subject of Peters' later religious views and their influence will be discussed in connection with the later periods of his life.

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1. Von Ranke, op.cit. p.152. The tract by Cornelius is given by Firth as attributed to Hugh Peters (See D.N.B. XV.p.977. See also bibliography of Peters' writings.)

APPENDIX I.

HUGH PETER'S NARRATIVE. ANNEXED TO HIS PETITION OF JULY 13th, 1660, TO PARLIAMENT AGAINST BEING EXCEPTED FROM THE KING'S PARDON. (Historical Mss. Commission. Appendix to Seventh Report, pp. 115-116)

"They which thinke to vindicate themselves to the world by writing Apologies, rarely reach their ends, because their game is an after-game—preiudice is strong, and the plaister can hardly be made broad enough, nor Apologies put into hands who haue preiudgd, and receiud the first tincture. And therefore our blessed Saviour is slow in that worke, only cleeres the great question of that age by prouing himselfe the Messiah by 4 witnesses, John 5t, but not forward to answer the expectation of the world other wayes. And yet so much of his example there is and of St. Pauls and others, that there seemes to bee a necessity of saying something, though hard to wipe of so much dirt, as is thrown vpon myself. Yet at this distance and leasure

hearing by printed papers what my Lot is in my native Country
I doe in the name and feare of God, and before his holy
ma'ty, Angells, and men profes, that I neuer had head nor
hand in the contriuing or managing the late Kings death di-
rectly nor indirectly, as is most scandalously suggested by
Black mouthes, but was all that day (hee dyed) sick and sad
in my chamber, which I proue by two substantial witnesses.
And for what is in that pamphlet, June 19th, about my con-
fessing in sicknes at my landing at Plimouth from Ireland,
It is most vnture and vtterly mistaken, for I neuer was
sick at Plimouth, nor landed there from Ireland, nor any of
that information colourable. And this I auouch in the truth
of my soule, and would by my presence iustifye, if weaknes,
and lameness, with this distance did not hinder, yea many
yeares being vpon mee, and an vtter inability to doe my
selfe right in these things if the Lord doe not make my way
in the harts of men. Howeuer I shall briefly giue an ac-
count of my coming into England, my behauiour synce I came,
and my present condition in this Junecture. A Colony going
to settle in New England by his late Ma'tys Patent about 30
yeeres synce, I went thither who by my birth in Cornwall

was not altogether ignorant of that place, and that fishing trade, and thither (being often invited) I say, I went and after some tyme by the magistrates of that place was sent with another into England for ease in Excise and Customs and some supplies for learning, &. And because I had bin witness to the Indians receiving the Gospell there in faith and practice, they having the Bible translated by vs into their owne language, and part thereof printed, and hundreds of them professing the gospell, and teaching each other the knowledge of God, and the more from the example of the English there, where in seven yeers amongst thousands there dwelling, yea many thousands, I neuer saw any drunke, neuer heard an oath, nor saw sabbath broken, nor euer hear of one beggar; all which invited mee vnto England: but coming found the Nation imbroyld in trouble and warre, the preaching was course yee Meroz from England to Scotland, the best ministers going into the field: In which (not without vrging) I imbarqued my selfe in tyme, and by force vpon mee here was put short of my promise of returning home, which was and is my sad affliction, thus I came.

"My firste worke here, was with the first to goe to

Ireland, which I did with many hazards, then went to sea with my old Patron, the Earle of Warwick, then imployd by the city, the Earle of Essex, my Lord Say, and others, and my returne stopt by the power that was. And then was in the last Army in seuerall places but neuer in the North. In all which affayre, I labord to perswade those to their proper duty, I conversed with.

"My principles in Religion guided mee to those orthodox truthes exprest in our English Confesseions of Faith: and I am known to iojne with the Protestants of Vpper and Lower Germany, France, &. I haue and doe herby witnes agaynst all errors of all kindes.

"For the warre I thought the vndertakers therof knew their worke and grounds; I was not considerable, men mistooke who thought mee more than a flye on a wheele.

"For my Carriage, I challenge all the Kings party, to speak if I were vnciuill, nay many of them had my purse, my hand, my helpe, my wayes, and are ready to witnes it; yea, his present Ma'tys seruants prserued mee through hazards.

"I neuer was priuy to the Army's transactions about the

late King at Holmby or else where, or of any Junoto, Counsell, or Cabal. But when his Ma'ty sent for mee I went to him, with whom I dealt about my New Eng: business and was 3 or 4 tymes with him, and had his speciall acceptance, and seued him to my vtmost, and vsed all my little skill for his and the Nations good more than twice, for which I haue witnesses, though it bee now hard to cut my way through so many rocks, yet God is good. It is true, I was of a party where I acted zealously but not with malice, or mischiefe, it hath bin accounted honn^{bl} et Caesar in hosti probat, to keep to principles of hon^r and honesty; I neuer quarreld (with) others for their iudgment and conscience. And it is receined Religio docenda e(st) non coeroenda. I saw Reformation growing (as I conceued) lawes made and some kept agaynst debauchery and euill (which I was glad to read in his Ma'tys proclmantion) I saw a very learned, godly, able ministry as in the world well prouided for, I saw the Vniuersityes flourishing, which quickend my indauors hauing been long a stranger to my owne Country. I studyed the 13 of the Romans, and was tender and am to Autority, found England and Scotland ingaged, & many wayes satisfying the

world about their engagements, which tooke mee in also. By the warres I neuer enriched my selfe, I haue often offerd my personall estate for 200 l.: and for lands I neuer had any but that part of a noble mans, which I neuer layd vp penny of nor euen vrged my Lord Grey to buy, nor knew of the sale till done, nor iustifyany vnworthy thing in it. I neuer plundered nor cheated, neuer sent or made penny ouer sea, nor hoarded any in England.

"I was not guilty of secluding the members in 48, nor knew it till done, and sent by my Lord Fairfax to fetch of two of them and to know who they were that were secluded.

"I neuer had Jewells or anything belonging to Court or State more then aforesayd what they gaue directly nor indirectly, neuer had ecclesiasticall promotion in my life in the nation to enrich mee, but liued on my owne whilst I had anything, nor haue been a louer of mony.

"The many scandalls for Vnoleannes and others I abhorre as vild and false, being kept from that, and those aspersions cast vpon mee, and such doe make my protest agaynst as before, I know how low my name runs, how titleles, how contemned. Dauid knew why Shimei cursd him. For the lawes

of England, I know no place hath better, only hauing liued where matters are more expedite and cheape, I have shewd my folly, so to say, and hauing no euill intention a worthy lawyer tooke exception at some thing of myne or my friends, which was neuer intended in his sense by eyther, and crave his excuse.

"I can charge my selfe with euill enough, as any excen-
trick motion of myne owne calling, want of a solemne spirit
in slight tymes with vnbeliefe, or if I haue gon about the
reaching any spirituall ends by treading vpon any ciuill
duty, breaking any couenants, or slighting them, and may
feare that the Gospell, yea, the spirit also, may bee vn-
derualued by myne and others vnworthy dealing with them.

"Much to these I might adde, though towards men I could
plead innocence, who haue seen many vanityes vnder the sun,
and the world hung with nets and snares, alas there is no-
thing to Christ. And lastly I vnderstand——

"Lastly I vnderstand what exception is vpon mee for
life, and estate, I haue taken hold of his Ma'tys gracious
pardon as others did, and know not truly where this excep-
tion lyes grounded. I wish I had bin with their Hon^{rs} to

haue cleerd it. I hope a vagrant report or ayry noise takes no place with them. For I doe challenge all the world for my innocence for these suggestions, and appeal to their Hon^{rs} and the Noble Lords for a reuiew of the charge and information, and craue no fauor if any sober man can charge mee, otherwise, I most heartily beg inst fauor, (vnles my euill bee only acting wth such a party, w^{ch} I looke vpon as pardoned) I must haue it: For I know before whom my Cause is, and may not despayre.

"I must agayne profes, were I not a christian yet as a man (I was saying) a gentleman, and from that extract doe loath and soorne to ingage in the vild things suggested, and that by one creditles witnes, that only supposeth but asserts nothing. I wish from my hart that our present prince may bee, and the nation by him more happy than euer hath ben, and that the true ends of gouernment may bee had and communicated fully, that every honest hart may haue cause to reioyce in God, the King, and their Lawes.

"And for my selfe (through Grace) I resolue to bee quiet in a corner (if I may) to let God alone with ruling the world, to whose wisdoms and power wee ought to submit,

(9)

yea, to mynd myne owne worke though neuer so small, to bee
passiue vnder Authority, rather than impatient, to procure
the quiet and peace of the Nation to my vtmost, to mynd
things invisible, and of a better consistence than these
below, and to pray where I can doe no more.

Hugh Peters.