

NUMBER II.

November 1637.

The Examination of Mrs. Ann Hutchinson at
the court at Newtown.

Mr. Winthrop } MRS. Hutchinson, you are called
governor. } here as one of those that have
troubled the peace of the com-
monwealth and the churches here; you are known to
be a woman that hath had a great share in the promoting
and divulging of those opinions that are causes of this
trouble, and to be nearly joined not only in affinity and
affection with some of those the court hath taken notice
of and passed censure upon, but you have spoken divers
things as we have been informed very prejudicial to the
honour of the churches and ministers thereof, and you
have maintained a meeting and an assembly in your house
that hath been condemned by the general assembly as a
thing not tolerable nor comely in the sight of God nor
fitting for your sex, and notwithstanding that was cried
down you have continued the same, therefore we have
thought good to send for you to understand how things
are, that if you be in an erroneous way we may reduce
you that so you may become a profitable member here
among us, otherwise if you be obstinate in your course
that then the court may take such course that you may
trouble us no further, therefore I would intreat you to
express whether you do not hold and assent in practice
to those opinions and factions that have been handled in
court already, that is to say, whether you do not justify
Mr. Wheelwright's sermon and the petition.

Mrs. Hutchinson } I am called here to answer before you but
I hear no things laid to my charge.

Gov.

Gov. I have told you some already and more I can tell you. (Mrs. H.) Name one Sir.

Gov. Have I not named some already?

Mrs. H. What have I said or done?

Gov. Why for your doings, this you did harbour and countenance those that are parties in this faction that you have heard of. (Mrs. H.) That's matter of conscience, Sir.

Gov. Your conscience you must keep or it must be kept for you.

Mrs. H. Must not I then entertain the saints because I must keep my conscience.

Gov. Say that one brother should commit felony or treason and come to his other brother's house, if he knows him guilty and conceals him he is guilty of the same. It is his conscience to entertain him, but if his conscience comes into act in giving countenance and entertainment to him that hath broken the law he is guilty too. So if you do countenance those that are transgressors of the law you are in the same fact.

Mrs. H. What law do they transgress?

Gov. The law of God and of the state.

Mrs. H. In what particular?

Gov. Why in this among the rest, whereas the Lord doth say honour thy father and thy mother.

Mrs. H. Ey Sir in the Lord. (Gov.) This honour you have broke in giving countenance to them.

Mrs. H. In entertaining those did I entertain them against any act (for there is the thing) or what God hath appointed?

Gov. You knew that Mr. Wheelwright did preach this sermon and those that countenance him in this do break a law.

Mrs. H. What law have I broken?

Gov. Why the fifth commandment.

Mrs. H. I deny that for he saith in the Lord.

Gov. You have joined with them in the faction.

Mrs. H. In what faction have I joined with them?

Gov. In presenting the petition.

Mrs. H. Suppose I had set my hand to the petition what then? (Gov.) You saw that case tried before.

Mrs. H. But I had not my hand to the petition.

Gov. You have counselled them. (Mrs.H.) Wherein?

Gov. Why in entertaining them.

Mrs. H. What breach of law is that Sir?

Gov. Why dishonouring of parents.

Mrs. H. But put the case Sir that I do fear the Lord and my parents, may not I entertain them that fear the Lord because my parents will not give me leave?

Gov. If they be the fathers of the commonwealth, and they of another religion, if you entertain them then you dishonour your parents and are justly punishable.

Mrs. H. If I entertain them, as they have dishonoured their parents I do.

Gov. No but you by countenancing them above others put honor upon them.

Mrs. H. I may put honor upon them as the children of God and as they do honor the Lord.

Gov. We do not mean to discourse with those of your sex but only this; you do adhere unto them and do endeavour to set forward this faction and so you do dishonour us.

Mrs. H. I do acknowledge no such thing neither do I think that I ever put any dishonour upon you.

Gov. Why do you keep such a meeting at your house as you do every week upon a set day?

Mrs. H. It is lawful for me so to do, as it is all your practices and can you find a warrant for yourself and condemn me for the same thing? The ground of my taking it up was, when I first came to this land because I did not go to such meetings as those were, it was presently reported that I did not allow of such meetings but held them unlawful and therefore in that regard they said I was proud and did despise all ordinances, upon that a friend came unto me and told me of it and I to prevent such aspersions took it up, but it was in practice before I came therefore I was not the first.

Gov.

Gov. For this, that you appeal to our practice you need no confutation. If your meeting had answered to the former it had not been offensive, but I will say that there was no meeting of women alone, but your meeting is of another sort for there are sometimes men among you.

Mrs. H. There was never any man with us.

Gov. Well, admit there was no man at your meeting and that you was sorry for it, there is no warrant for your doings, and by what warrant do you continue such a course?

Mrs. H. I conceive there lyes a clear rule in Titus, that the elder women should instruct the younger and then I must have a time wherein I must do it.

Gov. All this I grant you, I grant you a time for it, but what is this to the purpose that you Mrs. Hutchinson must call a company together from their callings to come to be taught of you?

Mrs. H. Will it please you to answer me this and to give me a rule for then I will willingly submit to any truth. If any come to my house to be instructed in the ways of God what rule have I to put them away?

Gov. But suppose that a hundred men come unto you to be instructed will you forbear to instruct them?

Mrs. H. As far as I conceive I cross a rule in it.

Gov. Very well and do you not so here?

Mrs. H. No Sir for my ground is they are men.

Gov. Men and women all is one for that, but suppose that a man should come and say Mrs. Hutchinson I hear that you are are a woman that God hath given his grace unto and you have knowledge in the word of God I pray instruct me a little, ought you not to instruct this man?

Mrs. H. I think I may. — Do you think it not lawful for me to teach women and why do you call me to teach the court?

Gov. We do not call you to teach the court but to lay open yourself.

Mrs. H. I desire you that you would then set me down a rule by which I may put them away that come unto me and so have peace in so doing.

Gov. You must shew your rule to receive them.

Mrs. H. I have done it.

Gov. I deny it because I have brought more arguments than you have.

Mrs. H. I say, to me it is a rule.

Mr. Endicot. You say there are some rules unto you. I think there is a contradiction in your own words. What rule for your practice do you bring, only a custom in Boston.

Mrs. H. No Sir that was no rule to me but if you look upon the rule in Titus it is a rule to me. If you convince me that it is no rule I shall yield.

Gov. You know that there is no rule that crosses another, but this rule crosses that in the Corinthians. But you must take it in this sense that elder women must instruct the younger about their business and to love their husbands and not make them to clash.

Mrs. H. I do not conceive but that it is meant for some publick times.

Gov. Well, have you no more to say but this?

Mrs. H. I have said sufficient for my practice.

Gov. Your course is not to be suffered for, besides that we find such a course as this to be greatly prejudicial to the state, besides the occasion that it is to seduce many honest persons that are called to those meetings and your opinions being known to be different from the word of God may seduce many simple souls that resort unto you, besides that the occasion which hath come of late hath come from none but such as have frequented your meetings, so that now they are flown off from magistrates and ministers and this since they have come to you, and besides that it will not well stand with the commonwealth that families should be neglected for so many neighbours and dames and so much time spent, we see no rule of God for this, we see not that any should have authority to set up any other exercises besides what authority hath already set up and so what hurt comes of this you will be guilty of and we for suffering you.

Mrs. H.

Mrs. H. Sir I do not believe that to be so.

Gov. Well, we see how it is we must therefore put it away from you or restrain you from maintaining this course.

Mrs. H. If you have a rule for it from God's word you may.

Gov. We are your judges, and not you ours and we must compel you to it.

Mrs. H. If it please you by authority to put it down I will freely let you for I am subject to your authority.

Mr. Bradstreet.* I would ask this question of Mrs. Hutchinson, whether you do think this is lawful? for when this will follow that all other women that do not are in a sin.

Mrs. H. I conceive this is a free will offering.

Bradst. If it be a free will offering you ought to forbear it because it gives offence.

Mrs. H. Sir, in regard of myself I could, but for others I do not yet see light but shall further consider of it.

Bradst. I am not against all women's meetings but do think them to be lawful.

Mr. Dudley, } Here hath been much spoken con-
dep. gov. } cerning Mrs. Hutchinson's meetings
and among other answers she saith that men come not there, I would ask you this one question then, whether never any man was at your meeting?

Gov. There are two meetings kept at their house.

Dep. gov. How; is there two meetings?

Mrs. H. Ey Sir, I shall not equivocate, there is a meeting of men and women and there is a meeting only for women.

Dep. gov. Are they both constant?

Mrs. H. No, but upon occasions they are deferred.

Mr. Endicot. † Who teaches in the men's meetings none but men, do not women sometimes?

Mrs. H. Never as I heard, not one.

Dep. gov. I would go a little higher with Mrs. Hutchinson. About three years ago we were all in

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peace.

* One of the assistants,

† One of the assistants.

peace. Mrs. Hutchinson from that time she came hath made a disturbance, and some that came over with her in the ship did inform me what she was as soon as she was landed. I being then in place dealt with the pastor and teacher of Boston and desired them to enquire of her, and then I was satisfied that she held nothing different from us, but within half a year after, she had vented divers of her strange opinions and had made parties in the country, and at length it comes that Mr. Cotton and Mr. Vane were of her judgment, but Mr. Cotton hath cleared himself that he was not of that mind, but now it appears by this woman's meeting that Mrs. Hutchinson hath so forestalled the minds of many by their resort to her meeting that now she hath a potent party in the country. Now if all these things have endangered us as from that foundation and if she in particular hath disparaged all our ministers in the land that they have preached a covenant of works, and only Mr. Cotton a covenant of grace, why this is not to be suffered, 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 is fallen out, why we must take away the foundation and the building will fall.

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.

D. Gov. We are not upon that now but upon position,

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

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

Mr. H. Yes

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

D. 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.

D. Gov. Because you will deny the thing.

Mrs. H. Ey, but that is to be proved first.

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

Mrs. H. I deny that.

D. Gov. And that you said they were not able ministers of the new testament, but Mr. Cotton only.

Mrs. H. If ever I spake that I proved it by God's word.

Court. Very well, very well.

Mrs. H. If one shall come unto me in private, and desire me seriously to tell them what I thought of such an one. I must either speak false or true in my answer.

D. Gov. Likewise I will prove this that you said the gospel in the letter and words holds forth nothing but a covenant of works and that all that do not hold as you do are in a covenant of works.

Mrs. H. I deny this for if I should so say I should speak against my own judgment.

Mr. Endicot. I desire to speak seeing Mrs. Hutchinson seems to lay something against them that are to witness against her.

Gover. Only I would add this. It is well discerned to the court that Mrs. Hutchinson can tell when to speak and when to hold her tongue. Upon the answering of a question which we desire her to tell her thoughts of she desires to be pardoned.

Mrs. H. It is one thing for me to come before a public magistracy and there to speak what they would have me to speak and another when a man comes to me in a way of friendship privately there is difference in that.

Gov. What if the matter be all one?

Mr. Hugh Peters.* } That which concerns us to speak
 unto 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.

Govern. This speech was not spoken in a corner but
 in a public assembly, and though things were spoken
 in private yet now coming to us, we are to deal with
 them as public.

Mr. Peters. We shall give you a fair account of what
 was said 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 suspi-
 cion not only from her landing, that she was a woman
 not only difficult in her opinions, but also of an intem-
 perate spirit. What was done at her landing I do not
 well remember, but as soon as Mr. Vane and our selves
 came this controversy began yet it did reflect upon Mrs.
 Hutchinson and some 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 our-
 selves to the teacher of that church, and the court then
 assembled being sensible of these things, and this gentle-
 woman 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 com-
 mend 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, 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

* Minister of Salem, afterwards famous in England.

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. 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 there was a wide and a broad difference between our brother Mr. Cotton and our selves. 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 did before the resurrection of Christ. 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. And since that we have gone with tears some of us to her.

Mrs. H. If our pastor would shew his writings you should see what I said, and that many things are not so as is reported.

Mr. Wilson.* Sister Hutchinson, for the writings you speak of I have them not, and this I must say I did not write down all that was said and did pass betwixt one and another, yet I say what is written I will avouch.

Dep. Gov. I desire that the other elders will say what Mr. Peters hath said.

Mr. Weld.

* Pastor or one of the ministers of Boston.

Mr. Weld.* Being desired by the honoured court, that which our brother Peters hath spoken was the truth and things were spoken as he hath related and the occasion of calling this sister and the passages that were there among us. And myself asking why she did cast such aspersions upon the ministers of the country though we were poor sinful men and for our selves we cared not but for the precious doctrine we held forth we could not but grieve to hear that so blasphemed. She at that time was sparing in her speech. I need not repeat the things they have been truly related. She said the fear of man is a snare and therefore I will speak freely and she spake her judgment and mind freely as was before related, that Mr. Cotton did preach a covenant of grace and we a covenant of works. And this I remember she said we could not preach a covenant of grace because we were not sealed, and we were not able ministers of the new testament no more than were the disciples before the resurrection of Christ.

Mr. Phillips,† For my own part I have had little to do in these things only at that time I was there and yet not being privy to the ground of that which our brother Peters hath mentioned but they procuring me to go along with them telling me that they were to deal with her; at first she was unwilling to answer but at length she said there was a great deal of difference between Mr. Cotton and we. Upon this Mr. Cotton did say that he could have wished that she had not put that in. Being asked of particulars she did instance in Mr. Shephard that he did not preach a covenant of grace clearly and she instanced our brother Weld. Then I asked her of myself (being she spake rashly of them all) because she never heard me at all. She likewise said that we were not able ministers of the new testament and her reason was because we were not sealed.

Mr.

* Minister of Roxbury. He wrote the history of antinomianism.

† Minister of Watertown.

Mr. Simmes.* For my own part being called to speak in this case to discharge the relation wherein I stand to the commonwealth and that which I stand in unto God, I shall speak briefly. For my acquaintance with this person I had none in our native country, only I had occasion to be in her company once or twice before I came, where I did perceive that she did slight the ministers of the word of God. But I came along with her in the ship, and it so fell out that we were in the great cabin together and therein did agree with the labours of Mr. Lothrop and myself, only there was a secret opposition to things delivered. The main thing that was then in hand was about the evidencing of a good estate, and among the rest about that place in John concerning the love of the brethren. That which I took notice of was the corruptness and narrowness of her opinions, which I doubt not but I may call them so, but she said, when she came to Boston there would be something more seen than I said, for such speeches were cast about and abused as that of our saviour, I have many things to say but you cannot bear them now. And being come and she desiring to be admitted a member, I was desired to be there, and then Mr. Cotton did give me full satisfaction in the things then in question. And for things which have been here spoken, as far as I can remember they are the truth, and when I asked her what she thought of me, she said alas you know my mind long ago, yet I do not think myself disparaged by her testimony and I would not trouble the court, only this one thing I shall put in, that Mr. Dudley and Mr. Haines were not wanting in the cause after I had given notice of her.

Mr. Wilson. I desire you would give me leave to speak this word because of what has been said concerning her entrance into the church. There was some difficulty made, but in her answers she gave full satisfaction to our teacher and myself, and for point of evidencing justification by sanctification she did not deny, but only justification must be first. Our teacher told her

then

* Minister of Charlestown.

then that if she was of that mind she would take away the scruple; for we thought that matter, for point of order we did not greatly stand upon, because we hoped she would hold with us in that truth as well as the other:

Mr. Shephard.* I am loth to speak in this assembly concerning this gentlewoman in question, but I can do no less than speak what my conscience speaks unto me. For personal reproaches I take it a man's wisdom to conceal. Concerning the reproaches of the ministry of our's there hath been many in the country, and this hath been my thoughts of that. Let men speak what they will not only against persons but against ministry, let that pass, but let us strive to speak to the consciences of men, knowing that if we had the truth with us we shall not need to approve our words by our practice and our ministry to the hearts of the people, and they should speak for us and therefore I have satisfied myself and the brethren with that. Now for that which concerns this gentlewoman at this time I do not well remember every particular, only this I do remember that the end of our meeting was to satisfy ourselves in some points. Among the rest Mrs. Hutchinson was desired to speak her thoughts concerning the ministers of the Bay. Now I remember that she said that we were not able ministers of the new testament. I followed her with particulars, she instanced myself as being at the lecture and hearing me preach when as I gave some means whereby a christian might come to the assurance of God's love. She instanced that I was not sealed. I said why did she say so. She said because you put love for an evidence. Now I am sure she was in an error in this speech for if assurance be an holy estate then I am sure there are not graces wanting to evidence it.

Mr. Eliot.† I am loth to spend time therefore I shall consent to what hath been said. Our brethren did intreat us to write and a few things I did write the substance of which hath been here spoken and I have it in writing therefore I do avouch it.

Mr.

* Minister of Cambridge.

† Minister of Roxbury.

Mr. Shephard. I desire to speak this word, it may be but a slip of her tongue, and I hope she will be sorry for it, and then we shall be glad of it.

Dep. Gov. I called these witnesses and you deny them. You see they have proved this and you deny this, but it is clear. You said they preached a covenant of works and that they were not able ministers of the new testament; now there are two other things that you did affirm which were that the scriptures in the letter of them held forth nothing but a covenant of works and likewise that those that were under a covenant of works cannot be saved.

Mrs. H. Prove that I said so. (Gov.) Did you say so?

Mrs. H. No Sir it is your conclusion.

D. Gov. What do I do charging of you if you deny what is so fully proved.

Gov. Here are six undeniable ministers who say it is true and yet you deny that you did say that they did preach a covenant of works and that they were not able ministers of the gospel, and it appears plainly that you have spoken it, and whereas you say that it was drawn from you in a way of friendship, you did profess then that it was out of conscience that you spake and said The fear of man is a snare wherefore should I be afraid, I will speak plainly and freely.

Mrs. H. That I absolutely deny, for the first question was thus answered by me to them. They thought that I did conceive there was a difference between them and Mr. Cotton: At the first I was somewhat reserved, then said Mr. Peters I pray answer the question directly as fully and as plainly as you desire we should tell you our minds. Mrs. Hutchinson we come for plain dealing and telling you our hearts. Then I said I would deal as plainly as I could, and whereas they say I said they were under a covenant of works and in the state of the apostles why these two speeches cross one another. I might say they might preach a covenant of works as did the apostles, but to preach a covenant of works and to be under a covenant of works is another business.

Dep.

Dep. Gov. There have been six witnesses to prove this and yet you deny it.

Mrs. H. I deny that these were the first words that were spoken.

Gov. You make the case worse, for you clearly shew that the ground of your opening your mind was not to satisfy them but to satisfy your own conscience.

Mr. Peters. 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.

Dep. Gov. For that other thing I mentioned for the letter of the scripture that it held forth nothing but a covenant of works, and for the latter that we are in a state of damnation, being under a covenant of works, or to that effect, these two things you also deny. Now the case stands thus. About three quarters of a year ago I heard of it, and speaking of it there came one to me who is not here, but will affirm it if need be, as he did to me that he did hear you say in so many words. He set it down under his hand and I can bring it forth when the court pleases. His name is subscribed to both these things, and upon my peril be it if I bring you not in the paper and bring the minister (meaning Mr. Ward) to be deposed.

Gov. What say you to this, though nothing be directly proved yet you hear it may be.

Mrs. H. I acknowledge using the words of the apostle to the Corinthians unto him, that they that were ministers of the letter and not the spirit did preach a covenant of works. Upon his saying there was no such scripture, then I fetched the bible and shewed him this place 2 Cor. iii. 6. He said that was the letter of the law. No said I it is the letter of the gospel.

Gov. You have spoken this more than once then.

Mrs. H. Then upon further discourse about proving a good estate and holding it out by the manifestation of the spirit he did acknowledge that to be the nearest way, but yet said he, will you not acknowledge that
which

which we hold forth to be a way too wherein we may have hope; no truly if that be a way it is a way to hell.

Gov. Mrs. Hutchinson, the court you see hath laboured to bring you to acknowledge the error of your way that so you might be reduced, the time now grows late, we shall therefore give you a little more time to consider of it and therefore desire that you attend the court again in the morning.

The next morning.

Gov. We proceeded the last night as far as we could in hearing of this cause of Mrs. Hutchinson. There were divers things laid to her charge, her ordinary meetings about religious exercises, her speeches in derogation of the ministers among us, and the weakning of the hands and hearts of the people towards them. Here was sufficient proof made of that which she was accused of in that point concerning the ministers and their ministry, as that they did preach a covenant of works when others did preach a covenant of grace, and that they were not able ministers of the new testament, and that they had not the seal of the spirit, and this was spoken not as was pretended out of private conference, but out of conscience and warrant from scripture alledged the fear of man is a snare and seeing God had given her a calling to it she would freely speak. Some other speeches she used, as that the letter of the scripture held forth a covenant of works, and this is offered to be proved by probable grounds. If there be any thing else that the court hath to say they may speak.

Mrs. H. The ministers come in their own cause. Now the Lord hath said that an oath is the end of all controversy; though there be a sufficient number of witnesses yet they are not according to the word, therefore I desire they may speak upon oath.

Gov. Well, it is in the liberty of the court whether they will have an oath or no and it is not in this case as in case of a jury. If they be satisfied they have sufficient matter to proceed.

Mrs. H. I have since I went home perused some notes out of what Mr. Wilson did then write and I find things not to be as hath been alledged.

Gov. Where are the writings?

Mrs. H. I have them not, it may be Mr. Wilson hath.

Gov. What are the instructions that you can give, Mr. Wilson?

Mr. Wilson. I do say that Mr. Vane desired me to write the discourse out and whether it be in his own hands or in some body's else I know not. For my own copy it is somewhat imperfect, but I could make it perfect with a little pains.

Gov. For that which you alledge as an exception against the elders it is vain and untrue, for they are no prosecutors in this cause but are called to witnesses in the cause.

Mr. H. But they are witnesses of their own cause.

Gov. It is not their cause but the cause of the whole country and they were unwilling that it should come forth, but that it was the glory and honour of God.

Mrs. H. But it being the Lord's ordinance that an oath should be the end of all strife, therefore they are to deliver what they do upon oath.

Mr. Bradstreet. Mrs. Hutchinson, these are but circumstances and adjuncts to the cause, admit they should mistake you in your speeches you would make them to sin if you urge them to swear.

Mrs. H. That is not the thing. If they accuse me I desire it may be upon oath.

Gov. If the court be not satisfied they may have an oath.

Mr. Nowel.* I should think it convenient that the country also should be satisfied because that I do hear it affirmed, that things which were spoken in private are carried abroad to the publick and thereupon they do undervalue the ministers of congregations.

Mr. Brown.† I desire to speak. If I mistake not an oath is of a high nature, and it is not to be taken but in

* An assistant.

† A deputy for Watertown and a ruling elder there.

a controversy, and for my part I am afraid of an oath and fear that we shall take God's name in vain, for we may take the witness of these men without an oath.

Mr. Endicot. I think the ministers are so well known unto us, that we need not take an oath of them, but indeed an oath is the end of all strife.

Mrs. H. There are some that will take their oaths to the contrary.

Mr. Endicot. Then it shall go under the name of a controversy, therefore we desire to see the notes and those also that will swear.

Gov. Let those that are not satisfied in the court speak.

Many say.—We are not satisfied.

Gov. I would speak this to Mrs. Hutchinson: If the ministers shall take an oath will you sit down satisfied?

Mrs. H. I can't be notwithstanding oaths satisfied against my own conscience.

Mr. Stoughton.* I am fully satisfied with this that the ministers do speak the truth but now in regard of censure I dare not hold up my hand to that, because it is a course of justice, and I cannot satisfy myself to proceed so far in a way of justice, and therefore I should desire an oath in this as in all other things. I do but speak to prevent offence if I should not hold up my hand at the censure unless there be an oath given.

Mr. Peters. We are ready to swear if we see a way of God in it.

Here was a parley between the deputy governor and

Mr. Stoughton about the oath.

Mr. Endicot. If they will not be satisfied with a testimony an oath will be in vain.

Mr. Stoughton. I am persuaded that Mrs. Hutchinson and many other godly-minded people will be satisfied without an oath.

Mrs. H. An oath Sir is an end of all strife and it is God's ordinance.

Mr. Endicot. A sign it is what respect she hath to their words, and further, pray see your argument, you

K k 2

will

* An assistant.

will have the words that were written and yet Mr. Wilson saith he writ not all, and now you will not believe all these godly ministers without an oath.

Mrs. H. Mr. Wilson did affirm that which he gave in to the governor that then was to be true. (Some reply) But not all the truth.

Mr. Wilson. I did say so far as I did take them they were true.

Mr. Harlakenden.* I would have the spectators take notice that the court doth not suspect the evidence that is given in, though we see that whatever evidence is brought in will not satisfy, for they are resolved upon the thing and therefore I think you will not be unwilling to give your oaths.

Gov. I see no necessity of an oath in this thing seeing it is true and the substance of the matter confirmed by divers, yet that all may be satisfied, if the elders will take an oath they shall have it given them.

Dep. Gov. Let us join the things together that Mrs. Hutchinson may see what they have their oaths for.

Mrs. H. I will prove by what Mr. Wilson hath written that they never heard me say such a thing.

Mr. Sims. We desire to have the paper and have it read.

Mr. Harlakenden. I am persuaded that is the truth that the elders do say and therefore I do not see it necessary now to call them to oath.

Gov. We cannot charge any thing of untruth upon them.

Mr. Harlakenden. Besides, Mrs. Hutchinson doth say that they are not able ministers of the new testament.

Mrs. H. They need not swear to that.

Dep. Gov. Will you confess it then.

Mrs. H. I will not deny it nor say it.

Dep. Gov. You must do one.

Mrs. H. After that they have taken an oath, I will make good what I say.

Gov. Let us state the case and then we may know what to do. That which is laid to Mrs. Hutchinson's charge

* An assistant.

charge is this, that she hath traduced the magistrates and ministers of this jurisdiction, that she hath said the ministers preached a covenant of works and Mr. Cotton a covenant of grace, and that they were not able ministers of the gospel, and she excuses it that she made it a private conference and with a promise of secrecy, &c. now this is charged upon her, and they therefore sent for her seeing she made it her table talk, and then she said the fear of man was a snare and therefore she would not be affected of them.

Mrs. H. This that your self hath spoken, I desire that they may take their oaths upon.

Gov. That that we should put the reverend elders unto is this that they would deliver upon oath that which they can remember themselves.

Mr. Shepard. I know no reason of the oath but the importunity of this gentlewoman.

Mr. Endicot. You lifted up your eyes as if you took God to witness that you came to entrap none and yet you will have them swear.

Mr. Harlakenden. Put any passage unto them and see what they say.

Mrs. H. They say I said the fear of man is a snare, why should I be afraid. When I came unto them, they urging many things unto me and I being backward to answer at first, at length this scripture came into my mind 29th Prov. 15. The fear of man bringeth a snare, but who so putteth his trust in the Lord shall be safe.

Mr. Harlakenden. This is not an essential thing.

Gov. I remember his testimony was this.

Mrs. H. Ey, that was the thing that I do deny for they were my words and they were not spoken at the first as they do alledge.

Mr. Peters. 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.

Gover. You do understand the thing, that the court is clear for we are all satisfied that it is truth but because we would take away all scruples, we desire that you would satisfy the spectators by your oath.

Mr. Bishop.* I desire to know before they be put to oath whether their testimony be of validity.

Dep. Gov. What do you mean to trouble the court with such questions. Mark what a flourish Mrs. Hutchinson puts upon the business that she had witnesses to disprove what was said and here is no man to bear witness.

Mrs. H. If you will not call them in that is nothing to me.

Mr. Eliot. We desire to know of her and her witnesses what they deny and then we shall speak upon oath. I know nothing we have spoken of but we may swear to.

Mr. Sims. Ey, and more than we have spoken to.

Mr. Stoughton. I would gladly that an oath should be given that so the person to be condemned should be satisfied in her conscience and I would say the same for my own conscience if I should join in the censure —
Two or three lines in the MS are defaced and not legible.

Mr. Coggeshall.† I desire to speak a word — It is desired that the elders would confer with Mr. Cotton before they swear.

Gover. Shall we not believe so many godly elders in a cause wherein we know the mind of the party without their testimony?

Mr. Endicot to } I will tell you what I say. I think

Mr. Coggeshall. } that this carriage of your's tends to further casting dirt upon the face of the judges.

Mr. Harlakenden. Her carriage doth the same for she doth not object any essential thing, but she goes upon circumstances and yet would have them sworn.

Mrs. H. This I would say unto them. Forasmuch as it was affirmed by the deputy that he would bring proof of these things, and the elders they bring proof in their own cause, therefore I desire that particular witnesses be for these things that they do speak.

Gov.

* One of the deputies or representatives.

† One of the deputies for Boston.

Gov. The elders do know what an oath is and as it is an ordinance of God so it should be used.

Mrs. H. That is the thing I desire and because the deputy spake of witnesses I have them here present.

Mr. Colborn.* We desire that our teacher may be called to hear what is said.—Upon this Mr. Cotton came and sat down by Mrs. Hutchinson.

Mr. Endicot. This would cast some blame upon the ministers—Well, but whatsoever he will or can say we will believe the ministers.

Mr. Eliot. } We desire to see light why we should
Mr Shepard. } take an oath.

Mr. Stoughton. Why it is an end of all strife and I think you ought to swear and put an end to the matter.

Mr. Peters. Our oath is not to satisfy Mrs. Hutchinson but the court.

Mr. Endicot. The assembly will be satisfied by it.

Dep. Gov. If the country will not be satisfied you must swear.

Mr. Shepard. I conceive the country doth not require it.

Dep. Gov. Let her witnesses be called.

Gov. Who be they?

Mrs. H. Mr. Leveret and our teacher and Mr. Coggeshall.

Gov. Mr. Coggeshall was not present.

Mr. Coggeshall. Yes but I was, only I desired to be silent till I should be called.

Gov. Will you Mr. Coggeshall say that she did not say so?

Mr. Coggeshall. Yes I dare say that she did not say all that which they lay against her.

Mr. Peters. How dare you look into the court to say such a word?

Mr. Coggeshall. Mr. Peters takes upon him to forbid me. I shall be silent.

Mr. Stoughton. Ey, but she intended this that they say.

Gov. Well, Mr. Leveret, what were the words? I pray speak.

Mr. Leveret.* To my best remembrance when the elders did send for her, Mr. Peters did with much vehemency and intreaty urge her to tell what difference there was between Mr. Cotton and them, and upon his urging of her she said. The fear of man is a snare, but they that trust upon the Lord shall be safe. And being asked wherein the difference was, she 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 had received the witness of the spirit they could not preach a covenant of grace so clearly.

Gov. Don't you remember that she said they were not able ministers of the new testament?

Mrs. H. Mr. Weld and I had an hour's discourse at the window and then I spake that, if I spake it.

Mr. Weld. Will you affirm that in the court? Did not I say unto you, Mrs. Hutchinson, before the elders. When I produced the thing, you then called for proof. Was not my answer to you, leave it there, and if I cannot prove it you shall be blameless?

Mrs. H. This I remember I spake, but do not you remember that I came afterwards to the window when you was writing and there spake unto you.

Mr. Weld. No truly. (Mrs. H.) But I do very well.

Gov. Mr. Cotton, the court desires that you declare what you do remember of the conference which was at that time and is now in question.

Mr. Cotton.† I did not think I should be called to bear witness in this cause and therefore did not labour to call to remembrance what was done; but the greatest passage that took impression upon me was to this purpose. The elders spake that they had heard that she had spoken some condemning words of their ministry, and among other things they did first pray her to answer wherein she thought their ministry did differ from mine, how the comparison sprang I am ignorant, but sorry I

was

* A ruling elder in Boston church.

† Teacher of Boston church.

was that any comparison should be between me and my brethren and uncomfortable it was, she told them to this purpose that they did not hold forth a covenant of grace as I did, but wherein did we differ? why she said that they did not hold forth the seal of the spirit as he doth. Where is the difference there? say they, why saith she speaking to one or other of them, I know not to whom. You preach of the seal of the spirit upon a work and he upon free grace without a work or without respect to a work, he preaches the seal of the spirit upon free grace and you upon a work. I told her I was very sorry that she put comparisons between my ministry and their's, for she had said more than I could myself, and rather I had that she had put us in fellowship with them and not have made that discrepancy. She said, she found the difference. Upon that there grew some speeches upon the thing and I do remember I instanced to them the story of Thomas Bilney in the book of martyrs how freely the spirit witnessed unto him without any respect unto a work as himself professes. Now upon this other speeches did grow. If you put me in mind of any thing I shall speak it, but this was the sum of the difference, nor did it seem to be so ill taken as it is and our brethren did say also that they would not so easily believe reports as they had done and withall mentioned that they would speak no more of it, some of them did; and afterwards some of them did say they were less satisfied than before. And I must say that I did not find her saying they were under a covenant of works, nor that she said they did preach a covenant of works.

Gov. You say you do not remember, but can you say she did not speak so—*Here two lines again defaced.*

Mr. Cotton. I do remember that she looked at them as the apostles before the ascension.

Mr. Peters. I humbly desire to remember our reverend teacher. May it please you to remember how this came in. Whether do you not remember that she said we were not sealed with the spirit of grace, therefore could

not preach a covenant of grace, and she said further you may do it in your judgment but not in experience, but she spake plump that we were not sealed.

Mr. Cotton. You do put me in remembrance that it was asked her why cannot we preach a covenant of grace? Why, saith she, because you can preach no more than you know, or to that purpose, she spake. Now that she said you could not preach a covenant of grace I do not remember such a thing. I remember well that she said you were not sealed with the seal of the spirit.

Mr. Peters. There was a double seal found out that day which never was,

Mr. Cotton. I know very well that she took the seal of the spirit in that sense for the full assurance of God's favour by the holy ghost, and now that place in the Ephesians doth hold out that seal.

Mr. Peters. So that was the ground of our discourse concerning the great seal and the little seal.

Mr. Cotton. To that purpose I remember somebody speaking of the difference of the witness of the spirit and the seal of the spirit, some to put a distinction called it the broad seal and the little seal. Our brother Wheelwright answered if you will have it so be it so.

Mrs. H. Mr. Ward said that.

Some three or four of the ministers. Mr. Wheelwright said it.

Mr. Cotton. No, it was not brother Wheelwright's speech but one of your own expressions, and as I remember it was Mr. Ward.

Mr. Peters. - - - - -

Mr. Cotton. Under favour I do not remember that.

Mr. Peters. Therefore her answer clears it in your judgment but not in your experience.

Mrs. H. My name is precious and you do affirm a thing which I utterly deny.

D. Gov. You should have brought the book with you.

Mr. Nowell. The witnesses do not answer that which you require.

Gov. I do not see that we need their testimony any further. Mr. Cotton hath expressed what he remembered, and what took impresson upon him, and so I think the other elders also did remember that which took impresson upon them.

Mr. Weld. I then said to Mrs. Hutchinson when it was come to this issue, why did you let us go thus long and never tell us of it?

Gov. I should wonder why the elders should move the elders of our congregation to have dealt with her if they saw not some cause.

Mr. Cotton. Brother Weld and brother Shepard, I did then clear myself unto you that I understood her speech in expressing herself to you that you did hold forth some matter in your preaching that was not pertinent to the seal of the spirit—*Two lines defaced.*

Dep. Gov. They affirm that Mrs. Hutchinson did say they were not able ministers of the new testament.

Mr. Cotton. I do not remember it.

Mrs. H. If you please to give me leave I shall give you the ground of what I know to be true. Being much troubled to see the falseness of the constitution of the church of England, I had like to have turned separatist; whereupon I kept a day of solemn humiliation and pondering of the thing; this scripture was brought unto me—he that denies Jesus Christ to be come in the flesh is antichrist—this I considered of and in considering found that the papists did not deny him to be come in the flesh, nor we did not deny him—who then was antichrist? Was the Turk antichrist only? The Lord knows that I could not open scripture; he must by his propheticall office open it unto me. So after that being unsatisfied in the thing, the Lord was pleased to bring this scripture out of the Hebrews. He that denies the testament denies the testator, and in this did open unto me and give me to see that those which did not teach the new covenant had the spirit of antichrist, and upon this he did discover the ministry unto me and ever since,

I bless the Lord, he hath let me see which was the clear ministry and which the wrong. Since that time I confess I have been more choice and he hath let me to distinguish between the voice of my beloved and the voice of Moses, the voice of John Baptist and the voice of antichrist, for all these voices are spoken of in scripture. Now if you do condemn me for speaking what in my conscience I know to be truth I must commit myself unto the Lord.

Mr. Nowell. 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. I will give you another scripture, Jer. 46. 27, 28—out of which the Lord shewed me what he would do for me and the rest of his servants.—But after he was pleased to reveal himself to me I did presently like Abraham run to Hagar. And after that he did let me see the atheism of my own heart, for which I begged of the Lord that it might not remain in my heart, and being thus, he did shew me this (a twelvemonth after) which I told you of before. Ever since that time I have been confident of what he hath revealed unto me.

Obliterated. } another place out of Daniel chap. 7. and he
 } and for us all, wherein he shewed me
 the sitting of the judgment and the standing of all high
 and low before the Lord and how thrones and kingdoms
 were cast down before him. When our teacher came to
 New-England it was a great trouble unto me, my brother
 Wheelwright being put by also. I was then much
 troubled concerning the ministry under which I lived,
 and then that place in the 30th of Isaiah was brought
 to my mind. Though the Lord give thee bread of
 adversity

adversity and water of affliction yet shall not thy teachers be removed into corners any more, but thine eyes shall see thy teachers. The Lord giving me this promise and they being gone there was none then left that I was able to hear, and I could not be at rest but I must come hither. Yet that place of Isaiah did much follow me, though the Lord give thee the bread of adversity and water of affliction. This place lying I say upon me then this place in Daniel was brought unto me and did shew me that though I should meet with affliction yet I am the same God that delivered Daniel out of the lion's den, I will also deliver thee. — Therefore I desire you to look to it, for you see this scripture fulfilled this day and therefore I desire you that as you tender the Lord and the church and commonwealth to consider and look what you do. You have power over my body but the Lord Jesus hath power over my body and soul, and assure yourselves thus much, you do as much as in you lies to put the Lord Jesus Christ from you, and if you go on in this course you begin you will bring a curse upon you and your posterity, and the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.

Dep. Gov. What is the scripture she brings?

Mr. Stoughton. Behold I turn away from you.

Mrs. H. But now having seen him which is invisible I fear not what man can do unto me.

Gov. Daniel was delivered by miracle do you think to be deliver'd so too?

Mrs. H. I do here speak it before the court. I look that the Lord should deliver me by his providence.

Mr. Harlakenden. I may read scripture and the most glorious hypocrite may read them and yet go down to hell.

Mrs. H. It may be so.

Mr. Bartholomew.* I would remember one word to Mrs. Hutchinson among many others. She knowing that I did know her opinions, being she was at my house at London, she was afraid I conceive or loth to impart herself unto me, but when she came within sight of
Boston

* A deputy I suppose for Salem.

Boston and looking upon the meanness of the place, I conceive, she uttered these words, if she had not a sure word that England should be destroyed her heart would shake. Now it seemed to me at that time very strange that she should say so.

Mrs. H. I do not remember that I looked upon the meanness of the place nor did it discourage me, because I knew the bounds of my habitation were determined, &c.

Mr. Bartholomew. I speak as a member of the court. I fear that her revelations will deceive.

Gov. Have you heard of any of her revelations?

Mr. Barthol. For my own part I am sorry to see her now here and I have nothing against her but what I said was to discover what manner of spirit Mrs. Hutchinson is of; only I remember as we were once going through Paul's church yard she then was very inquisitive after revelations and said that she had never had any great thing done about her but it was revealed to her beforehand. (Mrs. H.) I say the same thing again.

Mr. Bartholomew. And also that she said that she was come to New-England but for Mr. Cotton's sake. As for Mr. Hooker (as I remember) she said she liked not his spirit, only she spake of a sermon of his in the low countries wherein he said thus—it was revealed to me yesterday that England should be destroyed. She took notice of that passage and it was very acceptable with her.

Mr. Cotton. One thing let me intreat you to remember, Mr. Bartholomew, that you never spake any thing to me.

Mr. Barth. No Sir, I never spake of it to you and therefore I desire to clear Mr. Cotton.

Gov. There needs no more of that.

Mr. Barth. Only I remember her eldest daughter said in the ship that she had a revelation that a young man in the ship should be saved, but he must walk in the ways of her mother.

Mr. Sims. I could say something to that purpose, for she said—then what would you say if we should be at New-England within these three weeks, and I reproved her vehemently for it.

Mr. Eliot.

Mr. Eliot. That speech of Mr. Hooker's which they alledge is against his mind and judgment. †

Mr. Sims. I would intreat Mrs. Hutchinson to remember, that the humble he will teach—I have spoken before of it and therefore I will leave the place with her and do desire her to consider of many expressions that she hath spoken to her husband, but I will not enlarge myself.

Mr. Endicot. I would have a word or two with leave of that which hath thus far been revealed to the court. I have heard of many revelations of Mr. Hutchinson's, but they were reports, but Mrs. Hutchinson I see doth maintain some by this discourse, and I think it is a special providence of God to hear what she hath said. Now there is a revelation you see which she doth expect as a miracle. She saith she now suffers and let us do what we will she shall be delivered by a miracle. I hope the court takes notice of the vanity of it and heat of her spirit. Now because her reverend teacher is here I should desire that he would please to speak freely whether he doth condescend to such speeches or revelations as have been here spoken of, and he will give a great deal of content.

Mr. Cotton. May it please you Sir. There are two sorts of revelations, there are [defaced] or against the word besides scripture both which [defaced] tactical and tending to danger more ways than one — there is another sort which the apostle prays the believing Ephesians may be made partakers of, and those are such as are breathed by the spirit of God and are never dispensed but in a word of God and according to a word of God, and though the word revelation be rare in common speech and we make it uncouth in our ordinary expressions, yet notwithstanding, being understood in the scripture sense I think they are not only lawful but such as christians may receive and God bear witness to it in his word, and usually he doth

† Mr. Eliot was mistaken. The passage from his sermon is in print and Mr. Hooker avowed it afterwards at Hartford. Magn. B. iii. P. 62.

doth exprefs it in the miniftry of the word and doth accompany it by his fpirit, or elfe it is in the reading of the word in fome chapter or verfe and whenever it comes it comes flying upon the wings of the fpirit.

Mr. Endicot. You give me fatisfaction in the thing and therefore I defire you to give your judgment of Mrs. Hutchinson; what ſhe hath ſaid you hear and all the circumſtances thereof.

Mr. Cotton. I would demand whether by a miracle ſhe doth mean a work above nature or by ſome wonderful providence for that is called a miracle often in the pſalms.

Mrs. H. I defire to ſpeak to our teacher. You know Sir what he doth declare though he doth not know himſelf

[*ſomething wanting.*]

now either of theſe ways or at this preſent time it ſhall be done, yet I would not have the court ſo to underſtand me that he will deliver me now even at this preſent time.

Dep. Gov. I defire Mr. Cotton to tell us whether you do approve of Mrs. Hutchinson's revelations as ſhe hath laid them down.

Mr. Cotton. I know not whether I do underſtand her, but this I ſay, if ſhe doth expect a deliverance in a way of providence—then I cannot deny it.

Dep. Gov. No Sir we did not ſpeak of that.

Mr. Cotton. If it be by way of miracle then I would ſuſpect it.

Dep. Gov. Do you believe that her revelations are true?

Mr. Cotton. That ſhe may have ſome ſpecial providence of God to help her is a thing that I cannot bear witneſs againſt.

Dep. Gov. Good Sir I do aſk whether this revelation be of God or no?

Mr. Cotton. I ſhould defire to know whether the ſentence of the court will bring her to any calamity, and then I would know of her whether ſhe expects to be delivered from that calamity by a miracle or a providence of God.

Mrs. H.

Mrs. H. By a providence of God I say I expect to be delivered from some calamity that shall come to me.

Gover. The case is altered and will not stand with us now, but I see a marvellous providence of God to bring things to this pass that they are. We have been hearkening about the trial of this thing and now the mercy of God by a providence hath answered our desires and made her to lay open her self and the ground of all these disturbances to be by revelations; for we receive no such made out of the ministry of the word

and so one scripture after another, but all this while there is no use of the ministry of the word nor of any clear call of God by his word, but the ground work of her revelations is the immediate revelation of the spirit and not by the ministry of the word, and that is the means by which she hath very much abused the country that they shall look for revelations and are not bound to the ministry of the word, but God will teach them by immediate revelations and this hath been the ground of all these tumults and troubles, and I would that those were all cut off from us that trouble us, for this is the thing that hath been the root of all the mischief.

Court. We all consent with you.

Gov. Ey it is the most desperate enthusiasm in the world, for nothing but a word comes to her mind and then an application is made which is nothing to the purpose, and this is her revelations when as it is impossible but that the word and spirit should speak the same thing.

Mr. Endicot: I speak in reference to Mr. Cotton. I am tender of you Sir and there lies much upon you in this particular, for the answer of Mr. Cotton doth not free him from that way which his last answer did bring upon him, therefore I beseech you that you'd be pleased to speak a word to that which Mrs. Hutchinson hath spoken of her revelations as you have heard the manner of it. Whether do you witness for her or against her.

Mr. Cotton. This is that I said Sir, and my answer is plain that if she doth look for deliverance from the hand of God by his providence, and the revelation be in a word or according to a word, that I cannot deny.

Mr. Endicot. You give me satisfaction.

Dep. Gov. No, no, he gives me none at all.

Mr. Cotton. But if it be in a way of miracle or a revelation without the word that I do not assent to, but look at it as a delusion, and I think so doth she too as I understand her.

Dep. Gov. Sir, you weary me and do not satisfy me.

Mr. Cotton. I pray Sir give me leave to express myself. In that sense that she speaks I dare not bear witness against it.

Mr. Nowell. I think it is a devilish delusion.

Gover. Of all the revelations that ever I read of I never read the like ground laid as is for this. The Enthusiasts and Anabaptists had never the like.

Mr. Cotton. You know Sir, that their revelations broach new matters of faith and doctrine.

Gover. So do these and what may they breed more if they be let alone. I do acknowledge that there are such revelations as do concur with the word but there hath not been any of this nature.

Dep. Gov. I never saw such revelations as these among the Anabaptists, therefore am sorry that Mr. Cotton should stand to justify her.

Mr. Peters. I can say the same and this runs to enthusiasm, and I think that is very disputable which our brother Cotton hath spoken [wanting]

an immediate promise that he will deliver them [wanting] in a day of trouble.

Gover. It overthrows all.

Dep. Gov. These disturbances that have come among the Germans have been all grounded upon revelations, and so they that have vented them have stirred up their hearers to take up arms against their prince and to cut the throats one of another, and these have been the fruits

fruits of them, and whether the devil may inspire the same into their hearts here I know not, for I am fully persuaded that Mrs. Hutchinson is deluded by the devil, because the spirit of God speaks truth in all his servants.

Gov. I am persuaded that the revelation she brings forth is delusion.

All the court but some two or three ministers cry out we all believe it—we all believe it.

Mr. Endicott. I suppose all the world may see where the foundation of all these troubles among us lies.

Mr. Eliot. I say there is an expectation of things promised, but to have a particular revelation of things that shall fall out; there is no such thing in the scripture.

Gov. We will not limit the word of God.

Mr. Collicut.* It is a great burden to us that we differ from Mr. Cotton and that he should justify these revelations. I would intreat him to answer concerning that about the destruction of England.

Gov. Mr. Cotton is not called to answer to any thing but we are to deal with the party here standing before us.

Mr. Bartholomew. My wife hath said that Mr. Wheelwright was not acquainted with this way until that she imparted it unto him.

Mr. Brown. Inasmuch as I am called to speak, I would therefore speak the mind of our brethren. Though we had sufficient ground for the censure before, yet now she having vented herself and I find such flat contradiction to the scripture in what she saith, as to that in the first to the Hebrews—God at sundry times spake to our fathers—For my part I understand that scripture and other scriptures of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the apostle writing to Timothy saith that the scripture is able to make one perfect—therefore I say the mind of the brethren—I think she deserves no less a censure than hath been already past but rather something more, for this is the foundation of all mischief and of all those bastardly things

L 1 2

which

* A deputy, I know not for what town, but I take him to be an inhabitant of Boston and a principal merchant.

which have been overthrowing by that great meeting. They have all come out from this cursed fountain.

Gov. Seeing the court hath thus declared itself and hearing what hath been laid to the charge of Mrs. Hutchinson and especially what she by the providence of God hath declared freely without being asked, if therefore it be the mind of the court, looking at her as the principal cause of all our trouble, that they would now consider what is to be done to her.—

Mr. Coddington. I do think that you are going to censure therefore I desire to speak a word.

Gov. I pray you speak.

Mr. Coddington. There is one thing objected against the meetings. What if she designed to edify her own family in her own meetings may none else be present?

Gov. If you have nothing else to say but that, it is pity Mr. Coddington that you should interrupt us in proceeding to censure.

Mr. Coddington. I would say more Sir, another thing you lay to her charge is her speech to the elders. Now I do not see any clear witness against her, and you know it is a rule of the court that no man may be a judge and an accuser too. I do not speak to disparage our elders and their callings, but I do not see any thing that they accuse her of witnessed against her, and therefore I do not see how she should be censured for that. And for the other thing which hath fallen from her occasionally by the spirit of God, you know the spirit of God witnesses with our spirits, and there is no truth in scripture but God bears witness to it by his spirit, therefore I would entreat you to consider whether those things you have alledged against her deserve such censure as you are about to pass, be it to banishment or imprisonment. And again here is nothing proved about the elders, only that she said they did not teach a covenant of grace so clearly as Mr. Cotton did, and that they were in the state of the apostles before the ascension. Why I hope this may not be offensive nor any wrong to them.

Gov.

Gov. Pass by all that hath been said formerly and her own speeches have been ground enough for us to proceed upon.

Mr. Coddington. I beseech you do not speak so to force things along, for I do not for my own part see any equity in the court in all your proceedings. Here is no law of God that she hath broken nor any law of the country that she hath broke, and therefore deserves no censure, and if she say that the elders preach as the apostles did, why they preached a covenant of grace and what wrong is that to them, for it is without question that the apostles did preach a covenant of grace, though not with that power, till they received the manifestation of the spirit, therefore I pray consider what you do, for here is no law of God or man broken.

Mr. Harlakenden. Things thus spoken will stick. I would therefore that the assembly take notice that here is none that condemns the meeting of christian women; but in such a way and for such an end that it is to be detested. And then tho' the matter of the elders be taken away yet there is enow besides to condemn her, but I shall speak no further.

Dep. Gov. We shall be all sick with fasting.

Mr. Colburn. I dissent from censure of banishment.

Mr. Stoughton. The censure which the court is about to pass in my conscience is as much as she deserves, but because she desires witness and there is none in way of witness therefore I shall desire that no offence be taken if I do not formally condemn her because she hath not been formally convicted as others are by witness upon oath.

Mr. Coddington. That is a scruple to me also, because Solomon saith, every man is partial in his own cause, and here is none that accuses her but the elders, and she spake nothing to them but in private, and I do not know what rule they had to make the thing publick, secret things ought to be spoken in secret and publick things in publick, therefore I think they have broken the rules of God's word.

Gov. What was spoken in the presence of many is not to be made secret.

Mr. Coddington. But that was spoken but to a few and in private.

Gov. In regard Mr. Stoughton is not satisfied to the end all scruples may be removed we shall desire the elders to take their oaths.

Here now was a great whispering among the ministers, some drew back others were animated on.

Mr. Eliot. If the court calls us out to swear we will swear.

Gov. Any two of you will serve.

Mr. Stoughton. There are two things that I would look to discharge my conscience of, 1st to hear what they testify upon oath and 2dly to ———

Gov. It is required of you Mr. Weld and Mr. Eliot.

Mr. Weld. } We shall be willing.
Mr. Eliot. }

Gov. We'll give them their oaths. You shall swear
Mr. Peters held up } to the truth and nothing but
his hand also. } the truth as far as you know.
So help you God. What you
do remember of her speak, pray speak.

Mr. Eliot. I do remember and I have it written, that which she spake first was, the fear of man is a snare, why should she be afraid but would speak freely. The question being asked whether there was a difference between Mr. Cotton and us, she said there was a broad difference. I would not stick upon words—the thing she said—and that Mr. Cotton did preach a covenant of grace and we of works and she gave this reason—to put a work in point of evidence is a revealing upon a work. We did labour then to convince her that our doctrine was the same with Mr. Cotton's: She said no, for we were not sealed. That is all I shall say.

Gov. What say you Mr. Weld?

Mr. Weld. I will speak to the things themselves—these two things I am fully clear in—the did make a
difference

difference in three things, the first I was not so clear in, but that she said this I am fully sure of, that we were not able ministers of the new testament and that we were not clear in our experience because we were not sealed.

Mr. Eliot. I do further remember this also, that she said we were not able ministers of the gospel because we were but like the apostles before the ascension.

Mr. Coddington. This was I hope no disparagement to you.

Gov. Well, we see in the court that she doth continually say and unsay things.

Mr. Peters. 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.

Mr. Coddington. What wrong was that to say that you were not able ministers of the new testament or that you were like the apostles—methinks the comparison is very good.

Gov. Well, you remember that she said but now that she should be delivered from this calamity.

Mr. Cotton. I remember she said she should be delivered by God's providence, whether now or at another time she knew not.

Mr. Peters. I profess I thought Mr. Cotton would never have took her part.

Mr. Stoughton. I say now this testimony doth convince me in the thing, and I am fully satisfied the words were pernicious, and the frame of her spirit doth hold forth the same.

Gov. The court hath already declared themselves satisfied concerning the things you hear, and concerning the troublesomeness of her spirit and the danger of her course among us, which is not to be suffered. Therefore

fore if it be the mind of the court that Mrs. Hutchinson for these things that appear before us 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.

All but three.

Those that are contrary minded hold up yours.

Mr. Coddington and Mr. Colborn, only.

Mr. Jennison.* I cannot hold up my hand one way or the other, and I shall give my reason if the court require it.

Gov. Mrs. Hutchinson, the sentence of the court you hear is that you are banished from out of our jurisdiction as being a woman not fit for our society, and are to be imprisoned till the court shall send you away.

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

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

* A deputy I suppose of Ipswich.