

# "MAKERS OF AMERICA"

**THOMAS HOOKER**

**Preacher, Founder, Democrat**

**BY**

GEORGE LEON WALKER

NEW YORK

DOD MEAD, AND COMPANY

PUBLISHERS

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University Press

JOHN WILSON AND SON, CAMBRIDGE.

**PREFACE.**

ONE striking difference in the advantages possessed   
by a biographer of the more distinguished personages   
of the Massachusetts and of the Connecticut colonies   
is the comparative destitution, in the latter case, of   
the aids afforded by contemporaneous diaries, his­   
tories, and portraits. The lack of such writings   
in the Connecticut annals is a little surprising; the   
want of portraits may be considerably accounted for   
by the remoter and poorer conditions of the inland   
settlement.

No portrait or other contemporaneous representa­

tion of Mr. Hooker remains. The picture which   
prefaces this volume is taken from Niehaus's statue,   
ordered by the Commonwealth of Connecticut for the   
State Capitol; in the making of which the artist com­   
pared the likenesses of various and widely separated   
members of Mr. Hooker's lineal posterity, among   
whom exists, however, a strong family resemblance.   
Attired thus in the characteristic costume of the time,   
the figure affords a not improbably fair representation   
of the great Founder of the Colony.

vi ***PREFACE.***

The present writer had occasion, in 1884, in nar­   
rating the two hundred and fifty years' history of the  
 Hartford Church, of which Mr. Hooker was the first   
pastor, to publish, in a volume of local imprint and   
limited circulation, together with the biographies of   
subsequent pastors, the story of Mr. Hooker also.   
Subsequent repeated visits to the scenes of Mr.   
Hooker's English ministrations, as well as investiga­   
tions at home, have added to the facts there narrated.   
Still, in addressing on the same theme the wider con­   
stituency of the MAKERS OF AMERICA series, the writer   
could not, without awkwardness and even affectation,   
avoid the frequent use of language in which he had   
already narrated the same biographical and historical   
incidents. He has therefore drawn without hesitation   
on his own previous statements, so far as the altered   
proportions of a separate biography and added facts   
and illustrations suited him to do.

The valuable bibliography of Mr. Hooker's pub­   
lished writings (found in Appendix IL) was compiled   
by J. Hammond Trumbull, LL.D., to whom indebted­

ness is due, also, for the discovery and rescue from   
oblivion of the most important manuscript docu­   
ments illustrative of Mr. Hooker's chief title to   
remembrance.

HARTFORD, CONN.,

September 1, 1891.

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**LIFE OF THOMAS HOOKER.**

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH AND BOYHOOD ASSOCIATIONS.

*Come,* Hooker, *come forth of thy native soile.*

JOHNSON: Wonder-Working Providence, 1654.

THOMAS HOOKER was born at Marfield in Leicester   
County, England, probably on July 7, 1586. This   
little hamlet of Marfield -- variously spelled in Leices­   
ter records as Mardifeud, Marclefelde, Markfelde,   
Markfild, Marefield, as well as Marfield -- is one of   
four tithings which make up the parish of Tilton, or   
*Tilton super montem,* as the old chronicles often have   
it; the other three being Tilton, Halstead, and What­   
borough. These four tithings or towns have for their   
common place of worship the stately gray-stone   
church of St. Peter, dating from the days of King   
John, built on the hill-top corner of the Tilton pre­   
cinct of the parish, and commanding one of the   
widest and most beautiful landscape-views of Midland   
England. Around the church lies the churchyard,   
with four gates giving access to the four precincts of   
the ground allotted as a burial-place to the inhabitants

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of the four tithings which constitute the parish. The   
church itself is an interesting specimen of Early Eng­   
lish architecture, with embattled tower, surmounted   
by an old, but later-added spire, pierced by eight   
open windows, -- a landmark visible from far. The   
word " steeple-chase " is said to be of Leicester   
County origin, and to have been derived from the   
many spires surmounting the hill-tops of this county,   
toward some one of which, in default of game, the dis­   
appointed hunters directed their chase; the first to   
gain which was accounted victor as if he had been   
"in at the death" of fox or deer.

It is with a feeling of surprise that one sees so   
stately and beautiful an edifice in so comparatively   
quiet and solitary a spot. Four ancient bells hang   
in the tower, - three of them bearing the inscrip­   
tion *I. H. S. Nazarenvs. Rex. Ivdeorum. Fili. Dei.   
Misere. Mei.;* and one, of somewhat later date, the   
motto, *Praise the Lord.* These bells doubtless in   
former times summoned a far larger congregation to   
worship in the house below them than they can have   
gathered for several centuries past. The Wars of   
the Roses did much, in the two hundred years before   
the period at which our story begins, to depopu­   
late the whole region; but the wonder still remains   
here, as well as in many other parts of England, how   
such churches as the traveller finds in the quietest and   
most secluded portions of the land could have been   
built amid so sparse a population as at any time lived   
on the soil about them.

But in young Hooker's day matters in this respect

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of numbers attendant on the services of the parish­   
church could not have been much different from their   
condition at present. Twenty-two years before he   
was born a parliamentary return gives the number of   
houses in Tilton as twenty-eight, in Halstead as six­   
teen, in Whatborough one, and in " Markfield " six.   
To-day Marfield has five; though as late as 1882 the   
present writer saw some carved beams which had be­   
longed to another. These however, on a later exami­   
nation, in 1886, were found to have been destroyed.

The visitor to the region, therefore, may be confi­   
dent that he sees all things substantially as they were

when the boyish eyes of young Thomas Hooker looked   
upon them. The picturesque old church of mottled   
gray on Tilton hill-top, compassed round by the dead   
of the different precincts of the p1rish; the wide   
prospect of alternating woodland and open fields and   
spire-surmounted hills toward every compass-point;   
the old *Rose and Crown* Inn, which Cromwell made   
his head-quarters when his army lay in this vicinity;   
the thatch-covered houses which hang irregularly   
around the summit occupied by the church and its   
Acre of God; and the little Marfield hamlet em­   
bowered in trees down in the valley, about a mile   
and a half away, and approached through rustic gates   
and stiles which the visitor opens or climbs as he de­   
scends through the sweet green fields, -- all present a   
spectacle which cannot be materially different from   
the aspect it wore two and three hundred years ago.

Of the family ancestors of Thomas Hooker there is   
at present little known. His father, Thomas, appears

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to have come to Marfield from Blaston in the same   
county, in some capacity as overseer of the large   
landed properties of the Digby family; and as his   
grandfather bore the Christian name of" Kenellyme,"   
it seems to be indicated that the connection with the   
Digby family, with whom Kenelm was a frequently re­   
current name, must have been of long standing. The   
records of Tilton parish previous to 1610 having dis­   
appeared, it is impossible to state the date of young   
Thomas's birth or baptism. His mother, " Mrs.   
Hooker wife to Mr. Hooker of Marefield was buryed,"   
April, 1631; his father, "Thomas Hooker of Mare­   
field was hurried" July 24, 1635; and his brother   
"Mr. John Hooker of Marfeild were burryed,"Jan.   
25, 1654. These are all the references to the family   
which appear on the extant records of the parish.   
But the title "Mr.," used in mention both of the   
father and brother of our Thomas, indicates that the   
family was regarded as of honourable standing. The   
will of the brother John, above mentioned, dated   
Jan. I, 1654-5, a few days before he died, and   
proved at London on November 26 of the same   
year, as the will of "John Hooker of Marfield, Co.   
Leicester, Gentleman," gives the same impression of   
recognized social position. This will bequeaths to

"Samuel Hooker, student in New England, £ 100;"

and to "John Hooker, student at Oxford, £200."   
These were the two sons of our Thomas, who at the   
date of this will had been some seven years dead in   
Hartford. The first named, Samuel, was then about   
graduating at Harvard College, and soon -- in 1661

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-- to be minister at Farmington; and the other, John,   
was our Thomas's oldest son, of whom his dying father   
said in his will, July 7, 1647, "However I do not for­   
bid my sonne John from seeking and taking a wife in  
 England, yet I doe forbid him from marrying and tarry­  
 ing there." The young man did however marry and   
tarry there, and became a minister of the Episcopal   
church, rector of Lechamposted in Bucks, dying in   
1684. There were also in the Marfield family of our   
Thomas's father at least four daughters, one of whom   
married a "revolutionist by the name of Pymm;"   
another, Frances, married a Tarlton of London; an­   
other, Dorothy, married John Chester of Blaby, Lei­   
cester County; and another married Mr. John Alcock,   
afterward deacon of the church in Roxbury, Massa­   
chusetts. Who the mother was who presided over   
the crowded household in the little Marfield home is   
at present unknown. Little can be recorded of her  
 save that she lived long enough to see one of her   
boys become a preacher sufficiently famous to attract   
crowds whenever he spoke at the great parish-church   
of Leicester twelve miles away, to know of his exile  
 to Holland, and to mourn the death 1 of one of her   
daughters in that far American land to which that son   
was still some years later to flee.

The family life at Marfield may have been comfort-

able and happy, but it must have been narrow and   
limited. Its chief points of interest, outside the con­   
cerns of home and the labours by which home wants   
were provided for, must have been in the church.

1 Young's Massachusetts, p. 314.

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Even the material edifice which lifted itself as the   
most prominent object before the eye, contained many   
things suited to touch duller imaginations than young   
Thomas certainly had, or than were possessed probably   
by the whole group of brothers and sisters to whom   
the old building on the hill must have been at once   
the home of their fancy and their faith.

There was the quaint oct1gonal font at which had   
been baptized the generations of Tilton's parishioners

from near the days of the Conquest. There were the   
monumental effigies of Jehan de Digbie and his wife;   
he a crusader -- lying cross-legged with hand on his

half-drawn sword, at his feet a lion - who died in   
1269, and whose stone likeness was laid here not   
long after, with an inscription in old Norman French   
asking prayers; she, full-robed, large-moulded, lying   
by his side, a lap-dog at her feet. There, too, was   
another of the same \_family of a later generation,   
great-grandfather of a boy six years older than   
Thomas Hooker was, - which boy young Thomas   
might sometimes have seen at Tilton, where so much   
of the family property lay, - great-grandfather, that   
is to say, of Sir Everard Digby of the Gunpowder

Plot, executed in St. Paul's churchyard in 1606.

This old ancestor -of the youth who was to attain so

sinister an eminence lay there in coat-of-mail, a fleur­   
 de-lis on his shield ; having just before his death   
 executed his will: "I bequeathe my sowle to God all   
 myghty, our blessed lady Seynt Mary and all the   
 Seynts of heven, my baddie to be buryed in the   
 parishe church of Seynt Peter at Tilton, before the

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Ymage of the blessect Trinitie att our Lady authur.''   
Other monuments and escutcheons were there beside,   
to waken inquiry and to freshen fireside-legend and   
romantic tale.

Who the vicar of the parish was in Hooker's boy­   
hood is probably only learned from a broken brass   
tablet in the church at Knossington, recording the   
burial-place of "Thomas Bayle ... sometime rector   
of Tilton;" who, because we know who came before   
and after him, may with considerable likelihood be   
believed to have been the minister by whom Hooker   
was baptized. Vicar Bayle was succeeded by Chris­   
topher Denne. Little is known of him, except that   
he was the Tilton rector in 16 ro, and was probably a   
young man, as he had children christened between   
then and 1613, as shown by the parish records.

But concerning another minister of the parish in   
Hooker's early manhood, and for several years before   
his brother John's burial in the Marfield grave-plot,   
there is quite definite information. It is a sort of   
information, moreover, which sheds a good deal of   
light, not only on the religious condition of that   
parish, but on that of the important county of   
Leicester and of the country generally.

In the Minute-books of the Parliamentary Com­

mittee of Sequestration in the Bodleian Library, it is   
recorded, under elate of 1645-6, that" Thomas Silver­   
wood, minister to the Assembly, is referred to the   
church at Tilton." An entry of a later date, 1647,   
explains matters: "Whereas the Vicarage of the   
parish of Tilton, in the County of Leicester, is, and

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standeth, sequestrated by the Committee of Parlia­   
ment from Dr. Manwaring for his delinquency, it is   
ordered that the said Vicarage shall stand and be   
sequestrated to the use henceforth of Thomas Silver­   
wood, a godly and orthodox divine, and appointed   
to officiate said cure by the said Committee of   
Parliament." The nature of Dr. Manwaring's " delin­   
quency" appears from the report of the Parliamentary   
Survey of the Churches in Leicester County, on which   
the action of the Parliament in "sequestrating" one   
minister "from" and another "to" the livings of   
the various Leicester parishes is based. That report   
divides the Leicester County ministers into "three   
sorts," - first, "Preachers, " of whom there were one   
hundred and fifty-three; second, "No Preachers,"   
by which is meant "no preaching and dumb   
ministers," as those who could or would only   
conduct service by the use of a liturgy were called,   
and of these there were seventy-six; third, "scan­   
dalous of both the former sorts, and they arc *32."*The report further divides the first-mentioned   
"sort" of ministers in Leicester, namely, "Preach­   
ers," into four classes, -- "sufficient, 102; weak   
and unprofitable, 25; careless and negligent, 20;   
corrupt and unsound, 6."

The particular incumbent of the Tilton vicarage is   
set down as "no preacher and a pluralitan," from   
which the inference is that the Tilton vicar was an   
anti-Puritan or perhaps high prelatical man, who   
insisted on confining himself to the liturgy of the   
church and declined to preach, and that he held

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some other living beside that of Tilton. That he   
was "Dr." Manwaring -- as well as Prebendary of

Weeford, as is ascertainable from another source than   
the parliamentary statement about him -- suggests   
that his "no preaching " depended rather upon his   
will than his ability ; making him to differ in this   
respect from a great many of the clergy of the day,   
whose pulpit incapacities were those of ignorance   
more than of choice.

What set young Hooker on a course of education   
cannot in particular be discovered. There can be no   
considerable doubt, however, that the place of his   
preparatory training for the University was the school   
at Market-Bosworth, established by Sir Wolstan Dixie,   
a wealthy Londoner having landed property at that   
place, and which was founded in 1586, the same year   
in which it is believed Hooker was born. Market­   
Bosworth lies about twenty-five miles west from   
Marfield, and close to the celebrated Bosworth-field,   
where Henry, Earl of Richmond, defeated and killed   
Richard III.

The evidence on which this statement of the prob­   
able place of Hooker's early education rests, is the   
fact that he afterward occupied at Emmanuel College   
one of the two Wolstan Dixie fellowships, the conditions   
of which demand that the incumbent be either a   
relative of the founder or a graduate of Market-Bos­   
worth School.1 And this connection of the school   
with Emmanuel College may be taken also as an in­   
dication of the quality of the religious influences

1 Cambridge Calendar; Ackermann's Cambridge, ii. 234.

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under which learners were there brought. For Em­   
manuel was distinctly a Puritan institution, and Sir

Wolstan's establishment of the two fellowship foun­   
dations there, which still bear his name, must at least   
signify that the preparatory school he endowed would  
 be in sympathy with the Puritan side in then existing   
ecclesiastical controversies. Probably the same in­   
ference may be drawn· concerning the tendency of   
the parochial instruction imparted to the pupils in   
their residence at Market-Bosworth; for Rev. Wil­   
liam Pelsant, who was rector there for more than fifty   
years, dying in 1634, was one of the first of the board   
of the school governors appointed by its founder.

It was in all likelihood while Hooker was at this   
school, and about a year before his going to the   
University, that an anxiously anticipated event oc­   
curred, which was looked for by all parties in the relig­   
ious commonwealth as destined to affect profoundly   
the course of ecclesiastical affairs, -- the death of

Elizabeth, and the accession of the Scottish Presby­   
terian James to the English monarchy. The long   
reign of Elizabeth had been a protracted endeavour

to maintain Conformity to the laws and ritual of the   
Church against Puritanism and Separatism; as the   
doctrines of those who desired to purify the polity and   
the usages of the Church, or those who desired to sep­   
arate entirely from any national religious establishment   
whatever, were respectively called. The numbers   
who preferred actual divorcement from the State   
Church were, indeed, few compared with those who   
only wanted a reform of the administration and prac-

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tice within it. Some distinctly Separatist movements   
there had been in England as early as 1566, and   
more important on s arose near the close of the great   
queen's reign; but the great body of devout objectors   
to the existing system of affairs were Puritans, not   
Separatists. And as the Puritans generally agreed   
with the Genevan Reformers in matters of faith, a   
Puritan came to stand for a man of strict morals, a   
Calvinist in doctrine, and a non-conformist to the   
rules and discipline of the Church, though not a re­   
nouncer of its fellowship or a denier of its churchly   
character.

Into the struggle which turmoiled nearly the whole   
of her reign by the conflict of the dissentient religious   
parties in the realm, the queen put the entire strength   
of her character and will. She established a High   
Commission Court, of which even the Romanist his­   
torian Lingard, comparing it with the Inquisition,   
declares,1 " The chief difference consisted in their   
names." The Commission varied at different periods   
of its existence in its personnel and its powers; but   
at its ripest development, as ordered under the Great   
Seal in December, 1583, was composed of some   
forty-four bishops, privy-councillors, lawyers, and offi­   
cers of State, any three of whom, under the general   
presidency of a bishop, constituted a court endued   
with full power to inquire into and punish by fine,   
deprivation, or imprisonment all opinions or practices   
different from those of the Established Church. This   
High Commission vindicated its character, as de-

1 History of England, vol. v. chap. vi,

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scribed by Hume, as a "real Inquisition, attended   
with all the iniquities as well as cruelties inseparable   
from that tribunal." 1 Put into effective operation by   
Archbishop Whitgift, in the single first year of his   
administration, 1584, two hundred and thirty-three   
ministers were suspended in six counties of Canter­   
bury alone.2

Under the vigorous procedures of this body no less   
than a fourth part of the clergy of England were, at   
one time and another, under suspension; and this   
not on account of any moral misbehaviour or neglect  
 of pastoral duty, but on account of conscientious con­   
victions which prevented their wearing certain pre­   
scribed ecclesiastical vestments, their baptizing with  
 the sign of the cross, their use of the ring in marriage,   
their assent to the apostolical succession of the epis­   
copate, and their obedience to churchly regulations   
which were, in their opinion, unjustified by Scripture.   
To people of our comfortable time some of these   
particulars of Puritan objection to the prescribed  
 usages of the Church Establishment may doubtless   
seem insignificant; but to the actors on the then ex­   
isting stage they were immensely important. The  
 surplice was the badge of that hierarchical separation   
of ministry and people which long ages of ecclesi­   
astical oppression had made offensive, and which the   
Puritans believed was inconsistent with the doctrine  
 of the brotherhood of all believers in Christ. The  
 sign of the cross in baptism was a reminder of a whole   
class of superstitious ceremonies which had come

l Eliz., chap. xli. 2 Neal, i. 157.

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down from a corrupted past, in which the symbol of   
the crucifix was accorded a magical efficacy in exor­   
cising evil spirits, in warding off physical dangers, as   
well as in securing spiritual benefits. The ring in   
marriage was the token of that ecclesiastical doctrine   
which made marriage exclusively a religious sacra­   
under the care and authority of the Church.   
The bowing at the name of Jesus was a seeming im­   
peachment of the reverence due equally to the Father   
and the Spirit. The observance of saints' days brought   
recollections of ecclesiastical impositions which bur­   
dened life with their restrictions and bound time in   
fetters and obligations hard to bear. The rule of bish­   
ops associated with temporal dignities and powers   
seemed to the Puritan not only an assumption of un­   
warranted authority by one soul over another soul, but   
an intrusion of churchly functions into a department   
of things not legitimately its own. These objections   
were not to the participators in the then ·waging con­   
flict matters of whimsey or sentiment. Every one of   
them stood for and represented a principle. As a na­   
tional flag may be the symbol of principles central to   
a people's life, and of memories in which are gath­   
ered up generations of history, so to the Puritan of   
Elizabeth's day the ring, the cross, the surplice, were   
symbols of the whole of that great conflict which had   
been waging in England and Europe for centuries   
between freedom and authority, between individual   
conscience and established privilege.  
 It is impossible to conceive of any intelligent house­  
hold in England, still less of any company of students

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even if not yet quite attained to university standing,   
as unconcerned in the bearing upon this great conflict   
of such an event as took place in 1603, when the   
uncouth and polemic James succeeded to the throne   
vacated by the strong-willed virgin queen.

All those who had in any degree sympathized with   
the Puritan side in the struggle, looked now for some   
measure of relief from the compellant hand of Con­   
formity. The expectation was certainly not irrational.   
James had been brought up a Presbyterian. He had   
written Calvinistic commentaries on the Scriptures.   
He had been the ostentatious champion of the anti­   
prelatical views of the continental reformed churches.   
He was a man of scholarship, and many hoped a man

of Puritan convictions.

But whatever hopes of this kind were awakened   
were destined to early disappointment. James was   
met on his journey up to London from Edinburgh by   
a deputation of Puritan ministers, bearing what is   
known as the Millenary Petition from the popularly   
supposed thousand of its signatures. Some seven   
hundred and fifty of the clergy of England united in   
this document entitled "The humble Petition of the   
Ministers of the Church of England desiring Refor­   
mation of certain Ceremonies and Abuses of that   
Church." 1 The first specified matter needing refor­   
mation mentioned in the petition related to church   
services; and as it refers to what was the main issue   
between the Conformist and Puritan parties, it may   
be well to quote that portion of it here:2 --

1 Neal, i. 228. 2 Strype's Whitgift, ii. 479, 480.

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"Namely, first, In the *'Church service,'* the *cross* in   
Baptism, *interrogatories* ministered to infants; *confirma­   
tions,* as superfluous, to be taken away: Baptism not to   
be ministered by women, and so explained: the cap and   
surplice not to be urged: that examination might go   
before the Communion: that it might be ministered with   
a sermon: that divers terms, *viz.* of *Priests,* and *absolu­   
tion* and some other used, with the ring in marriage and   
other such like in the book, might be corrected: the   
longsomeness of suits abridged: Church songs and music   
moderated to better edification: that the Lord's day   
might not be profaned: the rest upon holydays not so   
strictly urged: that there might be an uniformity of doc­   
trine prescribed: no popish opinions to be any more   
taught or defended: no Ministers charged to teach their   
people to bow at the name of Jesus: that the Canonical   
Scriptures be only read in the Church."

In response to this petition the king appointed a   
meeting at Hampton Court ostensibly to confer with   
representatives of the petitioners about the proposed   
reforms. The king nominated the disputants on   
both sides: those for the Establishment being nine   
bishops, seven deans, one archdeacon and two doc­   
tors in divinity; while the Puritans were represented   
by only four of their ministers, Drs. Reynolds and  
 Sparke of Oxford, and Mr. Knewstubs and Mr.   
Chaderton of Cambridge. The meetings continued  
 for three days about the middle of January, 1604, --   
the Puritans being admitted to audience only on the   
second and third, -- and were, so far as any substantial   
result in approximating the two parties in issue, or   
in providing relief for conscientious dissent from the   
established usages of the Elizabethan settlement was

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concerned, an entire failure. A few minor matters of   
offence to the petitioners were indeed promised re­   
dress, - baptism by women and the reading of such   
portions of the Apocrypha as have "some repugnancy   
to the canonical Scripture " among them;1 but as to   
the main body of the usages objected to, the king was   
found their defender. He put himself into the hands   
of the ecclesiastics, who delightedly declared, by the   
mouth of Whitgift, their archbishop, "undoubtedly   
his Majesty spoke by the especial assistance of God's   
Spirit." 2 He badgered the Puritan representatives

with taunting questions and brow-beating lecturings;   
commanded them to "awaie with their snyvelings," 8   
and wound up the interview with the declaration:  
 "If this be all your party have to say, I will make   
them conform, or I will harry them out of the land,   
or else worse." 4

The king and the bishops were mightily pleased   
with their part in the conference. Bancroft, falling   
on his knees, declared: "I protest my heart melteth   
for joy, that Almighty God, of his singular mercy, has   
given us such a king as since Christ's time has not   
been." *6* And James wrote to a friend in Scotland   
about keeping "a revel with the Puritans this two   
days such as was never heard the like," having   
"peppered them" with such arguments that they   
"fled from him" like schoolboys.6

1 Strype's Whitgift, ii. 501. 2 Ibid. 498.

3 W. Barlow, The Summe and Substance of the Conference

at Hampton Court.

4 Neal, i. 2.32. 5 Ibid. 233.

6 Strype's Whitgift, ii. 500.

*BIRTH AND BOYHOOD.*

Echoes of these events on the public stage must   
have reached quieter places than Market-Bosworth,   
whence Hooker was just taking his departure, and   
must have afforded topic for interested and wonder­   
ing comment to duller wits than those with whom he   
had been there associated. Two months later found   
him at Cambridge and the University.

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CHAPTER II.

EDUCATION AND RESIDENCE AT CAMBRIDGE.

*When he was fellow of* Emmanuel

*Much learning in his solid head did dwell.*

SAMUEL STONE: *Elegiac Verses,* 1648.

THE Cambridge at which Thomas Hooker arrived   
in 1604, bore many traces of that Puritan influence   
which in this university, much more than at Oxford,   
had marked the history of the previous century. A   
very considerable number of the members of the   
university who after the Marian exile returned to   
their former or to higher posts in its service, came   
back with more pronounced views of nonconformity   
than those they carried with them abroad. At Zurich,   
Geneva, Frankfort, or Basel they had been received   
with hospitality by the continental reformers, and had   
come in many instances still more fully to sympathize   
with the theological opinions and the practices in   
church usage which characterized the theologians   
of Southwestern Germany and Switzerland. Men   
like the two brothers Pilkington, successively mas­   
ters of St. John's College, and Roger Zelke, mas­   
ter of Magdalen, brought back with them from   
their exile an opposition to "ceremonies" as pro-

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nounced almost as that of any Separatist; an oppo­   
sition which the elder Pilkington carried with him   
into the exercise of his bishopric of Durham when   
promoted thither.

But the most potent influence which had affected   
Cambridge emanated from Thomas Cartwright, Mar­   
garet Professor of Divinity, who preached and taught   
both the doctrine and polity of Geneva, and profoundly   
influenced the younger and rising class of fellows and   
scholars. Under his powerful impression the spirit   
of dissent from the prescribed ritual grew rapidly.   
Undergraduates and fellows in many of the colleges   
objected to the surplice, declined to kneel at the sac­   
rament, and deemed the hierarchical orders of the   
ministry unscriptural. Theological degrees were de­   
nounced as being an attempt on the part of secular   
institutions to determine who might properly teach in   
religious matters.

And even when, as in the case of Dr. Whitgift, --   
successively Margaret and Regius Professor of Divin­   
ity, master of Trinity, and vice-chancellor of the uni­   
versity, - no sympathy with nonconformity was found,   
there was often a high degree of accordancy with the   
continental divines in matters of theology. It was in   
1595 that what are known as the Lambeth Articles --   
so called from the place of their subscription at the pal­   
ace of that name in London, and beyond comparison   
the most vigorous symbol of Calvinism ever framed as   
an expression of English faith -- were written by Dr.   
Whitaker, who succeeded Whitgift as Regius Pro­   
fessor of Divinity at Cambridge, and were approved

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by Whitgift himself, now elevated to the Archbishop­   
ric of Canterbury. The prevalent tone of teaching in   
the university was Calvinistic. The most celebrated   
preacher in Cambridge for nearly twenty years before   
Hooker's coming there was Rev. William Perkins,   
fellow of Christ College and lecturer at Great St.   
Andrews, a thorough Puritan in principles and a vig­   
orous expounder of Genevan theology.

Mr. Perkins was repeatedly summoned before the   
Commission on account of his irregularities in   
matter of ritual, and authorities are somewhat at vari­   
ance as to his having been or not having been ulti­   
mately put under interdict. But at his death in 1602   
the town and the university contended for the privi­   
lege of being foremost in bemoaning his loss. Into   
the rather warmly heated atmosphere of doctrinal and   
ecclesiastical controversies such as are thus indicated,   
young Hooker was introduced on his university en­   
trance at about eighteen years of age. Cotton   
Mather says I that he was born " of parents that were   
neither unable nor unwilling to bestow upon him a   
liberal education." But to one acquainted with the   
narrow conditions of life, such as must have been lived   
at Marfield, it can occasion no surprise that, like many   
another university scholar destined to after eminence,   
Hooker entered college in a position implying some   
inferiority of pecuniary resource. He was matricu­   
lated at Queen's College assizar, March 2 7, 1604;

1 Magnalia (ed. 1820), i. 303.

2 Records of the College, and letters of librarians of that in-  
 stitution and Emmanuel.

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a sizar at Cambridge being, like a batteller at Oxford,   
a student who waits upon the fellows at table, and who   
generally, in consideration of these and other services,   
is personally exempt from college charges. At some   
uncertain date, however, he was transferred to Emman­   
uel College, where he appears to have been on taking   
his B. A. degree in January, 1608, and his M.A. in   
1611.

Occupying one of the two Wolstan Dixie fellow­   
ship foundations he remained for an indeterminable   
but considerable period, prosecuting his studies, and,   
in the latter part of the time certainly, engaging insome form of clerical work. Here then at Cam­   
bridge, as a student for certainly seven years, and as a   
fellow resident for some years more, Thomas Hooker   
was, from eighteen to probably at least twenty-eight   
years of age, in the focus of Puritanism, and in the   
midst of some of the most considerable actors in the   
great events of the time. How much of acquaint­   
anceship was had among particular students of the   
university, it is impossible of course more than to con­   
jecture; but it is interesting to note that there were   
in Cambridge during these important years of col­   
lege experience several men who in the chances of   
after life were to be thrown more or less intimately,   
and some of them quite intimately, into Hooker's   
fellowship.

Nathaniel Ward, afterward to be minister of the   
gospel in Ipswich, New England, and author of the   
"Simple Cobbler of Agawam," had just taken his mas­   
ter's degree at Emmanuel in 1603, a year before

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Hooker entered the university, and was pursuing   
there his divinity studies. William Ames, with whom   
Hooker was subsequently to be joined in the care of   
the church of exiles in Rotterdam, and in the publi­   
cation of Ames's book against Ceremonies, a graduate   
of Christ College, was resident in Cambridge nearly   
all the time till Hooker became a fellow at Emmanuel,   
and was already challenged by the authorities for his   
outspokenness against church vestments, and his pub­   
lic denunciation of games countenanced by the clergy.   
Peter Bulkley, afterward to be associated with Hooker   
in the moderatorship of more than one historic New   
England assembly, and pastor of the church in Con­   
cord, was taking his M. A. at St. John's College in   
1605, a year after Hooker's arrival at Cambridge.   
John Cotton, a year older than Hooker, and a student   
of earlier start in letters, who was to sail in the same   
vessel with him across the seas, and to be to Massa­   
chusetts what Hooker was to Connecticut, reached   
his B. A. at Emmanuel a year before Hooker was   
matriculated, and arrived at his M.A. in 1606. Fran­   
cis Higginson, Hooker's junior by a year, who was to   
precede both him and Cotton in the American enter­   
prise, attained his B. A. at Jesus College a year later,   
and his M. A. two years later, than Hooker's arrival   
at the same standing. John Wilson, Hooker's junior   
by two years, and afterward so long Cotton's associate   
in the pastorate of the Boston church, entered Kings   
College in 1602, and after pursuing the usual univer­   
sity course, and attempting awhile the study of law,   
returned in 1610 to Cambridge to put himself under

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the special instruction of Mr. Ames, and to prosecute   
his studies in divinity.

All these and several other afterward distinguished   
men who were to be in one way or another closely   
associated with Hooker in his subsequent history,   
were in Cambridge during some part of his residence   
there ; and with them all it was quite possible, and with   
several of them altogether probable, that he had per­   
sonal acquaintance.

The particular college with which Thomas Hooker   
was most identified -- Emmanuel -- and where he   
held one of the Wolstan Dixie fellowships, was, from   
its foundation, regarded as a Puritan institution. It   
was established in 1584 by a charter granted by Eliza­   
beth to Sir Walter Mildmay, a prominent statesman   
and councillor in the service of that sovereign, and   
employed by her in many responsible trusts. There   
is nothing in the charter of the institution to suggest   
any deviation from the established order, but ru­   
mours of its founder's intention to encourage dissent   
were early promulgated; and the queen, on his coming   
to court soon after the allowance of the new institu­   
tion, is said to have .addressed him: "Sir Walter, I   
hear yon have erected a Puritan foundation;" to   
which he is said to have made reply, "No, madam,   
far be it from me to countenance anything contrary   
to your established laws; but I have set an acorn   
which, when it becomes an oak, God alone knows   
what will be the fruit thereof." 1 Something of the   
diplomatist is probably discoverable in this reply, espe-

1 Cooper's Annals of Cambridge, ii. 354.

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cially as Sir Walter conditioned his foundation of the   
college upon the acceptance by Laurence Chaderton   
of the mastership. Chaderton had always the repu­   
tation of belonging to the Puritan side in the then cur­   
rent controversies. As such he was chosen by James   
as one of the four ministers to represent the Puritan   
cause in the famous mock-conference at Hampton   
Court a few years later; on which occasion he is said   
to have fallen on his knees and entreated the railing   
king that the " wearing of the *surplis* and the vse of   
the *Crosse in Baptisme* might not be vrged vpo some   
honest, godly, and painfull ministers in some partes of   
*Lancashire."* 1 A pious and learned man, he was one   
of the translators of the new version of the Bible au­   
thorized by James; the section on which he with his   
immediate co-labourers was employed being "from   
Chronicles to Canticles, inclusive." Chaderton lived   
to be one hundred and three years old; and though   
he is spoken of as a " moderate " man in his spirit,   
he had fire enough in his bones in 1622, at eighty­   
six years of age, to resign the mastership of Emman­   
uel in favour of the celebrated Calvinistic preacher   
John Preston, fearing that otherwise an Arminian suc­   
cessor might be chosen.

And it must be confessed that Emmanuel College

under his and Mr. Preston's guidance vindicated the   
character given to it by Carter at a somewhat later   
date than Chaderton's day, as "neither more nor less

1Barlow's Summe and Substance, p. 99.

2 Ackermann's Cambridge, ii. 237.

3 Ibid.

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than a mere nursery of Puritans."1 During the Com­   
monwealth no less than eleven masters of other colleges   
in Cambridge were graduates of Emmanue1, all more   
or less distinct representatives of Puritan views.

A single but very significant hint of the temper of   
things in Emmanuel remains to this day. Alone of   
all the college chapels in Cambridge or Oxford, its   
original chapel - now, indeed, disused for this ser­   
vice, and employed as the library - stands, as built   
by Sir Walter, facing north and south instead of east   
and west. A report made to Archbishop Laud in   
16*33* of the condition of affairs at the college, prob­   
ably gives a substantially accurate account of matters as  
 they were twenty years before, when Hooker occupied  
 a fellowship there. The reporter says:--

"In Emmanuel College their chappel is not conse­   
crate. At Surplice prayers they sing nothing but certain   
riming Psalms of their own appointment instead of ye   
Hymmes between ye Lessons. And at Lessons they read   
not after ye order appointed in ye Callendar, but after   
another continued course of their own. All Service is   
there done and performed by the Minister alone. When   
they preach or Commonplace they omit all service after   
ye first or second Lesson at ye furthest." 2

Indeed, the vigour of Emmanuel's Puritanism was   
a popular proverb. The doggerel and ridiculing lines   
of the "Mad Puritan" in Percy's Ballads have all   
their significance from the recognized character of the   
college to which they refer:--

1Ackermann's Cambridge, ii. 228.

2 Cooper's Annals of Cambridge, ii. 383.

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"In the house of pure Emmanuel  
 I had my education;

Where, my friends surmise,  
 I dazzled my eyes

With the light of Revelation.

"Boldly I preach,

Hate a cross and a surplice;  
 Mitres, copes, and rochets;   
Come hear me pray,

Nine times a day,

And fill your head with crotchets."

The avowed design of Sir Walter Mildmay in estab­   
lishing a new college was to train up a "godly minis­   
try;" and however wise or unwise minor features of   
the administration may have been, tried by the test of   
its avowed intention Emmanuel was certainly a suc­   
cess. The acorn planted only in 1584, which before   
Cromwell's time had fruited with such names -- not   
to mention any already spoken of-.-as William Brad­   
shaw, Ralph Cudworth, John Richardson, John Har­   
vard, William Eyre, Jeremiah Burroughs, Ephraim   
Udal, Richard Holdsworth, Thomas Shepard, Samuel   
Hudson, Thomas Hill, Nathaniel Rogers, Stephen   
Marshall, Samuel Stone, Anthony Burgess, William   
Bridge, Anthony Tuckney, and Bishop Hall, among   
many others nearly or equally distinguished, must   
surely be regarded as an acorn well worth planting.

Of Hooker's personal experiences during the years   
of his residence in Cambridge scanty authentic me­   
morials remain. These years themselves were marked   
by some events on the public stage which must have   
been felt at Cambridge quite as sensibly as anywhere

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else. It was in his second year's residence that the   
plot to blow up the king and Parliament in the inter­   
est of the Romanist party, by Catesby, Digby, Guy   
Fawkes, and others, was discovered just in time to   
have no worse consequences than the execution of the   
conspirators. It was just when he was taking his B. A.,   
in 1608, that John Robinson and his Scrooby church,   
unable to find toleration for Independency in England,   
sought refuge and liberty in Holland. Two years later,   
James, the whilom Presbyterian of Scotland, forced   
Episcopacy into the country north of the Tweed.

It was just as Hooker was taking his M.A., in 1611**,**

that James inaugurated the protracted fight of the   
Stuarts with the Commons of England by dissolving   
his first Parliament. The years following, to 1620, saw   
the clouds of civil and religious trouble steadily deep­   
ening. They beheld the scandals of Somerset's eleva­   
tion to power, of Overbury's murder, of the sale of   
peerages for money payments, of the dismissal of   
Lord Coke, of the rise to supremacy of the ignorant

but dangerous Buckingham. They saw the peremp­

tory dissolution of James's second Parliament, the ne­   
gotiations for the marriage of Prince Charles with the

Infanta of Spain, the execution of Sir Walter Raleigh,   
the outbreak in Europe of the Thirty Years' War, -- a   
struggle virtually between Protestantism and Roman­   
ism, -- and perhaps least noticed of all, the planting   
of Plymouth Colony in America by English exiles for   
the sake of religious liberty. These things, and mat­   
ters involved in them, could not but have been things   
of interest, and some of them of intense concern, to

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the nearly three thousand students of the various   
colleges of the university.

But to Hooker himself an event which occurred   
apparently after his reception of his master's degree   
and during his residence as Dixie fellow, was of   
greater personal moment than any yet alluded to.   
This event, to use phrases which he was accustomed   
to employ in characterizing similar experiences in   
others, was his Effectual Calling, and Implantation   
into Christ. Whatever may have hitherto been his   
religious convictions or feelings, this was the period   
of that great spiritual crisis which he would have   
called his conversion.

That his processes of mind in this passage of his   
inward history should have been sombre and tumul­  
 tuous might easily be anticipated. Such was the   
common course of religious experience in his time.   
And there is reason to believe that it was unusually   
common at Cambridge, where the strenuous presenta­   
tion of some of the sterner features of the Calvinistic   
system, by powerful popular preachers like Perkins,   
Baynes, and Gibbs, had given a kind of established   
direction to the courses of men's experience under the   
operation of strong religious emotions. But there was   
also something in Mr. Hooker's temperament, and   
probably something also, as we shall have occasion   
hereafter to see, in his theological views and tenden­   
cies, to make this religious struggle in his own case   
unusually protracted and severe. He is said1 to have   
long afterward observed of this passage of his experi-

1 Magnalia, i. 303.

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ence, "that in the time of his agonies, he could reason   
himself to the rule, and conclude that there was no way  
 but submission to God, and lying at the foot of his   
mercy in Christ Jesus, and waiting humbly there till   
he should please to perswade the soul of his favour;   
nevertheless, when he came to apply this rule unto him­   
self, in his own condition, his reasoning would fail him,   
he was able to do nothing." Readers of his treatise on  
 the "Soules Humiliation" will not wonder why he found   
it hard to apply his "rule " to his own case, or why  
 his reasoning failed him. The extreme conceptions   
of what is involved in a true submission of the soul   
to God set forth in that treatise, and to some extent   
in other of Mr. Hooker's writings, have always, when­   
ever presented, been a source of perplexity to men.   
As expounded a hundred and fifty years later in the   
writings of Samuel Hopkins, they not only introduced   
an era of controversy in theological debate, but a   
period of bewilderment and trouble in the individual   
religious experience of multitudes. The making\_a   
willingness to be lost a condition precedent to a   
reasonable hope of being saved, whether prescribed by   
Hooker or his son-in-Jaw Shepard, or by the cele­   
brated Newport divine who has in New England   
theology given his name to the particular dogma in   
question, is and must ever be a prescription perplex­  
 ing and embarrassing to the process of most people's  
 religious experience.

How far this particular notion of what is necessary

before a soul can rest in a cheerful hope of God's  
 mercy actually embarrassed the process of attaining

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that quietude in Hooker's own case, it is probably   
impossible to say; but his doubts and perturbations   
were protracted. He is said1 to have remarked, "I   
can compare with any man living for fears." And it   
is not without a touch of pathos that it is recorded2   
that one considerable source of relief to him in this   
time of trouble came from the young sizar who waited   
upon him, whose "prudent and piteous carriage"   
and "discreet and proper compassions" were of   
"singular help." The giver of this important aid was   
Mr. Simeon Ashe, afterward a graduate of Emmanuel,  
 a minister in Staffordshire, chaplain to the Earl of   
Warwick in the civil wars, rector of St. Austin in   
London for twenty years, and though, as Calamy says,   
"a nonconformist of the old stamp," one of the divines   
who went to Breda to meet Charles II just before his   
restoration. The piety and moderation of which the   
general course of this Puritan minister's history was   
an illustration, had apparently one of its earlier and   
most useful manifestations in helping to lead the Fellow   
whom it was his function to serve into a more cheer­   
ful assurance of religious welfare.

There appears to be evidence that after passing   
this crisis-point in his religious history, Mr. Hooker   
continued a considerable time in the university as   
catechist and lecturer. Here and in the vicinity he   
began the systematic development into sermonic form   
of those essays on experimental religion which consti­   
tuted always the main bulk of his preaching, and over   
the general track of which he seems again and again

1 Magnalia, i. 314**.** 2 Ibid. 303.

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to have gone, at Cambridge, at Chelmsford, and in his   
successive ministries in Holland and America. These   
sermons, which are in effect a kind of body of divinity,   
not so much of the doctrinal as of the experimental   
kind, were immensely popular. They grew out of,   
and were exactly suited to, the religious feeling of the   
period. They gave their author an immediate and   
wide distinction as a powerful applier of the gospel to   
men's hearts and consciences. They were circulated   
to some extent in copies enlarged from short-hand   
notes surreptitiously taken. They were collected with   
less or more accuracy into volumes published not   
always with their author's knowledge or sanction. And   
they make up in the whole that body of writing about   
the general subject of the application of religion to   
the soul, which as one substantially connected   
treatise, though divided in title into various subordi­   
nate portions, there will be occasion hereafter more   
particularly, though briefly, to notice.

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CHAPTER III.

HOOKER'S ENGLISH MINISTRY.

*His knowledge in Theologie Divine,*

*In* Chelmsford *Lectures divers years did shine.*

SAMUEL STONE: *Elegiac Verses.*

LEAVING out of view the functions which Mr.   
Hooker may have performed as catechist and lecturer   
while still resident at Cambridge, the probable period   
of his exercise of ministerial duty in England was ten   
or twelve years, -- that is to say, from 1618 or 1620 to   
his flight to Holland in 1630. This space of time was   
all included in the duration of the archbishopric of   
George Abbot, who had been appointed to the pri­   
macy on the death of Bancroft in 1610. These   
twenty-two years of Abbot's nominal headship of   
the Church of England, and especially the last thir­   
teen of them which cover the period of Hooker's   
English ministry, were momentous years in Puritan   
story. Abbot himself was a Calvinist, and by convic­   
tion attached to the cause of Puritanism and the Par­   
liament. He advocated a definite policy of Protes­   
tantism abroad, and it was his influence which sent   
English representatives to the Synod of Dort in   
1618-19. He favoured the maintenance of the Puritan   
Lectureships, which had become so extended a part   
of the machinery employed for the dissemination of

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the principles of which nonconformity stood the rep­   
resentative. By his doctrinal sympathies with his   
pragmatic sovereign and by his official place as head   
of the hierarchy, he seemed to stand in a favourable   
for mediating between the contending parties   
in the civil and religious commonwealths. But Abbot   
had no skill as a reconciler; events were too strong for   
him, perhaps were too strong for any one. The years   
of his primacy saw the progressively definite identifica­   
tion of Puritanism with the Parliament, of prerogative   
with churchly authority. The Presbyterian king put   
himself increasingly into the hand of Arminian pre­   
lacy; the Commons more and more accepted the   
leadership of Calvinistic nonconformity.

The great figure on the stage of this generation of

English story, and the great power by which this defi­   
nition of party lines was effected, was William Laud.   
Laud had been from his university days a rival and   
opponent of the archbishop; and during all the later   
years of Abbot's nominal headship of the establish­   
ment it was far more the inferior than the superior   
church-functionary who gave direction to the course   
of religious affairs, and influenced the counsels of his   
sovereign. Laud's advancement was rapid, and in­   
dicative alike of his personal abilities and of the   
growing conviction on the part of the king, which he   
formulated in the characteristic saying, "Presbyteri­   
anism agreeth as well with monarchy as God and the   
devil." In 1611 Laud was appointed president of   
St. John's College, Oxford. The same year made him   
also chaplain to the king. The year 1616 saw him

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Dean of Gloucester; in 1621 he was Bishop of St.   
David's; in 1626, of Bath and Wells; in 1628, of the   
important See of London. He guided, almost regu­   
lated, the church patronage by giving the king a list of   
the clergy, marked for advancement or neglect by the   
cabalistic sign "O" or "P" (Orthodox or Puritan)   
affixed to their names. His hand, as there will be   
occasion to see, was in every considerable event of the   
period covered by our Hooker's English ministry.

This ministry began in Mr. Hooker's appointment,   
probably some time between 1618 and 1620, to the   
rectorship of the little parish of Esher in Surrey, a   
small place sixteen miles southwest from the Parlia­   
ment houses in London.

That Mr. Hooker's principles allowed him to go   
there was owing to the fact that the living was a dona­   
tive one, -- given, that is to say, directly by the patron   
of the benefice, a Mr. Francis Drake, and not requir­   
ing presentation to the bishop and induction by his   
order; to which presentation Mr. Hooker's non­   
conforming views would not allow him to accede,   
and which would therefore have availed to exclude   
him from the greater part of the benefices in England.   
Esher 1 was and is a pleasant, small village, built on a   
rising ground a little distance from the Thames, and in­   
cludes in its parochial boundaries two or three ancient   
manorial properties, one of which, Esher Place, was   
occupied by Carclin:11 Wolsey after his disgrace; an­   
other, Clermont, was formerly the home of Lord

1 Manning's History and Antiquities of Surrey, vol. ii.: art.   
"Esher."

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Clive; then of Princess Charlotte, and now of the   
widow of Prince Leopold. Adjoining Esher Common   
is the tract of ground which used to be known as   
Sandon Farm, now the scene of the Sandon races.

That Esher was, and is still, a little village with so   
much that is picturesque in its situation and conven­   
ient in its proximity to the city, the rector at present   
(1891) incumbent ascribes to the fact of its being   
hemmed in and limited by these large landed estates.  
 The church where Mr. Hooker preached still stands,   
though not at present used for public worship. It is   
very small, with a nave and chancel only, except that  
 at a period considerably later than that we are now   
speaking of, the Duke of Newcastle, who occupied   
Clermont before Lord Clive, built a kind of chamber­   
room or gallery on one side of it. The glass of the  
 chancel windows is said once to have been fine, but   
no vestige of its former glories remains. At the west  
 end the nave is surmounted by a low pyramidal tower   
in which formerly hung three bells, one of which was  
 understood to be a war-trophy brought by Sir Francis   
Drake from St. Domingo. The living was worth only   
forty pounds a year; the place of worship not capable  
 of stretching beyond a hundred sittings; the congre­   
gation a few lowly people of the village, and members

of the manor house families.

The patron of the living, a gentleman of the same   
name, and a kinsman of the great admiral: received   
the rector into his house, and gave him a home in   
his family, -- a fact attended with important conse­   
quences to the rector.

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The persuasive cause of the procuring of Mr.   
Hooker's services at Esher was the condition of Mr.   
Drake's wife. The story is told in a little volume   
printed the year Mr. Hooker died. It bears the   
characteristically quaint title of the time, "Trodden   
down Strength by the God of Strength, or Mrs. Drake   
Revived, showing her strange and rare Case, great and   
manifold afflictions for tenne years together. Related   
by her friend Hart On-hi. London, 1647." Mrs.   
Drake was an invalid and hypochondriac. She had   
already worn out the consolations of two worthy   
ministers -- Rev. Mr. Dod, the author of a comment­   
ary on the Decalogue, and hence popularly known as   
Decalogue Dod; and Rev. Mr. Usher, afterward Pri­   
mate of Ireland -- in their efforts to persuade her that   
she had not committed the unpardonable sin.

Mr. Dod being obliged to leave her after three   
years' wrestling with her case, tidings came to Mr.   
Drake of" one Mr. Hooker, then at Cambridge, now   
in New England: A great Scholar, an acute Dis­   
putant, a strong learned, a wise modest man, every   
way rarely qualified; who being a Non-conformitan   
in judgement, not willing to trouble himself with *Pre­   
sentative* Livings, was contented and persuaded by   
Mr. Dod to accept of that poor Living of 40l.   
per annum: This worthy man accepted of the place,   
having withal his dyet and lodging at Esher, Mr.   
Drake's house."

Mr. Hooker's ministrations seem to have been use­   
ful. " For Mr. Hooker being newly come from the   
University had a new answering methode (though

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the same thing) wherewith shee was marvellously de­   
lighted." Just how long or precisely at what date   
these ministrations were rendered is not stated, but   
the period came when Mrs. Drake felt "that her   
time on earth was but of small continuance. About   
which time it fell out that Mr. Hooker also having   
acted his part with her, and done his best, to comfort,   
uphold and rectifie her spirit, . . . by God's provi­   
dence he was married unto her waiting-woman:   
After which both of them having lived some time   
after with her, and he cal'd to be Lecturer at Chelms­   
ford in Essex, they both left her."

It is pleasant to be assured that the counsels of   
Mr. Hooker, and of Mr. Dod which were again re­   
newed, did much to help Mrs. Drake, and that she   
was "more cheerful in mind divers years," coming   
indeed to her end at last in "a Fit of sudden, extream,   
ravishing, unsupportable Joy, beyond the Strength of   
Mortality to retain, or be long capable of, which

put Mr. Dod, her Husband, and all of them to a *non­   
plus,* as being beyond all Experience; they in all their   
lifetime never having seen or heard of the like."

The chief recorded result to Mr. Hooker himself,   
however, of this Esher experience was his marrying   
Mrs. Drake's waiting-woman, Susanna. Who this   
young woman was, whose future was to be so full of   
vicissitude, who was to be exiled to Holland, to voy­   
age the Atlantic, to be carried on a litter through the   
Massachusetts forests to Connecticut, to survive her   
husband we know not how long, and to be buried   
we know not where - there seems no way at present   
to determine.

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That she was esteemed in Mr. Drake's family is   
evidenced by the provision in Mr. Drake's will, dated   
March 13, 1634, by which he gave to "Johana   
Hooker whoe is now in New England £30 to be   
paid her the day of her marriage." This was Mr.   
Hooker's daughter who married Rev. Thomas Shep­   
ard, and from a comparison of dates would seem   
to have been his oldest child, and may have been   
born at Esher, and named Joanna for Mrs. Drake,   
whose maiden name was Joanna Tothill.

Esher's proximity to London favoured the more ready   
recognition of Mr. Hooker's gifts as a preacher, and   
it appears that some ineffectual attempts were made   
to secure his establishment in some capacity at   
Colchester in Essex, "whereto Mr. Hooker did very   
much incline, . . . but the providence of God gave   
an obstruction to that settlement."

Mather says1 Hooker's desire to be at Colchester   
was on account of its proximity to Mr. Rogers of   
Dedham, whom he used to call "the prince of all the   
preachers in England; " but "it was an observation   
which Mr. Hooker would sometimes afterwards use

unto his friends 'that the providence of God often

diverted him from employment in such places as he   
himself desired, and still directed him to such places   
as he had no thoughts of.'"

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But sometime probably in 1626 an invitation was ex­   
tended and accepted for Mr. Hooker's·establishment   
as Lecturer in connection with the church of St. Mary   
at Chelmsford, Essex, then under the rectoral care of

1 Magnalia, i. 304.

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Rev. John Michaelson. Possibly he had been resi­   
dent a little while previous in the immediate vicinity,   
for the parish register of Great Baddow contains the   
following entry: "Anne, daughter of Mr. Thomas   
Hooker, clerk, and Susan his wife, baptized at Great   
Baddow, Essex, January 5. 1626." As pertinent to   
Mr. Hooker's family relationships it may also   
here as appropriately as anywhere be remarked that   
the Chelmsford parish register contains the record,   
under date of April 9, 1628, of the baptism of ''Sarah   
daughter of Nir. Thomas Hooker and Susan his wife;"   
and on August 26, 1629, of her burial.

Chelmsford was a busy town twenty-nine miles east   
from London, and its old Gothic church is an edifice   
of great antiquity. The great-tower and most of the   
older portions of the building are made of the flint   
nodules, from the size of the fist upward, found in the   
chalk-pits of the neighbourhood, laid in cement. The   
arch of the Norman door in the great-tower has the   
Boar and Mullet pf the De Vere family. In 1641 the   
Parliamentary visitation was the occasion of a riot in   
which the beautiful glass windows were destroyed, and   
Rev. Dr. Michaelson, the rector, subjected to personal   
indignities and injury. The roof of the nave fell in,   
in 1800, and the repair in other stone than that which   
characterizes the older portion of the structure has   
an unpleasing and incongruous appearance. The   
patronage of the church was given or sold by Henry

1. to Roger Mildmay, ancestor of Sir Roger Mild­   
   may, founder of Emmanuel College; and twenty gen­   
   erations of the family sleep underneath its roof. This

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noble old sanctuary became for between three and   
four years the scene of Mr. Hooker's public labours as   
Lecturer.

These Lectureships, to which reference has already   
 several times been made, were one of the most char­   
acteristic outgrowths of the Puritan movement in   
England. They were designed to secure a more   
efficient preaching service than could be often had   
from the legal incumbent of a benefice. They were   
generally ·supported by voluntary gifts of wealthy   
Puritans, though sometimes endowed by permanent   
funds ; and were customarily held by persons having   
scruples about the ceremonies and the vestments, and   
consequently not always, though generally, in priest's   
orders. The Lecturer preached on market-days and   
Sunday afternoons, as supplemental to the regularly   
appointed church services. The system was im­   
mensely popular with the multitude, who were dis­   
satisfied with "no preaching and dumb ministers,"   
as those who confined themselves to the liturgy were   
called, and developed into wide and large proportions   
in the country generally.

But by so much as Lectureships were popular with

the masses they were obnoxious to the church party,   
who sympathized with Laud and with the intensifying   
demand for Conformity represented by the king.   
Already: some four years previous to Hooker's enter­   
ing on his Chelmsford Lectureship, James, in 1622*,*had issued injunctions to the clergy, through the arch­   
bishop, forbidding any one of them under the stand­   
ing of "a bishop or dean [to] presume to preach in

*HOOKER'S ENGLISH MINISTRY.* 41

any popular auditory on the deep points of predes­   
tination, election, reprobation, or of the universality,   
efficacy, resistibility, or irresistibility of God's grace;"  
and prescribing that all Sunday afternoon sermons be   
rigidly restricted to exposition of the "Catechism,   
Creed, or Ten Commandments." 1 This was a direct   
stroke at the Lecturers. The Puritan revival had   
brought these doctrinal topics to the forefront of de­   
bate, and these themes were now prohibited. Charles   
followed up his father's attempt to silence the Lec­   
turers by his proclamation in June, 1626, -- just about   
the time Hooker was making his first essays at   
Chelmsford, -- forbidding discussion of any opinions   
not justified by the " literal and grammatical sense "2   
of the Articles of the Church. Lecturers were or­   
dered to read the service of the liturgy before the   
delivery of the homily, and to wear the surplice in  
 doing so.

It was under the at least nominal imposition of

these limitations that all Lecturers were placed during  
 the period which followed Hooker's arrival at Chelms­   
ford. Doubtless these limitations were often disre­   
garded. Certainly he disregarded most of them.   
Probably he preached in the Genevan gown rather   
than the surplice. Certainly he treated of election,   
reprobation, the resistibility or irresistibility of God's   
grace without mincing. His published sermons --   
the fruit, as has been said, of his repeated traversing  
 of experimental points of divinity at Cambridge, Esher,   
and Chelmsford -- leave no doubt on that point.  
  
 1 Neal, i. 272. 2 Ibid. 291.

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Nor is there any doubt of the wide and profound   
impression made by his discourses. Auditors flocked   
to his ministrations from great distances, and "some   
of great quality among the rest,"1 -- one of whom   
was the Earl of Warwick, who afterward sheltered and   
befriended the Lecturer's family when Mr. Hooker   
was forced to flee the country. His labours resulted   
not only in the visible reformation of morals in Chelms­   
ford, but in stimulating to similar endeavours many   
other ministers of the surrounding region.

It was probably of this period of his English minis­   
try that the occurrences took place which }.father nar­   
rates concerning the effect of Mr. Hooker's preaching,   
which may as well be given in Mather's language:2

"A profane person designing therein only an ungodly   
diversion and merriment said unto his companions, *Come,   
let us go hear what that bawling* Hooker *will say to   
us;* and thereupon with an intention to make sport,   
unto *Chelmsford* lecture they came. The man had not   
been long in the church, before the *quick and powerful   
word* of Goel in the mouth of his faithful *Hooker,* pierced   
the soul of him; he came out with an awakened and a   
distressed soul, and by the further blessing of God upon   
Mr. *Hooker's* ministry he arrived unto a true *conversion;*for which cause he would not afterwards leave that   
blessed ministry, but went a *thousand leagues* to attend   
it, and enjoy it. Another memorable thing of this kind   
was this; it was Mr. *Hooker's* manner once a year to   
visit his native county; and in one of these visits he had   
an invitation to preach in the great church of *Leicester.*One of the chief burgesses in the town much opposed his

1 Magnalia, i. 304. 2 Ibid. i. 306, 307.

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preaching there; and when he could not prevail to hinder   
it, he set certain *fidlers* at work to disturb him in the   
church-porch, or church-yard. But such was the vivacity   
of Mr. *Hooker,* as to proceed in what he was about, with­   
out either the damping of his mind, or the drowning of   
his *voice;* whereupon the man himself went unto the   
church-door to over-hear what he said. It pleased God   
so to accompany some words uttered by Mr. *Hooker,* as   
thereby to procure, first the *attention* and then the *con­   
viction* of that wretched man; who then came to Mr.   
*Hooker* with a penitent confession of his wickedness, and   
became indeed so penitent a convert, as to be at length a   
sincere *professor* and *practiser* of the godliness, whereof   
he had been a *persecutor."*

Of the same date is also another of Mather's stories1   
concerning Mr. Hooker's preaching at Chelmsford on   
the occasion of "a fast kept throughout the nation,"   
when --

"Mr. *Hooker* then, in the presence of the Judges, and   
before a vast congregation, declared freely the sins of *Eng­   
land,* and the plagues that would come for such sins; and   
in his prayer he besought the God of heaven to set on the   
heart of the King what his own mouth had spoken, and in   
the second chapter of *Malachy,* and the eleventh and   
twelfth verses (in his prayer he so distinctly quoted it!)

*An abomination is committed, Judah hath married the*

*daughter of a strange God, the Lord will cut off the man   
that doeth this.* Though the Judges turned unto the   
place thus quoted, yet Mr. *Hooker* came into no trouble;   
but it was [not?] long before the kingdom did."

It is in connection with this incident of more than   
indirectly passing censure on the king before the

l Magnalia, i. 313.

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judges, that Mather quotes a saying of one that had   
"observed the heroical spirit and courage with which   
this great man fulfilled his ministry," that *"He was a   
person who while doing his master's work: would put a  
 king in his pocket."*

Meantime, however, the tension between the king   
and Parliament was growing hourly more severe. In   
the middle of July, 1628, Laud had been transferred to   
the See of London, and henceforth had the ear of the   
king in all matters. The Parliament, which met on   
the 20th of January, 1629, proceeded at once to the   
discussion of the religious question; and on the 25th   
of February certain *Heads of Articles* were presented   
by the Commons, complaining of the "subtle and per­   
nicious spreading of the Arminian faction; " of the   
"bold and unwarrantable " introduction of "sundry   
new ceremonies " and " bringing men into question   
and trouble for not obeying that for which there is no   
authority." The king rejoined by dissolving Parlia­   
ment. For eleven years there was not to be another.   
Government was now in the hands of prerogative   
only.

The decks cleared for action, Laud now turned at­

tention to the Lecturers. Long hateful to him, he now   
presented a series of *Considerations* to the king for   
their regulation or suppression. He alleged that the   
Lecturers were " the people's creatures," and "blew   
the bellows of their sedition." He inveighed against   
"Emmanuel and Sidney Colleges" as "nurseries of   
Puritanism," and implored that "grave and orthodox   
men" be appointed governors therein.

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The king, nothing loath, authorized the promul­   
gation of "certain Orders to be observed and put in   
execution by the several Bishops."1 Among these   
orders were the following: "That in all parishes the   
afternoon service be turned into catechising by ques­   
tion and answer;" "that every lecturer read Divine   
service before lectures in surplice and hood;" that   
lecturers "preach in gowns, and not in cloaks, as   
too many do use; " and that in general the former   
instructions concerning the avoidance of matters con­   
nected with the predestinarian controversy be strictly   
observed.

Armed with these newly sharpened weapons, the   
bishop proceeded to clear his diocese of the obnox­   
ious blowers of the bellows of sedition. Among those   
who this year were silenced for nonconformity to the   
orders of the bishop, in the near vicinity of Chelms­   
ford, were John Rogers of Dedham, Daniel Rogers   
of Wethersfield, and John Archer of Halsted.2 The   
blow fell also on Mr. Hooker. How likely it was to   
do so appears vividly set forth in a letter written by   
Rev. Samuel Collins, Vicar of Braintree, in a letter to   
Dr. Duck, Laud's Chancellor, which under date of   
May 20, 1629, obviously recognizes the commence­   
ment of ecclesiastical procedures already against the   
Chelmsford Lecturer. Mr. Collins writes:3 --

"Since my return from London I have spoken with   
Mr. Hooker, but I have small hope of prevailing with

1 Neal, i. 298.  
2 David's Nonconformity in Essex, p. 146.  
3 Ibid. 150, 151.

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him. All the favour he desires is that my Lord of Lon­   
don would not bring him into the High Commission   
Court, but permit him quietly to depart out of the dio­   
cese…. All men's eares are now filled with ye obstrep­   
erous clamours of his followers against my Lord ... as  
 a man endeavouring to suppress good preaching and ad­   
vance Popery. Al1 would be here very calme and quiet   
if he might depart…. If he be suspended its the reso­   
lution of his friend and himself to settle his abode in Essex,   
and maintenance is promised him in plentifull manner for

the fruition of his private conference, which hath already   
more impeached the peace of our church than his pub-  
lique ministry. His genius will still haunte all the pulpits   
in ye country, where any of his scholers may be admit­   
ted to preach… There be divers young ministers   
about us ... that spend their time in conference with   
him; and return home and preach what he hath brewed.

. . . Our people's pallats grow so out of tast, yt noe food   
contents them but of Mr. Hooker's dressing. I have lived   
in Essex to see many changes, and have seene the people   
idolizing many new ministers and lecturers, but this man   
surpasses them all for learning and some other consider-   
able partes and ... gains more and far greater followers   
than all before him…. If my Lord tender his owne future   
peace ... let him connive at Mr. Hooker's departure."

Apparently Dr. Duck was inclined to the same   
view; for, probably at the chancellor's instance, Mr.   
Collins reported, on June 3, an attempt to confer   
with Mr. Hooker on the subject:1 --

" On Monday I rode to Chelmsford to speake with him,   
but found him gone ... and purposed to returne to Lon­   
don to appeare before my Lord upon the first day of this  
 1 David's Nonconformity in Essex, p. r 51.

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terme, at which time I cannot be at London … I pray

God direct my Lord of London in this weighty business  
... this will prove a leading case, and the issue thereof   
will either much incourage or else discourage the regular   
clergie. All men's heads, tongues, eyes, and ears are   
in London, and all the counties about London, taken up   
with plotting, talking, and expecting what will be the   
conclusion of Mr. Hooker's business…. I drowns the   
noise of the greate question of Tonnage and Poundage.   
I dare not say halfe of that I heare; paper walls are easily   
broken open. But hearing and knowing as much as I  
doe, I dare be bold to say that if he be once quietly gone,   
my Lord hath overcame the greatest difficulty in govern­   
ing this parte of his diocese ... let him be as cautelous   
as he will, yet in his present course the humour of our   
people will undoe him."

Apparently, however, Mr. Hooker carried out his   
purpose of appearing at London before the bishop,   
and a bond "'as taken of a Mr. Nash of Much   
Waltham in the sum of £50 for his appearance when   
called for.

But on the 3d of November following, renewed   
complaint was made to Laud of Hooker's continuance   
in " his former practices; " the rector of Rawreth,   
one Rev. John Browning, who presented the com­   
plaint, entreating that it may "please your lordship   
to grant us ye helpe of your honourable authority, if not   
to ye suppressinge and casting out (as we hope) such   
an one from amongst us, yet at least to the defendinge   
us who live in obedience."

Stirred up probably by tidings of this communica-

1 David's Nonconformity in Essex, p. 152.

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tion, the following petition to the bishop was drawn   
up under date of *Nov.* 10, 1629, and signed by   
forty-nine ministers of the vicinage, and forwarded to   
Laud, asking a stay of adverse proceedings: 1--

"Whereas we have heard that your honour hath been   
informed against Mr. Thomas Hooker, preacher at   
Chelmsford, that the conformable ministers of these   
partes desire his removal from the place, we, whose   
names are here under written, being ministers of the partes   
adjoining, all beneficed men, and obedient to His Majes­   
ty's ecclesiastical laws, doe humbly give your lordship to   
understand that we all esteeme and knowe the said Mr.   
Thomas Hooker to be, for doctryne, orthodox, and life   
and conversation honest, and for his disposition peace­   
able, no wayes turbulent or factious, and so not doubting  
 but he will contynue that good course, commending him   
and his lawfull suite to your lordship's honourable favour,  
... we humbly take our leave, and remaine your honour's   
humbly at command."

Samuel Collins, Duck's correspondent, John Mi­   
chaelson the Chelmsford rector, and Stephen Marshall,   
the afterward celebrated member of the Westminster   
Assembly of divines, were among the signers of this   
petition.

Seven days later, what was in effect a counter-peti­  
 tion, signed by forty-one of the Essex ministers, --   
two of whom had signed also the previous petition, --

was forwarded to Laud, praying the bishop " not [to ]

rebx unto us that tye by which we stand obliged to   
the lawful ceremonies of our church, yet to enforce   
these irregulars to conforme with us. That soe there

1 David's Nonconformity in Essex, p. 153.

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may effectually be wrought a generall uniformitie   
amongst us all."1

The second petition was much more to Laud's   
mind than the first; and it must have been almost im­   
mediately after it that Mr. Hooker was compelled to   
lay down his lectureship at Chelmsford and to retire   
to Little Baddow, a small hamlet about four miles   
away, where, " at the request of several eminent per­   
sons, he kept a school in *his own hired house."* 2 It   
was probably in connection with this demission of his   
ministry that he preached a sermon which some   
eleven or twelve years afterward, in 1641, got into   
print, entitled " The Danger of Desertion, or a   
Farwell Sermon of Mr. *Thomas Hooker,* Sometimes   
Minister of Gods Word at *Chainsford* in *Essex;* but   
now of *New* England."

The theme of the discourse is the peril of England   
in the threatened withdrawal of God's favour, whereof   
the preacher indicated that he saw manifest tokens.   
The sermon bears marks of haste and heat in the de­   
livery, and was probably printed from imperfect notes,   
and does not convey the best impression of the   
preacher's style. It has, however, occasional touches   
of his vivid use of common illustrations; as where   
he says,3 --

" We may take up the complaint of the Prophet, *Isa.*

64. *7. No man stirs up himselfe to lay hold upon God:*

For this is our misery, if that we have quietnesse and

commodity we are well enough, thus we play mock-holy-

1. David's Nonconformity in Essex. p. 158.

2 Magnalia, i. 305.

3 Page **15.**

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day with God, the Gospell we make it our pack-horse:   
God is going, his glory is departing, England hath seene   
her best dayes, and now evill dayes are befalling us: God   
is packing up his Gospell, because no body will buy his   
wares, nor come to his price. Oh lay hands on God!   
and let him not goe out of your coasts, he is a going,   
stop him, and let not thy God depart, lay siege against   
him with humble and hearty closing with him, suffer him   
not to say, as if that he were going, farewell, or fare ill   
England, God hath said that he will doe this, and because   
that he hath said it, he will doe it, therefore prepare to   
meet thy God, O England!"

Or again:1--

"Thou *England* which wast lifted up to heaven with   
meanes shall be abased and brought downe to hell; for if   
the mighty works which have been done in thee had   
been done in India or Turky, they would have repented  
 ere this; therefore *Cajenzaums* place is *Englands* place,   
which is the most insufferablest torment of all; and   
marke what I say, the poore native Turks and Infidels   
shall have a cooler summer parlour in hell then you; for   
we stand at a high rate, we were highly exalted, therefore  
 shall our torments be the more to beare."

Mr. Hooker's employment as teacher at Little Bad­   
dow cannot have been of long duration, and is chiefly  
 memorable for the association with him there of John   
Eliot, who says,2--

" To this place I was called through the infinite riches   
of God's mercy in Christ Jesus to my poor soul: for here   
the Lord said unto my dead soul, *live;* and through the   
grace of Christ I do live, and I shall live for ever!

1 Page 20. 2 Magnalia, i. 305.

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When I came to this blessed family, I then saw, and   
never before, the power of godliness in its lively vigour   
and efficacy."

But Laud had not forgotten the Chelmsford Lec­   
turer in the Little Baddow schoolmaster. He was   
cited, on the 10th of July, 1630, to appear before the   
High Commission Court. This time he did not   
respond. His bondsman, Mr. Nash, a tenant of the   
Earl of Warwick, being reimbursed by Mr. Hooker's   
Chelmsford friends, paid the penal sum into the   
court; the Earl meanwhile providing for Mr. Hook­   
er's family at a place called Old Park, while he him­   
self got secretly aboard a vessel for Holland. It   
was doubtless well that he fled. The experience of   
Alexander Leighton, another nonconformist minister,   
who was this year pilloried, whipped, branded, slit   
in the nostrils, and deprived by successive mutila­   
tion of his ears, might have been, at least in part, his   
experience.

His pursuers arrived at the seaside just too late for   
his arrest. Cotton Mather narrates 1 several charac­   
teristic "remarkables" in connection with his flight,  
-- as the wind shifting in his favour, which had been   
contrary, as soon as he got aboard; and his stand­   
ing forth, like Paul, when the vessel ran aground and   
was in " eminent hazard of *shipwreck* upon a shelf of   
sand," assuring the sailors that they should all be pre­   
served. Certain it is they landed safely in Holland.

1 Magnalia, i. 307.

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CHAPTER IV.

LIFE IN HOLLAND AND DEPARTURE FOR AMERICA.

*Now I live, if you stand fast in the Lord*.

Salutation to the Church at Newtown: *Magnalia,* i. 310.

ARRIVED in Holland, Mr. Hooker was for a period   
of uncertain duration resident at Amsterdam; and   
negotiations looking to his association in the pastor­   
ate of the British Presbyterian Church there, then   
under the care of Rev. John Paget, were begun. This   
church, founded in 1607, was ecclesiastically in fel­   
lowship with the Dutch establishment, received pro­   
vision from the State, and had assigned to it a deserted   
chapel of the Beguyn nuns for its place of worship.1   
Mr. Paget had been identified with the church from   
the founding of it, and had perhaps something of the   
sensitiveness of an old man as to his associates.   
Mather intimates 2 that it was jealousy of Hooker's   
abilities which broke off the negotiations. Mr. Paget,   
however, denies his responsibility for breaking them,   
and asserts that they were broken by the Classis and   
the Synod, and that the ground of this action was Mr.   
Hooker's position in willingness to accord fellowship   
to Brownists, and his refusing to censure such as

1 Steven's Scottish Church in Rotterdam, p. 273.

2 Magnalia, i. 307, 308.

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"went to hear the 'Brownists' in their schismatical as­   
sembly."1 This representation of Hooker's position   
Mather asserts is incorrect, averring2 that instead of   
favouring the Brownists he had an "extream aversion"   
to them, and that he told Mr. Paget that to "separate   
from the faithful assemblies and churches in *Eng­   
land,* as no churches is an error in judgment, and a sin   
in practice, held and maintained by the *Brownists;* and therefore to communicate with them in their   
opinions or practice is sinful and utterly unlawful;   
and care should be taken to prevent offence, either   
by encouraging them in their way, or by drawing   
others to a further approbation of that way than is   
meet."

If this statement were fully to be relied on, it would   
seem to be conclusive. But it is easy for controver­   
sialists to mistake one another. There is no evidence   
that up to this time Mr. Hooker had come in con­   
tact with the Brownists, or, as they came soon to be   
called, Independents, at all; and his views about their   
position may not have become in all respects de­   
fined. Certainly he came to be a strenuous Inde­   
pendent, and his leanings that way may have become   
clear enough for the recognition of his Presbyterian   
associate. At all events, it is certain that the Synod   
was some way led to pronounce an adverse judgment   
upon the question of his joint pastorate with Mr.   
Paget, declaring, in confirmation of the conclusion al­   
ready reached by the Cbssis, " that a person's standing   
in such opinions as were in writing showed unto the

1 Hanbury, i. 532, 541. 2 Magnalia, i. 308.

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Classis, could not with any edification be admitted at  
 the Ministry of the English Church at Amsterdam."1   
The fact that Mr. Paget had similar troubles respect­   
ing the proposed association with him subsequently of   
Mr. Davenport, Mr. Parker, Mr. Forbes, and Mr.  
 Peter, together with the result of these controversies   
in a wordy war of pamphlets, in which he and Mr.  
 Davenport assailed each other in a style more vigor­   
ous than courteous, -- Mr. Davenport accusing Mr.  
 Paget of " Tyrannical Government and Corrupt Doc­   
trine," and Mr. Paget countering with the accusation  
 that Mr. Davenport had issued a book with a "vile   
title" and contents "also as vile," 2 -- may perhaps  
 justify Fuller's characterization 3 of Mr. Paget as a   
"captious Puritan," but goes far to absolve him of  
 the meaner motive of personal jealousy which Mather  
 intimates. For indeed the issues between the parties   
were the radical ones which afterward so divided on   
English soil the forces of Presbyterianism and Inde­   
pendency. Nor ought it to be forgotten in defence --   
or excuse, as one chooses -- of the position of the oc­   
cupants of English Presbyterian pulpits in Holland, that  
 they were still under the watch and regubtion of the   
government at home. In May, 1628, King Charles  
 had addressed "to the Synod of the English and   
Scottish clergy in the Netherlands" a series of com­   
mands,4 corresponding to those we have seen imposed   
on the ministry in England, requiring the "foresaid

1 Hanbury, i. 532. 2 Ibid. 527

3 Church History, book xi. p. 51.

4 Steven, pp. 262, 263.

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clergymen [not to] interfere, either in making or com­   
posing, ... any new Liturgy or fixed form of prayer for   
their congregations." They" shall introduce no nov­   
elties in any rites or ceremonies," and "they shall not   
presume to meddle with any points of doctrine."   
The situation of any occupant of a State-recognized   
pulpit in Holland was thus, it will be seen, about as   
embarrassing as that of any minister at home; and it   
is not strange that Mr**.** Paget should have found him­   
self perplexed by the proposed association with him   
of men of as advanced and in some respects of   
as disagreeing opinions as Hooker and Parker and   
Davenport and Hugh Peter entertained among them­   
selves.

Leaving Amsterdam, Mr. Hooker went to Delft,

and became connected in the ministry of the Scottish   
Presbyterian Church there with its pastor, Rev. John   
Forbes. Here conditions were more favourable for a   
comfortable association with the established incum­   
bent. Mr. Forbes had already experienced something   
of the severity of prerogative, having been banished   
from Scotland about 1611, for presiding as moderator   
of the famous Aberdeen Assembly called contrary to   
the wish of the king; and he had his own noncon­   
forming inclinations, as was proved a little after the   
time of Hooker's connection with him, by his removal   
from his charge at the request of the British Govern­   
ment, for not submitting to the discipline which Laud   
was bent on extending over English residents abroad   
as well as in their own land.1 Mather speaks 2 with

1 Steven, p. 294. 2 Magnalia, *i.* 308.

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his usual effusiveness of classical illustration of the   
relations existing during these two years between Mr.   
Forbes and Mr. Hooker, comparing them to'' *Basil* and   
*Nazianzen,* ... *one soul in two bodies,"* but of positive   
incident records only the first preaching of Mr. Hooker   
at Delft, from the text," To you it is given not only to   
believe, but also to suffer," - a topic certainly fruit­   
ful of illustration to many in those troublous times.

After about two years Mr. Hooker removed to   
Rotterdam, being invited to some kind of ministerial   
association with Rev. Hugh Peter and Rev. William   
Ames, though his name does not, like theirs, appear   
on the pastoral list of the church. This organization   
had been gathered apparently about the year 1628,   
by Peter, afterward to be so well known in New   
England story and destined to so tragic a fate in the   
civil war at home. And with him in 1632 was joined,   
to survive only a few months, the celebrated ex-pro­   
fessor of the Franeker University, best known to   
scholars by his Latinized name *Amesius.* Ames had   
again and again experienced the severity of English   
high-churchly ill-will, which had prevailed several times   
with the authorities of Holland to prevent his es­   
tablishment in some position of honour to which he   
had been called ; and now, worn out with labour and   
exposure to the North-Sea winds of the province of   
Franeker, he came to Rotterdam to die. Indefati­   
gable however as a writer, Ames was engaged at the   
time of his death on a book entitled " A Fresh Svit   
against Human Ceremonies in Gods Worship."

This book is an answer to one written by Dr. John

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Burgess, which itself was a rejoinder to a previous   
volume by Ames, published in 1622. Ames was Dr.   
Burgess's son-in-law, though his wife, Dr. Burgess's   
daughter, was dead before this controversy began.   
One wonders how far family feeling may have mingled   
with conscientious principle in this voluminous and   
protracted debate. But our chief concernrnent in   
the matter lies in the fact that as Ames barely lived   
to see the main part of his manuscript through the   
press, and even that under great difficulties, Mr.   
Hooker completed the task, writing "An Advertisment   
to the Reader, Occasioned by the never enough   
lamented death of my deare freind, the Authour of   
this Fresh suite." In this "Advertisment" he says of   
his friend:--

"Understand Christian Reader, that with the comming   
forth of this booke into the light, the le rned and famous   
Authour Dr. Ames left the light, or darknes rather of   
this world…. I may not keep back what I heard him   
speake as in the sight of God, that he was in his con­   
science more perswaded of the evill of these reliques of   
Papery and monuments of that superstit10n then ever, and   
yet he never had seen good in them, or come from them:   
and that moreover if D. B. [Dr. Burgess] or any other of   
them would yet be daubing with untempered mortar, and  
not give over to paint rotten sepulchres, he was by the   
grace of God resolved still to maintain the cause, and   
while he liued never let fall the suit commenced this way.

… Together with his life God hath put an end to all   
his travailes, wherein he shewed himself a pattern of holi­   
nes, a burning and a shining light, and lamp of learning   
& Arts, a Champion for trueth, specially while for the   
space of 12 yeares at least, he was in the Doctors Chaire

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at Franequer, and having fought the good fight of faith,  
whereunto he was called, & professed a good profession   
before many witnesses, he hath now indeed layd hold on   
eternall life."

With this estimate of Ames on Mr. Hooker's part,   
it is pleasant to know that Dr. Ames ,vas wont to say   
of Mr. Hooker, that " though he had been acquainted   
with many scholars of divers nations, yet he never met   
with Mr. *Hooker's* equal, either for preaching or for   
disputing."1 It is plain, too, that Mr. Hooker agreed   
with the argument and conclusions of Ames's book.   
Besides the "Advertisment " he wrote also the long   
Preface to the volume; a brief extract from which   
will sufficiently indicate his own position on the ques-   
tion in debate. He says: --

"The state of this vvarr is this: vvee (as it becommeth   
Christians) stand upon the sufficiency of Christs institu­   
tions, for all kynde of vvorship: and that *exclusively the   
vvord* (say vve) & *nothing but the vvord, in matters of   
Relgious vvorship.* The Praelats rise up on the other   
side, & vvill needs haue us allovve, & use certayne hu­   
mane Ceremonyes of Religion in our Christian vvorship.   
VVe desire to be excused, as houlding them unlavvfull.   
Christ vve knovv: & all that cometh from him, vve are   
ready to imbrace. But these human Cerem. in divine   
vvorship vvee knovv not, nor can haue any thing to doe   
vvith them."

One further quotation from this Preface written by   
Mr. Hooker is significant as indicating the trials which   
the demand for conformity occasioned both to those

1 Magnalia, i. 308.

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who resisted and to some who, in his opinion rather   
weakly, yielded to the demand. The quotation is the   
more significant because he prints in the margin   
against the passage the words, " I speake but what I   
know." He says: --

"Its certayne, some have openly protested, that, if it   
vvere but half an hovvres hanging, they vvould rather suf­   
fer it, then subscribe. But for them & theirs, to ly in the   
ditch, & to be cast into a blynd corner, like broken ves­   
sels: yea they & their familyes to dye many hundred   
deaths, by extreame misery, before they could come unto   
their graves; This they vvere not able to undergoe. A   
condition, I acknovvledge, vvhich needs & deserves a   
great deale of pity & commiseration, since it is true, that   
some kinds of oppression make a man mad: But oh that   
the God of mercy vvould put it into the mynds & hearts   
of those vvhom it doth concerne, that they vvould never   
suffer such refuse reliques, longe, to hazard, not only the   
comforts, but even the consciences & happines of many   
distressed soules.''

The book was issued in 1633, and probably in the   
early part of it, for the seventh month of the year was   
to find Mr. Hooker across the seas, in America.

This transit to America must have been a good   
while contemplated. Apparently the original plan   
had been to associate Hooker and Cotton in a New   
England enterprise; a project, however, which had   
been abandoned, for the reason as Mather as­   
serts that it was thought that "a couple of such great   
men might be more servicable asunder than to­   
gether." It may have been in connection with this  
 proposed union of these two eminent lights in some

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joint church-fellowship in a New-World plantation that   
Hooker wrote to Cotton from Rotterdam:--

"The state of these provinces to my weak eye, seems   
wonderfully ticklish and miserable. For the better   
part, *heart religion,* they content themselves with very   
forms, though much blemished; but the power of godli­   
ness, for ought I can see or hear, they know not; and if   
it were thoroughly pressed, I fear least it will be fiercely   
opposed." 1

But the hope for any improvement in Puritan pros­   
pects either in Holland or England was small. The   
hand of prerogative reached across the German Sea,   
and laid its heavy weight upon the churches there   
holding nominal connection with the State, and was   
annoying and disquieting those avowedly independent   
of such connections. Laud's influence was all the   
while growing at home; and the significant coinci­   
dence may be noted that it was this year (1633) that   
saw his elevation from the bishopric of London to   
the archbishopric of Canterbury and the primacy of   
all England. How the Roman Church regarded the   
English primate may be inferred from the fact, which   
he records in his diary, that eleven days after his ele­   
vation to his new dignity he was offered a cardinalate   
in the papal hierarchy. No wonder the Puritans   
were discouraged as to any relief in Holland or at   
home. Their thoughts turned to the New World as   
their only refuge.

Apparently plans had so far matured that a com­

pany of people had gone from Essex County the year

1 Magnalia, i. 308.

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before to America, and had settled down, temporarily   
at first, at Mount Wollaston, near Boston, with the   
expectancy of Mr. Hooker's following them. Already   
in August, 1632, this group of settlers from the towns   
and vicinity of Braintree, Colchester, and Chelmsford

-- the scene of Mr. Hooker's English ministry­-  
were known as " Mr. Hooker's Company."1 Mr.   
Hooker was then in Holland, and did not arrive for   
more than a year afterward; but it was doubtless in   
pursuance of an understanding that he was to follow   
that they bore his name and anticipated his coming.   
Removed shortly by order of Court to Newtown,   
they awaited the fulfilment of the arrangements which   
were to bring them a fully equipped ministry. This   
fully equipped ministry, as there will be occasion   
shortly to notice, demanded the service not of one,   
but of two preaching Elders, respectively named the   
Pastor and the Teacher of the church.

Consequently, when the negotiations for joining Mr.   
Hooker and Mr. Cotton had been abandoned, the   
"judicious Christians " who had the interests of Mr.   
Hooker and Mr. Hooker's American company in   
charge turned to younger men. Rev. John Norton,   
afterward of Ipswich and of Boston, and Rev. Thomas   
Shepard, subsequently of Cambridge and Mr. Hook­   
er's son-in-law, were thought of; but choice fell   
finally upon Rev. Samuel Stone, then a Lecturer at   
Towcester.

Mr. Stone was born at Hertford, and baptized at   
All Saints Church there July 30, 1 602. He was prob-

**1** Winthrop's Journal, i. 104, 105.

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ably educated, at least in part, at Hale's Grammar   
School in his native place, which was endowed in   
1617, when Master Samuel was about fifteen years   
old. He entered Emmanuel College as pensioner   
April 19, 1620, and took his B.A. degree in 1624, and   
his MA. in 162 7. The middle of June of that year   
found him exercising the functions of curate at the   
parish of All Saints at Stisted in Essex, two miles   
from Braintree, where the records till September, 1630,   
appear to be in his handwriting. Probably it was   
during this Stisted residence that he came into some   
kind of pupillary connection with Rev. Richard Black­   
erby, a graduate of Trinity College, Cambridge,   
"who, not being capable of a Benefice, because he   
could not subscribe,"1 established a school at Ashen,   
in the same county; constantly "kept Lectures in   
some Neighbouring Town," and became a kind of   
peripatetic theological seminary for nearly twenty-three   
years together. " Divers young Students (after they   
came from the University) betook themselves to him   
to prepare them for the Ministry, . . . and many   
eminent persons proceeded from this *Gamaliel."*

Sometime in 1630, however, Mr. Stone went as   
Puritan Lecturer to the considerable town of Tow­   
cester in Northampton. He went by the commen­   
dation of Thomas Shepard, who had himself been   
invited to the place. Shepard's commendation of   
Mr. Stone to the position he could not himself oc­   
cupy was not based on any new acquaintance. Eight   
before, when they were at Emmanuel together,

1 Clark's Lives, p. 58.

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Stone, who was the elder by about four years, had   
been Shepard's adviser in a matter of great concern   
to him, commending him to the "spiritual and ex­   
cellent preaching of Dr. Preston." And Shepard   
records 1 that Mr. Stone went to Towcester with the   
Lecture, ''where the Lord was with him. And thus I   
saw the Lord's mercy following me to make me a   
poor instrument of sending the Gospel to the place of   
my nativity."

It was during this occupancy of the Towcester   
Lectureship that Mr. Stone was invited by "the ju­   
dicious christians that were corning to *New-England*with Mr. *Hooker,"* to be " an *assistant* unto Mr.   
*Hooker,* with something of a *disciple* also." 2 Some­   
time in 1633, therefore, Mr. Hooker crossed over   
from Holland to England, and joined his prospective   
colleague in the New England ministry.

One late incident of Mr. Hooker's experience in   
England remains in the quaint and pedantic narrative   
of Mather, which shows Mr. Stone to have been, as   
he has always had the credit of being, a man of ready   
wits. The place is not stated, but it may very pos­   
sibly have been at Mr. Stone's family home at   
Hertford. The story may be told in the language   
of the "Magnalia":3 --

"Returning into *England* in order to a further voyage,   
he [Mr. Hooker] was quickly scented by the pursevants;   
who at length got so far up with him, as to knock at the

1 Young's Massachusetts, p. 518.

2 Magnalia, i. 393.

8 Ibid 309.

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door of that very chamber, where he was now discoursing   
with Mr. *Stone --* who was now become his designed com­   
panion and assistant for the *New-English* enterprize. Mr.   
*Stone* was at that instant smoking of *tobacco;* £or which   
Mr. *Hooker* had been reproving him, as being then used   
by few persons of sobriety; being also of a sudden and   
pleasant wit, he stept unto the door, with his pipe in his   
mouth, and such an air of speech and look, as gave him   
some credit with the officer. The officer demanded,   
Wh*ether Mr.* Hooker *were not there?* Mr. *Stone* replied   
with a braving sort of confidence, *What* Hooker? *Do   
you mean* Hooker *that lived once at* Chelmsford! The   
officer answered, *Yes, he!* Mr. *Stone* immediately, with   
a diversion like that which once helped *A tlza11asius,* made  
this true answer, *if it be he you look for, I saw him about  
an hour ago, at such an house in town; you had best  
hasten thither after him.* The officer took this for a suf-  
ficient account, and went his way; but Mr. *Hooker,* upon   
this intimation, concealed himself more carefully and se­   
curely, till he went on board, at the *Downs,* in the year   
1633, the ship which brought him, and Mr. *Cotton,* and   
M*r. Stone* to *New-England:* where none but Mr. *Stone*was owned for a preacher, at their first coming aboard;   
the other two delaying to take their turns in the publick   
worship of the ship, till they were got so far into the main   
ocean, that they might with safety, discover who they were."

The voyage was of eight weeks' duration. It was   
doubtless diversified, as we know from Roger Clap's   
Diary1 the Dorchester company's voyage was, by the   
"preaching or expounding of the word of God every   
day" by some one of the ministers. And there was   
certainly considerable preaching capacity on board

**1** Young's Massachusetts, p. 348.

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the "Griffin," and a good deal of hearing capacity also;   
for beside Hooker and Stone, Rev. John Cotton was   
of the company, and Mr. Pierce, Mr. Haynes, after­   
ward Governor of Massachusetts and of Connecticut,   
"a gentleman of great estate, Mr. Hoffe [ Atherton   
Hough] and many other men of good estates," two   
hundred passengers in all, were fellow voyagers.1 The

incident of the birth of a child to Mr. Cotton on the   
voyage is recorded, and is chiefly memorable for the   
occasion it gave for the indication of the quite pro­   
nounced type of Congregationalism which prevailed   
among the " Griffin's " company, manifested in with­   
holding the rite of baptism from the poor infant   
till land was reached and a new church-membership   
could be established.

The vessel reached Boston September 4; and "Mr.   
Hooker and Mr. Stone went presently to Newtown,   
where they were to be entertained, and Mr. Cotton   
stayed at Boston." 2 On the following Saturday, Mr.   
and Mrs. Cotton were "propounded to be admitted"   
members of the Boston church. On the Sunday after,   
they were admitted ; and then the child was presented  
 by his father and baptized "Seaborn" by Rev. Mr.   
Wilson, pastor of the church ; lVIr. Cotton explaining   
that the reason why the child had not been baptized   
on the voyage was "not for·want of fresh water, for   
he held, sea-water would have served," but" 1, because   
they had no settled congregation there; 2, because  
 a minister hath no power to give the seals but in his   
own congregation." 3 This is certainly very vigorous

1 Winthrop, i. 129**,** 130. 2 Ibid. 130. 3 Ibid. 131**.**

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Congregationalism. Cotton and Hooker and Stone,   
who were doubtless at one in this view, had mani­   
festly thrown overboard a large cargo of ecclesiastical   
traditions in which they had been educated.

This practical breach with the system of things   
left behind doubtless received additional illustration   
when, on the 11th of October following, Mr. Hooker   
and Mr. Stone were ordained respectively Pastor and   
Teacher of the church at Newtown. Not that the   
Newtown company, any more than the Salem company,   
led by Francis Higginson four years before, was an   
avowedly Separatist company. It was Puritan. Its   
members had probably every one been members of   
the established Church of England. It is not likely   
that any of them while in their own country had stood   
in a position of declared Separation from it. But three  
 thousand miles of watery distance from a hierarchy   
many of whose usages they had cast off, and planta­   
tion in a virgin wilderness, were great realities which   
could not be forgotten when the fashioning of new   
ecclesiastical institutions came to be forced upon   
them. Hence when the new settlers of Massachu­   
setts Bay came to the formation of their churches,   
they did, as a matter of fact, adopt the Brownist theory,   
already illustrated ten years or more at Plymouth, of   
the competency of every congregation of believers   
to constitute its own church-estate, and to choose and   
ordain its own officers. Indeed, in the very first   
instance of the constitution of such a church within   
the province of Massachusetts -- that at Salem in   
1629 -- the influence and co-operation of the avow-

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edly Separatist and Independent church of Plymouth   
is distinctly recognized.1

The church body to which Mr. Hooker and Mr.   
Stone came, had probably been organized before the   
arrival of the expected minister. It had been fourteen   
months on the ground; had erected a " house for   
public worship" with the very unusual accompani­   
ment of "a bell upon it" some time in 1632; 2 had   
probably already adopted a covenant, chosen William   
Goodwin its Ruling Elder, and may have chosen   
Andrew Warner and some one else its Deacons.   
When it came to setting Pastor and Teacher in their   
offices the event took place doubtless in a way sub­   
stantially identical with the like event occurring the   
day previous in the Boston church in the induction to   
office of John Cotton. That event Mr. Winthrop   
minutely describes.3 Of this one, because he had so   
fully delineated the first, he simply says, under date of   
Oct. 11, 1633: "A fast at Newtown, where Mr. Hooker   
was chosen pastor, and Mr. Stone teacher, in such a   
manner as before at Boston." That procedure becomes   
thus a guide in the present transaction at Newtown.   
In the light of it no essential mistake can be made if   
it is said to have taken place as follows. A Ruling   
Elder and two Deacons having been chosen -- either   
at that time or, as the weight of evidence seems to   
show, previously -- the "congregation" signified, in

1 Bradford's History, pp. 264, 265; Magnalia, i. 66.

2 Prince's Annals, ii. 75; Hubbard, p. 189; Paige's Cam-  
 bridge, p. 17.  
 3 Journal, i. 135, 136.

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response to the proposal by the Ruling Elder, their   
choice of Mr. Hooker as Pastor, and of Mr. Stone   
as Teacher, by the "erection of hands." Then the   
Ruling Elder asked the two elected officers if they   
did "accept of that call," whereto, if they answered as   
Cotton did at Boston, they in effect replied that know­   
ing themselves to be " unworthy and unsufficient for   
that place; yet, having observed all the passages of  
God's providence in calling [them] to it, [they] could  
not but accept it." Whereupon, in default of a   
Preaching Elder such as was had in Mr. Cotton's   
case to join with the Ruling Elder in the service, the   
Ruling Elder with " 3 or 4 of ye gravest members of   
ye church" - as in Higginson's and Skelton's ordina­   
tion at Salem - laid their hands on Mr. Hooker's head,   
and the Ruling Elder prayed, and then, "taking off   
their hands, laid them on again, and, speaking to him   
by his name, they did thenceforth design him to the

said office [ of pastor] in the name of the Holy Ghost."  
The Pastor being thus ordained and now taking the   
lead, he and the Ruling Elder and some "grave   
member" laid their hands on the head of Mr. Stone,   
and with similar service of prayer, declaration of   
office, and sign of enduement. of the Holy Ghost,   
ordained him to the office of Teacher. Then   
if Mr. Wilson, Mr. Cotton, or other "neighboring   
ministers " were present, as was probably the case,   
they gave the new Pastor and Teacher the "right   
hands of fellowship."

And so the church at Newtown became fully   
equipped and officered for its work; being, if we

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must suppose it not organized till this date of Oct.   
11, 1633, the tenth or eleventh church gathered on   
this New England soil; but if organized before, as   
was more likely the fact, being, as Johnson says in his  
 "Wonder-Working Providence," the "eighth."1

Pastor and Teacher, -- the distinction between these   
two officers in the primitive New England church   
was supposed to be based on Scripture, as for example   
on Ephesians iv. 11, and to be practically important.   
This distinction is perhaps as well stated as anywhere   
in an " Answer " of certain " Reverend Brethren"  
 in New England, sent in 1639, to inquiries ad­   
dressed to them in 163 7 by "many Puritan minis­   
ters" in Old England; the twenty-second of which   
inquiries was this, "What Essentiall difference put   
you between the Office of Pastor and Teacher, and   
doe you observe the same difference inviolably?   
"To which inquiry this reply was given,2 "And for the   
Teacher and Pastor, the difference between them lyes   
in this, that the one is principally to attend upon   
points of Knowledge and Doctrine, though not with­   
out Application; the other to points of Practice,   
though not without Doctrine." Both were preachers,   
but the Pastor's function as a preacher was thought to   
have special reference to the experimental part of   
life and behaviour; the Teacher's rather to dogma   
and faith. Both had oversight of the flock; but the   
Pastor was supposed to be the shepherd and feeder,

1 Wonder-Working Providence, p. 60.

2 Church Government and Church Covenant Discussed   
(written by Richard Mather), etc., pp. 74-76.

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the Teacher the guide and warder. Both were to   
be vigilant against error; but the Pastor chiefly in   
matters of practice, the Teacher in matters of belief.   
Both gave their whole time to the work of the   
ministry, and were supported by the common funds   
of the congregation.

Yet it is obvious that the distinction between these   
two offices was an obscure one, and that each was   
likely to be continually taking on the functions of the  
 other. The Pastor could not preach much without   
dealing with matters of doctrine, and the Teacher   
could not instruct long without dealing with matters  
 of practice. So that it is not surprising that this   
supposed important distinction between the pastoral   
and teaching function -- though lasting longer in gen­  
 eral New England history than the ruling-eldership --   
became before a very great while obsolete.

But in that first new day of ecclesiastical experi­   
ment and devotion, Pastor and Teacher were deemed   
alike indispensable. And so the "grave godly and   
judicious *Hooker,* ... and the Retoricall, Mr. *Stone* "1   
entered upon the work of the two offices side by side.

1 Wonder-Working Providence, p. 58**.**

*IN MASSACHUSETTS.*

CHAPTER V.

IN MASSACHUSE'ITS AND REMOVAL TO CONNECTICUT,

For after Mr. Hooker's coming over, it was observed that   
many of the freemen grew to be very jealous of their liberties.

HUBBARD (ed. 1848), p. 165**.**

THE communitary life-into which Pastor Hooker   
and Teacher Stone found themselves introduced on   
their arrival in the Bay had already passed the sever­   
est of the experiences incident to the planting of a   
new colony. Salem, Dorchester, Boston, Watertown,   
Roxbury, Lynn, Charlestown, and probably Newtown   
had not only regularly established town organiza­   
tions, but church institutions and more or less well­   
developed social privileges; and there were several   
other plantations in the near vicinity which were   
moving rapidly toward a like stage of development.

All these various settlements in the Bay had grown   
up since 1628, when, after several ineffectual attempts   
to plant permanent institutions, a company of settlers   
under the lead of John Endicott had fixed upon   
Salem, and made there the hoped-for dwelling-place   
of "peace."

These towns were all gathered under the provisions   
of a charter to the "Governor and Company of the   
Massachusetts Bay," granted in 1629, which docu-

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ment had been brought over by Mr. John Winthrop   
and a notable company of associates in June, 1630.   
The granting of the charter was as a trumpet-call to   
sympathizers with the Puritan movement in England;   
and company after company of stalwart men and   
heroic women, despairing of the reformation of the   
State and Church in their own land, turned their faces   
in hope to the New World, and found home and sanc­   
tuary in more or less voluntary exile in America.

Probably at the time of Hooker's arrival at New­   
town at least three thousand Englishmen were scat­   
tered among the towns and plantations of the Bay.   
They were settling down to the various labours of   
planting, building, making roads and bridges, catch­   
ing and curing fish, trading with the Indians for furs,   
taking care of their flocks of sheep and goats, breed­   
ing cattle, and building up the fabric of an orderly   
society. It was, on the whole, a remarkable assemblage   
of men and women.

The ministers, now numbering thirteen or fourteen   
in the colony, were nearly all University men, had   
been clergy of the English Church, and were, several   
of them, eminent at home for all clerical gifts and at­   
tainments. The magistrates were men of good social   
position in their own land, and some of them of   
wealth and honourable family. The rank and file of   
the citizenship were of solid, middle-class English life,

-- men and women thrifty, sober, conscientious, in­   
telligently religious, and Puritan by conviction and ex­   
perience. It was a strong, hardy, somewhat stern and   
austere society, as became people who had had trials,

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were in the midst of hardships, and had the prospect   
of difficulties yet before them.

The particular town to which Hooker came had, in   
the autumn of 1633, about a hundred families. It   
had been intended that the place should be the seat   
of government; and in 1630 some houses had been   
built, and a " pallysadoe " made " aboute the newe  
 towne," and a "fosse" -- some of whose remains   
were visible at the beginning of the present cen­  
 tury - dug about the designated precincts of the   
fortifications. The superior advantages of Boston,   
however, as the main town of the colony, caused the   
abandonment of the plan for fortifying Newtown;   
but William Wood, writing in the year Hooker ar­   
rived, describes the place as "one of the neatest   
and best compacted towns in New-England, having  
 many fair structures, with many handsome contrived   
streets. The inhabitants, most of them, are very rich,   
and well stored with cattle of all sorts, having many hun­  
 dred acres of ground paled in with one general fence,   
which is about a mile and a half long, which secures all   
their weaker cattle from the wild beasts."1 These fair   
structures and handsome-contrived streets must be   
understood in the light of certain orders on the rec­   
ords of the little settlement, -- that "all the houses   
[within] the bounds of the town shall be covered [with]   
slate or board, and not with thatch," and that all houses   
shall "range even, and stand just six [feet on each   
man's] own ground from the street." 2

1 "New England's Prospect," in Young's Massachusetts,   
p. 402.

2 Paige's Cambridge, pp. 18, 19.

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The coming of so marked a reinforcement of the   
ministry of the Bay as was implied in the arrival of   
Cotton, Hooker, and Stone was a source of profound   
rejoicing to the whole colony. Punning does not seem   
to have been a forbidden amusement; for the people   
were pleased to say that their "three great neces­   
sities were now supplied, for they had Cotton for their   
clothing, Hooker for their fishing, and Stone for their   
building."

The ministers themselves instituted a meeting "at

one of their houses by course, where some question of   
moment was debated." This meeting -- the probable   
progenitor of the Boston Association of Congrega­   
tional Ministers -- was, however, looked upon askance   
by Mr. Skelton, the pastor at Salem, and by Roger   
Williams, who was with him, " exercising by way of   
prophecy; " they " fearing it might grow in time to a   
presbytery or superintendency, to the prejudice of the   
churches' liberties." 1 Special religious awakening at   
Boston followed the coming of Mr. Cotton to the   
church in that place; and it was probably at this time   
that the Thursday lectures were established in each   
of the four nearly adjacent towns, - Boston, Dorches­   
ter, Roxbury, and Newtown. But by October of the  
 following year ( r 634), "it being found, that the four   
lectures did spend too much time, and proved over­   
burdensome to the ministers and people, the ministers,   
with the advice of the magistrates, ... did agree to re­   
duce them to two days, viz., Mr. Cotton at Boston one   
Thursday, or the 5th day of the week, and Mr. Hooker

1 Winthrop, i. 139**.**

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at Newtmvn the next 5th day, and Mr. Warham at Dor­   
chester one 4th day of the week, and Mr. Welde at   
Roxbury the next 4th day." 1 Apparently, however,   
this arrangement did not long suit the people, who   
then, as generally, liked to get all they could out of   
their ministers; and in December following the old   
practice of the afternoon lectures in each town was   
resumed.2 The range of these Thursday lectures,   
if we may judge from the reports preserved of those   
of Mr. Cotton, swept the whole field of manners   
and morals as well as doctrine. One of these, in   
1633 at Boston, was about the non-necessity of veils   
for women. Mr. Endicott, the fervid magistrate of   
Salem, who had been persuaded otherwise by Roger   
Williams, being present, argued against Mr. Cotton,   
adducing the commandment of " the apostle; "   
and the discussion grew so warm that the governor, Win­   
throp, felt called on to interpose, "and so it break   
off." 8

At another lecture Mr. Cotton, being moved by   
complaints of the sharp dealing of Robert Keaine, a  
 merchant of Boston, laid open the error of some   
"false principles" in matters of trade; one of which   
false principles was "that a man might sell as dear as  
 he can, and buy as cheap as he can;" another, "that   
he may sell as he bought, though he paid too dear, etc.,   
and though the commodity be fallen." Against which   
he laid down the proposition, among others, that "a   
man may not ask any more for his commodity than   
his selling price, as Ephron to Abraham, the land is

1 Winthrop, 1. 172. 2 Ibid. 180. 3 Ibid. 149.

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worth thus much."1 At still another lecture Mr.   
Cotton came down in reproval of a proposition pend­   
ing in the General Court for leaving out of office  
 two of their ancientest magistrates, because they   
were grown poor," censuring "such miscarriage,"   
and telling the " country, that such as were decayed   
in their estates by attending the service of the coun­   
try ought to be maintained by the country." 2 But   
the staple of Mr. Cotton's lectures was Scripture expo­   
sition and application. He had practised the same   
thing at his lectures in England, and " at both Bos­   
tons went through near the whole Bible."3 Mr.   
Cotton's Thursday lectures were probably in topic   
and method essentially the same with those of other   
ministers of the colony. We know more of them   
than we do of Mr. Hooker's or the other ministers'   
mainly because he had in his church an intelligent   
hearer who kept a journal. Mr. Hooker had no Gov­   
ernor Winthrop jotting down in his diary the current   
events in which his pastor took a share. Neverthe­   
less he seems to have been concerned and influential   
in most matters that were going on. In 1633 and   
again in 1636 he was associated with Cotton and   
Wilson in reconciling certain oppositions of the some­   
what touchy Mr. Dudley of Newtown and Governor   
Winthrop of Boston, - once on some personal differ­   
ence,4 and again about the degree of leniency allow­   
able in the administration of public affairs,5 Dudley

1 Winthrop, i. 378-382. 2 Ibid. ii. 67.  
3 Cotton's Narrative, 4 Mass. Hist. Coll., iv. 284.  
**4** Winthrop, i. 139, 140. 5Ibid. 212.

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being in favour of sterner measures than Winthrop   
practised or desired. On the second of these occa­   
sions, Mr. Haynes of Newtown, then governor, sided   
against the lenient conduct of Winthrop, -- a fact to  
 be made note of in connection with questions shortly  
 to arise concerning the causes of the separation of the   
Newtown Company from the colony. In November,   
1634, the Assistants called on Mr. Hooker, with Mr.   
Cotton and Mr. Welde of Roxbury, to take to task his  
 old acquaintance, the usher of the Little Baddow   
School, John Eliot, -- then the young Teacher of the   
Roxbury church and afterward the Indian Apostle, --   
for criticising the magistrates as to their manner of   
making peace with the Pequots.1

More memorable was another transaction in which   
the General Court invoked Mr. Hooker's aid. The   
restless and aftenvard celebrated Roger Williams had   
installed in Mr. Skelton's place at Salem against   
the remonstrance of the magistrates of the colony,2   
who already -- in 163 I -- had had experience of his   
disquieting influence in that place. Since that time   
he had been in Plymouth ventilating such unsettled   
judgments as made the Plymouth church in com­   
mending him back to the Salem fellowship accom­   
pany their commendation " with some caution to   
them concerning him, and what care they ought to   
have of him." 3 Arrived at Salem again, he recom­   
menced the controversies which ultimately resulted in   
his sentence of banishment. It was the circum-

1 Winthrop, i, 179. 2 Hubbard, p. 204.  
 3 Bradford, p. 310.

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stances of the time which gave to Mr. Williams's per­   
formances their special dangerousness. No doctrinal   
question of religion was involved, least of all that view  
 of baptism which he afterward -- and temporarily1 --   
held, and which has so often erroneously been repre­   
sented as a cause of exclusion from the colony. He   
denied the validity of the colonial charter; 2 he coun­   
selled the cutting out of the cross from the king's   
flag; 3 he declared the administration of an oath of of­   
fice to an unregenerate person to be a participation in  
 taking " the name of God in vain;"4 he pronounced   
worship in churches which had not renounced con­   
nection with the Established Church of England a   
sin.6 When the General Court suspended action on  
 a petition of Salem to receive a grant of public land,   
he moved his church to write to other churches to   
discipline their members who as town-representatives   
united in this delay; 6 when these churches hesitated   
to act on this advice of the Salem church, he coun­   
selled his church to withdraw fellowship from them;7   
when his church did not act on his counsel in this  
 matter, he withdrew fellowship from it, and set up a   
private conventicle in his own house;8 and when his   
wife continued to attend the Salem church, he re­   
nounced fellowship with her, and refused to say family   
prayers or grace at the table in her presence.9 In an

1 Winthrop, i. *352, 353,* 369. 2 Ibid. 145, 180.  
3 Hubbard, p. 205. 4 Winthrop, i. 188.

5 Ibid. 63, 180. 6 Ibid. 195.

7 Ibid. 1981 204. 8 Hubbard, p. 207.

9 Ibid.

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established time of quietude these performances of   
Mr. Williams might have been comparatively harm­   
less, and been winked at as tokens only of the un­   
settled judgment which the clear mind of Governor   
Bradford had already noted. But it was not a time   
of quiet. The liberties of the colony were in immi­   
nent peril. Proceedings had already commenced for   
vacating the charter in the English courts. Reports   
tending to inflame the ecclesiastical authorities in   
England were continually sent back by disaffected   
persons. in America. In this condition of affairs,   
to deny the charter's validity, to charge the king   
with telling a "lie" in granting it,1 to recommend   
the mutilation of the king's colours, to proclaim the   
unchristian character of the churches in not de­   
nouncing the English Church as anti-christian, and   
to turmoil the churches and magistrates among them­   
selves, were offences against civil peace which no ad­   
ministration could overlook. The question was not   
theological, it was a question of political order and of   
public safety;2 and it was forced upon a reluctant   
government by a man who was not even a freeman of   
the colony, but one who personally declined, and   
employed his pulpit to induce others to decline, even   
a resident's oath of loyalty to the government under   
which he lived.

Being summoned before the Court in October, 1635,

Mr. Williams "maintained all his opinions." Asked

1 Winthrop, i. 145.

2 Palfrey, i. 414; Eilis's Puritan Age, pp. 267-291; Dexter's   
As to Roger Williams, p. 79.

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if he would take the subject into further thought,   
for which purpose a month's consideration was pro­   
posed to him, he refused, choosing to " dispute   
presently."

Accepting his proposal, Mr. Hooker was requested   
to argue the points in debate, in hope of securing   
acquiescence to avoid extremer measures. Most of   
the discussion has perished. One point of it, how­   
ever, in which Mr. Hooker apparently attempted to   
apply to Mr. Williams's doctrine of the sinfulness of   
tendering an oath to an unregenerate person the   
method known as the *reductio ad absurdum,* remains   
in Mr. Cotton's account of it.1 Mr. Williams had   
complained -

"that he was wronged by a slanderous report up and   
downe the Countrey, as if he did hold it to be unlawfull   
for a Father to call upon his childe to eat his meate.   
Our reverend Brother, Mr. Hooker, (the Pastor of the   
Church where the Court was then kept) being mooved to   
speake a word to it, Why, saithe he, you will say as much   
againe (if you stand to your own Principles) or be forced   
to say nothing. When Mr. Williams was confident he   
should never say it, Mr. Hooker replyed, If it be unlaw­   
full to Call an unregenerate person to take an Oath, or to   
Pray, as being actions of God's worship, then it is unlaw­   
full for your unregenerate childe to pray for a blessing   
upon his own meate. If it be unlawfull for him to pray   
for a blesing upon his meate, it is unlawfull for him to   
eate it (for it is sanctified by prayer, and without prayer   
unsanctified, *I Tim. iv:* 4, *5.)* If it be unlawfull for him

1 Cotton's Reply to Mr. Williams his Examination, p. 30.

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to eate it, it is unlawfull for you to call upon him to eate  
 it, for it is unlawfull for you to call upon him to sinne. --   
Here Mr. Williams thought better to hold his peace, then   
to give an Answer."

The "dispute" had the general issue of similar   
controversies. Mr. Hooker's endeavours were well   
meant, and judging from this sample were logically   
ingenious in putting Mr. Williams into an uncom­   
fortable dilemma, but he " could not reduce him from   
any of his errors."

The inevitable consequence followed. Mr. Wil­   
liams's teachings and behaviour were playing directly   
into the hands of Land and prerogative abroad, and   
schism and disorder at home; and the order of Court   
was that he leave the colony, whose lawful right to   
be or to legislate he denounced, within the six weeks   
next ensuing.

Reference has been made to the mutilation of the   
national ensign. Though encouraged by Williams,   
the act was that of Endicott. The matter made a   
great stir. The towns were called on to choose a   
commission of one from each town on the subject,   
to which commission the magistrates added four.   
The commission declared Mr. Endicott's "offence   
to be great;" his action in denouncing the cross   
as "a sin " impeaching the magistrates as "if they   
would suffer idolatry," and "giving occasion to the   
state of England to think ill of us." Mr. Endi­   
cott was therefore admonished, and "disabled for   
one year from bearing any public office; "the mag­   
istrates declining" any heavier sentence, because

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they were persuaded he did it out of tenderness of   
conscience, and not of any evil intent.'' 1

A sensible, quiet-tempered paper on this contro­   
versy was written by Mr. Hooker, which is preserved   
in the Massachusetts Historical Society's archives.   
It has never been published in full, but its general   
bearing may be inferred from the single paragraph:

"Not that I am a friend to the crosse as an idoll, or to   
any idollatry in it; or that any carnall fear takes me   
asyde and makes me unwilling to give way to the evi­   
dence of the truth, because of the sad consequences that   
may be suspected to flowe from it. I blesse the Lord,   
my conscience accuseth me of no such thing; but that   
as yet I am not able to see the sinfulness of this banner   
in a civil use."

The ministers of the colony were not eligible to   
secular office, but their advice was sought on weighty   
occasions, and Mr. Hooker's seems to have been   
prized as highly as that of any one. His church pros­   
pered as well as any church in the colony; its leading   
lay member, Mr. John Haynes, was chosen governor   
in May, 1635, on which occasion he signalized his   
liberality and ability alike by declining the usual   
salary of the office.2 The town was as flourishing as   
any in the Bay, its tax being as large as Boston's.3

But all along, from very near the arrival of the   
"Griffin's" company, a certain uneasiness manifested   
itself in respect to the Newtown people's situation, all   
the causes of which are difficult to trace, but which

1 Winthrop, **1.** 188, 189. 2 Ibid. 190.

3 Colonial Records, 1. 149.

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culminated at last in the removal of Mr. Hooker and   
nearly the entire population of the town to Hartford.   
Only six months after the induction of Hooker and   
Stone into their offices the inhabitants of " New­   
town complained [May, 1634] of straitness for want   
of land, especially meadow, and desired leave of the   
court to look out either for enlargement or removal,   
which was granted; whereupon they sent men to see   
Agawam and Merimack, and gave out that they would   
remove." 1 But apparently the Agawam and Mer­   
rimac reconnaissance was not satisfactory, for in July   
following they sent a pioneer party of six to Connec­   
ticut, "intending to remove their town thither." 2

In September the matter came up again in the   
General Court. Winthrop gives this account of it:3

" September 4, the general court began at Newtown,   
and continued a week, and then was adjourned fourteen   
days. Many things were there agitated and concluded.

. . But the main business, which spent the most time,   
and caused the adjourning of the court, was about the   
removal of Newtown. Th!=Y had leave, the last general   
court, to look out some place for enlargement or removal,   
with promise of having it confirmed to them, if it were   
not prejudicial to any other plantation; and now they   
moved that they might have leave to remove to Connecti­   
cut. The matter was debated divers days, and many   
reasons alleged pro and con. The principal reasons for   
their removal were, 1. Their want of accommodation for   
their cattle, so as they were not able to maintain their   
ministers, nor could receive any more of their friends to

1 Winthrop, 1. 157-159. 2 Ibid. 162.

3 Ibid. 166-169.

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help them; and here it was alleged by Mr. Hooker, as a   
fundamental error, that towns were set so near to each   
other. 2. The fruitfulness and commodiousness of Con­   
necticut, and the danger of having it possessed by others,   
Dutch or English. 3. The strong bent of their spirits   
to remove thither.

"Against these it was said, I. That, in point of con­   
science, they ought not to depart from us, being knit to   
us in one body, and bound by oath to seek the welfare of   
this commonwealth. 2. That, in point of state and civil   
policy, we ought not to give them leave to depart. 1.   
Being we were now weak and in danger to be assailed.

2. The departure of Mr. Hooker would not only draw

many from us, but also divert other friends that would   
come to us. 3. We should expose them to evident peril,   
both from the Dutch (who made claim to the same river,   
and had already built a fort there) and from the Indians,   
and also from our own state at home, who would not   
endure they should sit down without a patent in any   
place which our king lays claim unto. 3. They might   
be accomodated at home by some enlargement which   
other towns offered. 4. They might remove to Merri­   
mack, or any other place within our patent. 5. The remov­   
ing of a candlestick is a great judgement, which is to be   
avoided. Upon these and other arguments the court be­   
ing divided, it was put to vote; and, of the deputies, fifteen   
were for their departure, and ten against it. The gov­   
ernour [Dudley] and two assistants were for it, and the   
deputy and all the rest of the assistants were against it,   
(except the secretary, who gave no vote;) whereupon no   
record was entered, because there were not six assistants   
in the vote, as the patent requires. Upon this grew a great   
difference between the governour and assistants, and the   
deputies. They would not yield the assistants a negative   
voice, and the others (considering how dangerous it might   
be to the commonwealth, if they should not keep that

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strength to balance the greater number of the deputies)   
thought it safe to stand upon it. So, when they could   
proceed no farther, the whole court agreed to keep a day  
 of humiliation to seek the Lord, which accordingly was   
done, in all the congregations, the 18th day of this month;   
and the 24th the court met again. Before they began   
Mr. Cotton preached, (being desired by all the court,   
upon Mr. Hooker's instant excuse of his unfitness for   
that occasion).1 He took his text out of Hag. II. 4, etc.,   
out of which he laid down the nature or strength (as he  
 termed it) of the magistracy, ministry, and people, viz., --   
the strength of the magistracy to be their authority; of   
the people, their liberty; and of the ministry, their purity;  
 and showed how all of these had a negative voice, etc., and  
 that yet the ultimate resolution, etc., ought to be in the   
whole body of the people, etc., with answer to all objec­  
 tions, and a declaration of the people's duty and right to   
maintain their true liberties against any unjust violence,  
 etc., which gave great satisfaction to the company. And  
 it pleased the Lord so to assist him, and to bless his own  
 ordinance, that the affairs of the court went on cheerfully;  
 and although all were not satisfied about the negative   
voice to be left to the magistrates, yet no man moved   
aught about it, and the congregation of Newtown came  
 and accepted of such enlargement as had formerly been  
 offered them by Boston and Watertown; and so the fear   
of their removal to Connecticut was removed."

It was on the occasion of this court -- and it affords   
an indication of the excitement of the parties in   
interest -- that the "very reverend and godly" Mr.

1 As being, perhaps, a too nearly interested party in the   
issue. One is reminded, however, of a certain nervousness   
which seems at times to have overborne Mr. Hooker, of   
which an instance is recorded later, May, 1639.

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William Goodwin, "elder of the congregation of

Newtown," was reproved for his "unreverend speech   
to one of the assistants " in open court.

Things now seemed amicably adjusted. The   
enlargements granted to Newtown embraced the terri­   
tory now known as the towns of Brookline, Brighton,   
Newton, and Arlington. Making every allowance for   
the necessities of a hundred families, even of an agri­   
cultural and cattle-raising class, this territory certainly   
seems sufficient. The population now dwelling on   
the same soil is upward of eighty thousand. But the   
settlers were not easy. "The strong bent of their   
spirits to remove " continued. Some cause deeper   
than any lack of land in five townships to pasture   
the cattle of a few settlers in the third year of their   
arrival must have impelled to this restlessness. What   
was it?

The historian Hubbard, writing within fifty years   
of these events, and while people still lived who were   
personally actors in them, says that other motives than   
deficiency of land did " more secretly and powerfully  
 drive on the business." "Some men," he continues,  
 "do not well like, at least, cannot well bear, to be op­   
posed in their judgments and notions, and thence were   
they not unwilling to remove from under the power,   
as well as out of the bounds, of the Massachusetts." 1   
"Two such eminent stars, such as were Mr. Cotton   
and Mr. Hooker, both of the first magnitude, though   
of differing influence, could not well continue in one   
and the same orb."2 Dr. Benjamin Trumbull, in

**l** General History, pp. 305, 306. 2 Ibid. **173.**

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speaking of the death of Mr. Haynes, intimates that   
considerations arising from the relative influence of   
Haynes and Winthrop were not without weight. Mr.   
Haynes, he says, "was not considered, in any respect,   
inferior to Governor Winthrop. His growing popu­   
larity, and the fame of Mr. Hooker, who, as to   
strength of genius, and his lively and powerful man­   
ner of preaching, rivalled Mr. Cotton, were supposed   
to have no small influence upon the general court, in   
their granting liberty to Mr. Hooker and his com­   
pany to remove to Connecticut."1

Some excellent writers have seemed quite unwilling   
to recognize in the actors in these events any such   
feelings, uttered or unexpressed, as are suggested in   
these statements of Hubbard andTrumbull. But   
nothing could be more natural, and few things are   
more probable.

Nevertheless the existence of such feelings, sup­   
posing them to exist, had doubtless their origin and   
occasion in matters lying deeper than merely personal   
ones. It seems clear that on certain important   
administrative questions the people who surrounded   
Mr. Hooker entertained different convictions from   
those prevalent in the Bay counsels generally. The Bay   
settlement was a distinctly theocratic society, in which   
civil franchise was contingent on church-membership.   
When Hooker arrived in Newtown, though the popu­   
lation of the colony was numbered by the thousands,   
the freemen of it were only about three hundred and   
fifty.2 The principle of a state-church which Puritans

1 Trumbull, i. 216**.** 2 Palfrey, i. 383.

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had suffered from so much at home was, infact, re­   
established by them in the new land.1 This contin­   
gency of civil privileges on church-connection was   
never adopted in the Connecticut Colony; and whether   
openly objected to or not by the men who founded   
Connecticut while yet they remained in Massachu­   
setts, there can be no doubt that it was inwardly   
disapproved. [Strong evidence that this question had   
its influence, as well as of Mr. Hooker's attitude   
upon it, remains in a letter written to Rev. John Wilson   
from England in the early spring after the removal   
to Connecticut had taken place, in which the writer   
speaks of having heard "That ther is great diuision   
of judgment in matters of religion amongst good   
ministers & people which moued Mr. Haker to re­   
moue;" and "That you are so strict in admission   
of members to your church, that more then halfe are   
out of your church in all your congregations, & that   
Mr. Hoker befor he went away preached against yt  
 ( as one reports who hard him)."2

With a difference of judgment in a matter so funda­   
mental, other differences easily allied themselves. A   
distinct diversity of conception of the "authority of   
the magistrates " was clearly developed at the Court   
of September, 1634, between the Newtown party and   
the party opposed to removal.3 Open and free

1 Palfrey, i. 447. See also Doyle's English in America, i.  
 146, 147, 191.

2 Rev. R. Stansby to John Wilson, April 17, 1637: 4 Mass.

Hist. Coll., vii. 10, I 1.

3 Winthrop, i. 169; Hubbard, pp. 165, 166.

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disagreement between Mr. Haynes and Governor   
Winthrop as to administrative policy found expression   
in January, 1636, and had been taken cognizance of   
by all the ministers and magistrates, who had put   
themselves on one side or other of the point in debate.   
Add to this the danger impending that the charter of   
the colony might be withdrawn, and there seem to   
be ample grounds for believing that Mr. Haynes and   
Mr. Goodwin and the leading laymen of Newtown   
felt that they would be more comfortable under an   
administration of their own, in some other quarter of   
the boundless new land.

Nor is it improbable that Mr. Hooker shared the   
feeling on personal as well as political grounds.   
Before he left England overtures had been made by   
his friends, acting at Mr. Hooker's motion,1 to secure   
Mr. Cotton as colleague with him in the proposed   
enterprise to America. The overture was declined.   
But on the arrival together in the new country of   
the two old acquaintances - and doubtless always   
friends -- the colony seems to have been thrown into   
a kind of ferment as to the proper disposal of Mr.   
Cotton. Thirteen days after he landed the Governor   
and Council and all the ministers were called together   
"to consider about Mr. Cotton his sitting down." 2   
Boston was fixed on as the "fittest place; " and it   
was first agreed that the payment for his weekly   
lectures should be out of the public treasury. This   
resolve was presently revoked as being invidious in its   
discrimination, but it indicates the feeling of the hour.

1 Magnalia, i. 393**.** 2 Winthrop, i. 133.

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Established thus with the acclaim of the magistracy   
and of the people in the central point of ecclesiastical   
influence in the colony, the great abilities and tireless   
industry of Mr. Cotton pervaded everything. "What­   
ever he delivered in the pulpit was soon put into an   
Order of Court, if of a civil, or set up as a practice in

the church, if of an ecclesiastical concernment."1   
And Mr. Cotton's political deliverances were generally   
on the side of authority and permanency in the magis­  
 tracy; a side to which the general tendencies of the   
Newtown pastor's mind did not equally lead him.   
On the critical occasion of the hearing before the   
Court in September, 1634, of the great question of the   
removal- when Mr. Hooker somewhat unaccount­   
ably excused himself from preaching on the issues   
raised by the Newtown proposal -- Mr. Cotton's effort   
apparently settled the business on the side of the   
Assistants, and adversely to the Newtown party.

So that on the whole it is neither strange nor at   
all discreditable, that the Newtown company should   
have thought themselves likely to be happier and   
more useful in some other settlement than that to   
which the Court had ordered them in 1632. Con­   
scious of the possession of laymen as able as any in   
the colony, and of a minister of as great qualities as   
any other, their "strong bent" to remove continued,   
and finally prevailed.

Some of them apparently went to Connecticut   
before September, 1635; for on the 3d of that month   
William Westwood was "sworn Constable of the plan-

1 Hubbard, p. 182.

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tations at Connecticut till some other be chosen,"1 --

a procedure hardly reconcilable with the theory   
maintained in the arguments before the Court in   
September previous that the settlers there would   
be without the Massachusetts patent.2 Others soon   
followed. These settlers of 1635 suffered immense   
hardships along the banks of the great river, which   
froze over that season by the 15th of November.   
Famine and cold seemed to conspire against the   
enterprise. Cattle died; the people had to resort to   
acorns for food. Except for the succour afforded by   
Indians, many must have perished.3

But these hardships were not to deter the main   
body of the Newtown pilgrims; when spring came   
again, the rest of the company were ready for flight.

Fortunately the arrival, the autumn previous, of a   
large number of immigrants into the Bay, and the   
gathering of a considerable part of them into church­   
relationship under the pastoral care of Rev. Thomas   
Shepard on the 1st of February, 1636, enabled the   
Newtown people to sell their houses to the new­   
comers. On the 3d of March, 1636, John Steele   
and William Westwood were appointed among the   
eight commissioners empowered by Massachusetts to   
"govern the people at Connecticutt." These com­   
missioners were either then in Connecticut or speedily   
after, as five of them, including Steele and Westwood,   
held a "Corte ... att Newton [Hartford] 26 Apr.   
1636." 4 **1** Mass. Col. Rec., i. 159**.** 2 Winthrop, i. 167**.**

3 Trumbull's Connecticut, i. 62, 63.

4 Conn. Col.-Rec, i., preface iii, and note, text. p. I,

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The 31st of May saw the emigrants upon their   
journey. It is the season of the year in our New   
England climate when the billowy expanses of our  
forests are bursting into leaf, and each day marks   
a visible deepening of colour and density in the land­   
scape verdure. The streams run full with the newly   
melted snows of winter. The ground is spotted   
with the anemone and wild violet. In the marshy   
places glow the adder-tongue and the cowslip. The   
season is alive with promise; but the nights, though   
short, are damp and chill.

The Newtown pilgrims struck out into the almost   
pathless woods. Only a few miles from their place of   
brief habitation, and they were in a wilderness marked   
only by signs of Indian trails. Evening by evening   
they made camp and slept, guarded and sentinelled,   
by forest fires. One of their number, Mrs. Hooker, the   
pastor's wife, was carried on a litter because of her   
infirmity. It was a picturesque but an arduous pil­   
grimage. Men and women of refinement and deli­   
cate breeding turned explorers of primeval forests in   
search of a wilderness home. The lowing of a hun­   
dred and sixty cattle sounding through the forest   
aisles, not to mention the bleating of goats and the   
squealing of swine, summoned them to each morning's   
advance. The day began and ended with the voice   
of prayer and perhaps of song. At some point on   
their fortnight's journey a Sabbath must have inter­   
vened, when of course the camp remained still for   
worship in the wilderness. Their toilsome and   
devious way led them probably by the route which

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came to be known as the "old Connecticut path,"   
through what were afterward the towns of Framing­   
ham and Dudley and Woodstock; the same route   
by which the roving Oldham went in 1633, when he   
lodged in "Indian towns all the way.'' Reaching at   
some uncertain point the wide, full Connecticut,   
flowing then with larger tide than now, and swollen   
with its northern snows, the travellers crossed on   
rafts and rudely constructed boats; and on the spot   
where Hartford now lifts its stately edifices of worship   
and of trade, and cheered by the sight of some pioneer   
attempts at habitation and settlement made the season   
previous, " Mr. Hooker's company " rested, and the   
ark of the church stood still.

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CHAPTER VI.

HOOKER IN CONNECTICUT.

SECTION I.

*The light of the western churches.*

*Magnalia,* i. 303.

THE spot on which the Newtown pilgrims arrived   
was claimed by three different parties, -- the Dutch,   
the Plymouth Colony, and the Indians. The Dutch   
had built a fort at the mouth of the "Little River,"   
which here flows into the Connecticut, and laid claim   
to the surrounding territory. The Plymouth people   
held that the region belonged to them, and resented   
the intrusion upon itof Massachusetts emigrants.   
The matter was made the subject of sharp corre­   
spondence between the Massachusetts and Plymouth   
authorities,1 especially inconnection with the occu­   
pancy of the territory in the township of Windsor,   
next north of Hartford, which was taken possession   
of by the Dorchester people, notwithstanding the   
Plymouth colonists had a trading-house there. The   
Plymouth people indeed regarded the settlement of   
the three towns of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethers­   
field as a trespass upon their territory, -- a view which   
the declinature of the Massachusetts government to

1 Bradford, pp. 338-342.

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unit with Plymouth in erecting a plantation there   
three years before ; its assent that Plymouth do it   
alone,1 and the objections made in the General Court   
to the Newtown people's removal as being to a place   
outside of the Massachusetts patent,2 tended certainly   
to confirm. The " controversie," Bradford says,   
"ended, but the unkindnes not so soone forgotten."3

The Dutch claims to the territory seem to have   
been intentionally and deliberately ignored. Not so   
the Indians'. Agents of the Newtown company were   
employed to purchase the ground; Rev. Samuel Stone   
and Elder William Goodwin being the persons desig­   
nated for the purpose. The territory embraced in   
this purchase was about coincident with that subse­   
quently known as the township of Hartford. The   
portions needed for the immediate uses of the little   
settlement were parcelled out in lots of about two   
acres each, those of Mr. Haynes, Mr. Hooker, Mr.   
Stone, and Mr. William Goodwin being side by side   
on the banks of the Little River, flowing then a sweet   
and healthful stream through the town.

A church-building-not taking account of a tem­

porary structure soon abandoned and given to Mr.   
Hooker as a barn -- destined for ninety-nine years to   
serve the religious and political uses of the commun­   
ity was built in what was called Meeting-House Yard,   
a tract of ground covering a somewhat larger extent   
than that now known as Old State-House Square.   
Near to the meeting-house were various other then

1 Winthrop, i. 216. 2 Ante, p. 84.

3 Bradford, p. 342; Doyle, i. 207, 208.

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supposed necessary adjuncts to communitary welfare,

-- the stocks, the pillory, and the whipping-post, as well   
as the market and the jail. The usual time for put­   
ting the first three named of these adjuncts of civiliza­   
tion into use was Lecture-day, when the warnings   
against wrong-doing uttered in the meeting-house could   
receive practical illustration just outside. Thus while   
Mr. Hooker·or Mr. Stone was expounding morality in   
the church-edifice, one might have seen the carrying   
into effect of some one, among other, of the following   
sentences: 1 --

"Nicholas Olmsteed ... [is] to stand vppon the Pil­   
lery at Hartford the next lecture day dureing the time of   
the lecture. He is to be sett on, a lytle before the begin­   
ing & to stay thereon a litle after the end."

"Walter Gray, for his misdemeanor in laboring to   
inueagle the affections of Mr. Hoockers mayde, is to be publique1y corrected the next lecture day.''

"Susan Coles, for her rebellious cariedge toward her   
mistris, is to be sent to the howse of correction and be   
keept to hard labour & course dyeti to be brought forth   
the next lecture day to be publiquely corrected, and so   
to be corrected weekley vntil Order be giuen to the   
contrary."

Not far distant from the church-edifice was the first   
burying-ground of the little community. It was soon   
abandoned however, its stones removed, and even   
the soil graded away, so that no trace of it has re­   
mained for two hundred years.

Some structures like sentinel towers or palisades

1 Conn. Col. Rec., i. 50, 124.

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protected the remoter portions of the village from   
surprise; while within the appointed precincts the   
people built their houses, shops, and mills, and re­   
peated again substantially the pioneer experiences   
they had gone through. three years before in their   
Massachusetts home, only this time with probably   
more carefulness of provision against danger, as   
being more isolated from support and deeper in the   
wilderness.

The original government of the three communities   
grouped within a few miles along the Connecticut had   
been a commission appointed by Massachusetts. But   
this provisional condition of things did not even nom­   
inally much survive the year of its creation. The   
claim to jurisdiction over the territory implied in such   
an appointment was too doubtful, and the spirit of   
independence in the three settlements themselves was   
too strong to allow the continuance of such an ar­   
rangement. Accordingly, on the first day of May   
1637, there was held a "Gen'all Corte att Harte­   
ford,"1 -- so named in honour of Mr. Stone's birth­   
place in England, -- and formal, local and popular2   
government of the Connecticut plantations was estab­   
lished. The first recorded act of this new constituted   
popular government was a declaration of "offensiue   
warr agt the Pequoitt," and a levy of ninety men to   
fight them. Hartford was called on for forty-two   
men, Windsor for thirty, and Wethersfield for eighteen.

1 Conn. Col. Rec., i. 9.

2 Conn. Hist. Soc. Collections, i. 13, 18: Hooker's letter   
and Trumbull's note.

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The occasion was what seemed likely to be a general   
combination of the Indian tribes for the white men's   
extirpation. In February previous several men had   
been killed by the Indians at Saybrook. A little   
later, three men going down the river in a shallop were   
mutilated, their bodies cut open and hung on trees   
by the river-side. In April six men and three women   
at Wethersfield had been killed, and two girls carried   
captive. Thirty Connecticut dwellers had lost their   
lives, some of them with barbaric tortures. No In­   
dian historian has recorded for us the provocations   
which led these poor savages to their cruel revenges;   
but whatever their provocation -- and some certainly   
they had1 -- the matter had now perhaps reached a   
stage too late for anything but war.

At any rate, the white people thought so. Capt.   
John Mason, of Windsor, commanded the little army;   
Mr. Stone, the Teacher of the Hartford church, went   
with the soldiers as their chaplain; and before they   
started Mr. Hooker, the Pastor, made them an ad­   
dress in which he uttered the encouraging declaration   
"that the Pequots should be bread for them." 2 A   
letter of Mr. Hooker to Governor Winthrop, written   
after the expedition had started and before its result   
was known, gives a little light on the impelling causes   
of the war:3 --

1 Lathrop's Centenary Sermon at West Springfield, 1796,  
 pp. 23, 24.

2 Mason's Brief History, in Mather's Early History, Drake's

ed., p 121.

3 4 Mass. Hist. Coll., vi. 388, 389.

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"Though we feele nether the tyme nor our strenght   
fitt for such a service, yet the Indians here, our frends,   
werr so importunate with vs to make warr presently, that   
vnlesse we had attempted to do something, we had deliv­   
ered our persons vnto contempt of base feare & cowardise,  
 & caused them to turne enemyes agaynst vs. Agaynst   
our mynds, being constrayned by necessity we have sent   
out a company taking some Indians for guides with vs."

But that it was not humanitarian sentiment which   
caused hesitation is plain from what follows: --

"I hope you see a necessity to hasten execution & not   
to do this work of the Lords revenge slackly."

The story is a familiar one of the courageous at­   
tack, May 26, on the Pequot fort eight miles   
northeast of where is now New London, in which   
several hundred Indians of both sexes and all ages   
were killed by sword and bullet and fire in about an   
hour's time. It was hardly a characteristic piece of   
church-work, yet it is probable that the victors were   
nearly to a man church-members; and the whole en­   
terprise was apparently backed by perfect faith not   
alone in its necessity but its propriety. And in cele­   
brating the victory stout John Mason says:1 --

" It may not be amiss here also to remember Mr.   
Stone (the famous Teacher of the Church of *Hartford)*who was sent to preach and pray with those who went   
out in those Engagements against the *Pequots.* He lent   
his best Assistance and Counsel in the Management of

1 Mason's Brief History, in Mather's Early History, Drake's

ed., p. 157**.**

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those Designs, and the Night in which the Engagement   
was, (in the morning of it) I say that Night he was with   
the Lord alone, wrestling with Him by Faith and Prayer,   
and surely his Prayers prevailed for a blessing; and in the   
very Time when our Israel was ingaging with the bloud­   
thirsty *Pequots,* he was in the Top of the Mount, and so   
held up his Hand that Israel prevailed."

This, done in self-defence and apparent necessity,   
is probably quite as justifiable as most of the wars of   
our ancestors with the Indians; but it a little revolts   
our feelings to find Mr. Ludlow, the lawyer of the   
colony, and Mr. Pyncheon, soon to be the author of   
a book, far in advance of his age, on the "Meritorious   
Price of our Redemption," carrying to Boston a part   
of the skin and scalps of the vanquished "Sassacus   
and his brother, and five other Pequot sachems, who,   
being fled to the Mohawks for shelter . . . were   
by them surprised and slain." 1 Even in that hard   
age there was one man, Roger Williams, humane   
enough to say of it: 2 "Those Dead Hands were no   
pleasing sight. . . . I have alwaies showne Dislike to   
such dismembering the Dead," -- a sentiment the   
cherishing and utterance of which goes far to offset   
the estimate of the eccentric man necessarily result­   
ing from the facts mentioned in the last chapter con­   
cerning him. And when it is remembered that the   
very next spring following the slaughter of this Pequot   
tribe and conveyance of scalps and skins to Boston,   
the settlements along the river were saved from what

1 Winthrop, i. 281.

2 Mass. Hist. Coll., xx.xvi. 207.

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threatened to be a fatal famine by the purchase of  
 "so much Corn at reasonable Rates" of the Indians   
at Deerfield, "that *the* Indians brought down to Hart­   
ford and Windsor fifty Canoes laden with Corn at one   
Time,"1 one wonders whether even then a better use   
might not have been made of the native proprietors   
of the soil than shooting and burning them.

This aid from Indian sources, together with the   
safe arrival of a vessel from Boston bringing the im­   
portant reinforcement to the colony of Mr. Edward   
Hopkins and his associates, was made a topic of obser­   
vation in a Thanksgiving sermon by Mr. Hooker;   
on Oct. 4, 1638, from the text I Sam. vii. 12:   
"Then Samuel took a stone, and set it up between   
Mizpeh and Shen, and called the name of it Ebenezer,   
saying, Hitherto hath the Lord helped us."2 In the   
course of the sermon Mr. Hooker said: --

"It was a sad, sharp winter with us in these western   
parts, that many lost their lives, not only cattle, but men.   
But the Lord delivered us. Men concluded it, many   
affirmed it, never any vessel came to these parts; but   
the Lord brought it safe. Nay, if you had heard what a   
battle of men's tongues there was against it; why, the

1 Drake's Mather's Early New England, p. I 58.

2 The sermon was transcribed by Deacon Matthew Grant, of   
Windsor, possibly from Mr. Hooker's notes and possibly from   
shorthand notes of the discourse taken by himself. A portion  
of his painfully difficult manuscript was copied by Dr. J. H.  
Trumbull and published in the "Hartford Evening Press,"   
Nov. 28, 1860, from which the extracts given in the text are   
taken. The broken and ejaculatory character of the rhetoric   
doubtless indicates the imperfect quality of the reporting.

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merchant that brought it, the master that guided it,   
the passengers that freighted it, it was the Lord, brethren,   
that brought it, it was the Lord that guided it; and truly,   
had it not been for the Lord we might have perished.   
Yea, we might have perished for want; but the Lord sent   
us, as it were, drink out of the rock and meat from the   
ravens, -- the Indians, that they should bring provision   
and leave it here; it was the Lord that brought it! That   
a company of poor men should with a boat fall upon such   
a place, and then prepare for others coming, - it was the   
Lord that did it! If anything could have hindered, either   
by truth or falsehood, to keep men from coming to these   
parts hitherto. it had been done; but yet, notwithstanding,   
men's minds informed, their consciences convicted, their   
hearts persuaded to come and to plant. It is the Lord's   
doing, because his mercy endureth forever!  
 "The time unseasonable, the winter hard, the corn

grown not, -- we could not expect but that the hand of   
the Lord was gone out against us; and truly, it may be it   
was so. O, it was because the mercy of the Lord endur­   
eth forever, that the Lord hath preserved us, -- against   
the malice of devils, the envy of men, and the perverse­   
ness of those which seemed to fear God . . . . Let us,

when we have seen the Lord in all, -- the Lord in the   
sending of the ship and we not aware of it, -- the Lord in   
bringing us safe, ingiving us provisions ... labour to   
have a heart more near unto Him**,** more endeared unto   
Him. In all those dealings of His, every expression of   
God's providence, it should have a touch or a turn, as it   
were, upon the soul to draw the heart toward him."

In these extracts Mr. Hooker distinctly indicates   
his belief -- a belief which doubtless his hearers   
entertained with him - that the authorities in Massa­   
chusetts discouraged emigration to Connecticut, and

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misrepresented the condition of things in the new   
settlement to deter people from coming. The same   
view of the attitude of the Massachusetts men comes   
out in a letter written by Mr. Hooker to Governor   
Winthrop just about the time this sermon was   
preached. In this letter 1 Mr. Hooker says: --

"Before I express my observations, I must profess, by   
way of preface, that what I shall write are not forged   
imaginations and suppositions coined out of men's con­   
ceits, but that which is reported, cried openly, and car­   
ried by sea and land: secondly, my aim is not at any   
person, nor intendment to charge any particular, with   
you; because it is the common trade, that is driven   
amongst multitudes with you, and with which the heads   
and hearts of passengers come loaded hither, and that   
with grief and wonderment. And the conclusion which   
is aimed at from these reproaches and practices is this,   
that we are a forlorn people, not worthy to be succoured   
with company, and so neither with support.

"I will particularize. If inquiry be, what be the peo­   
ple at Connecticut? the reply is, Alas, poor rash-headed   
creatures, they rushed into a war with the heathen; and,   
had not we rescued them, at so many hundred charges,   
they had been utterly undone. In all which, you know   
there is not a true sentence: for we did not rush into the   
war; and the Lord himself did rescue, before friends.

" If, after much search for the settling of people, and   
nothing suitable found to their desires, but toward Con­   
necticut; if yet then they will needs go from the Bay, go   
any whither, be any where, choose any place, any patent-

1 Transcribed from the Massachusetts archives in the   
Secretary's office at Boston, by Dr. J. H. Trumbull, and pub­   
lished in the Connecticut Historical Society Collections, i.   
1-18, with notes.

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Narragansett, Plymouth, -- only go not to Connecticut.   
We hear and bear.

"Immediately after winter, because there was likeli­   
hood multitudes would come over, and lest any should   
desire to come hither, then there is a lamentable cry raised,   
that all their cows at Connecticut are dead, and that I   
had lost nine and only one left, and that was not likely   
to live, (when I never had but eight, and they never did   
better than the last winter.) We hear still, and bear.

"And lest haply some men should .be encouraged to   
come because of my subsistence or continuance here,   
then the rumour is noised, that I am weary of my station;   
or if I did know whither to go, or my people what way   
to take, we would never abide: whereas such impudent   
forgery is scant found in hell; for I profess I know not a   
member in my congregation but sits down well apayd   
with his portion, and for myself, I have said what now   
I write, if I was to choose, I would be where I am.

"But notwithstanding all this, the matter is not sure, and   
there is some fear that some men will come toward Con­   
necticut when ships come over; either some have related   
the nature of the place, or some friends invited them; and   
therefore care must be taken, and is by this generation,   
as soon as any ship arrives, that persons haste presently   
to board them, and when no occasion is offered, or ques­   
tion propounded for Connecticut, then their pity to their countrymen is such that they cannot but speak the truth:   
Alas, do you think to go to Connecticut? why, do you   
long to be undone? If you do not, bless yourself from   
thence; their upland will bear no corn, their meadows   
nothing but weeds, and the people are almost all starved.   
Still we hear, and bear.

"But may be these sudden expressions will be taken

as words of course, and therefore vanish away when once   
spoken. Let it therefore be provided that the innkeepers   
entertain their guests with invectives against Connecticut,

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and those are set on with the salt, and go off with the   
voyder. If any hear and stay, then they be welcomed; but   
if these reports cannot stop a man's proceeding, from mak­   
ing trial, they look at him as a Turk, or as a man scant   
worthy to live. Still we hear, and bear.

" I suppose you are not a stranger only in Israel, nor   
yet usually ignorant of these things, being they are not   
done in a corner, but in open streets, and not by some   
frantic, forlorn creatures, or madmen, who know not nor   
care what they say; but, before the ships can come to   
anchor, whole boats are presently posted out to salute   
persons, ordinarily, with such relations. The daily ex­   
pressions of passengers report these, with much grief of   
spirit, and wonder such wretched falsehoods should be   
suffered amongst Christians."

It is altogether probable that there was considerable   
ground for this impeachment by Mr. Hooker of the   
attitude of the Massachusetts people toward the new   
settlements in Connecticut. The coming away had not   
been without friction, and the views of the Connecticut   
people as to the proper management of public affairs   
differed in some important particulars from the views   
of those who controlled in Massachusetts. Still the   
reply of Winthrop - of which, however, only an im­   
perfect first draft on the back of another document is   
preserved 1-- shows that he regarded the representa­   
tions made by his reverend correspondent as exagger­   
ated and indeed rather suited to make one "a little   
merrye." He says: --

" You complain of the slanderous & reproachfull   
speeches of some of ors; they report that yor cattle doe

**l** Life and Letters of John Winthrop, ii. 421**.**

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not thrive, that yr ground is barrin &c: these are more   
like the speeches of a prophet . . . I know you trouble   
not yor thoughts wth these things exceept it be for recrea­   
tion, it is well they have no worse matter to laye to yor   
charge; if they had added that you had kept polluted   
night assemblys, & worshipped the head of an asse &c:   
then they had sett on wth the weight of the old current   
stampe.

"Yet if you could shewe us the men that reproached   
you, we should teache them better manners, than to   
speake evill of this good land God hath brought us to,   
& to discourage the hearts of their brethren: only you   
may beare a little wth the more moderate of them, in   
regard that one of yors opened the doore to all that have   
followed & for that they may conceive it as lawfull for   
them to discourage some wth us from forsakinge us to   
goe to you, as for yors to plott by incouragmts &c. to drawe   
Mr. Shepherd & his wholl church from us. *Sic fama  
est."*

The main topic of this correspondence between Mr.   
Hooker and Governor Winthrop was not, however,   
the question of a more or less tangible misrepresenta­   
tion of the state of things in Connecticut. It had to   
do with the incipient movements toward a Confeder­   
ation of the colonies, the first steps toward which   
seem to have been taken at the time of the synod   
of the elders and messengers of the churches, called   
together the year before, in August, 1637, about the   
theological views of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. For   
the sake of preserving, so far as possible, chronolog­   
ical sequence in our narrative, it may be best here,   
rather than elsewhere, to speak of that synod and its   
occasion.

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The trouble which called for the ecclesiastical   
council had begun a considerable time previous. Mrs.   
Hutchinson joined the Boston church on Nov. 2,   
1634. At that time some objection was made to   
the opinions she held and expressed on the voyage   
over.1 But she seems to have had in that trans­   
action, as well as in some other of her earlier pro­   
cedures, the support of Mr. Cotton, who had stood   
in a pastoral relation to her in England. Her husband   
is described as being a suitable man for a strong­   
minded woman, -- "a man of very mild temper and   
weak parts, and wholly guided by his wife." 2 She   
was soon followed to this country by her brother-in­   
law, Rev. John Wheelwright, whom it was speedily   
proposed to associate with Mr. Wilson and Mr. Cot­   
ton in the care of the Boston church, -- a project,   
however, which failed.

Mrs. Hutchinson was a woman of kind heart, quick   
wits, and persuasive address. Her visitations of the   
sick, and ministrations especially in the maternal   
exigencies of her sex, won for her the affection and   
sympathy of many. She soon established a kind of   
weekly conference, or Bible-reading as it would now   
be called, at which she gathered a large number of   
women and unfolded her peculiar views, and criticised   
the ministers with the exception of Mr. Cotton and   
Mr. Wheelwright.

Her peculiar views were, as Winthrop says, "that   
the person of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified per­   
son. That no sanctification can help to evidence to

1 Hutchinson, ii. 488, 493, 494. 2 Winthrop, i. 356.

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us our justification."1 The language is archaic in   
modern ears, but the idea is not an unfamiliar one in   
the religious history of many periods, -- that a kind of   
incarnation of the Divine Spirit exists in every Chris­   
tian, and that every man's evidence that he is a   
Christian is an immediate perception of the fact, and   
not an inference from any improvement of his char­   
acter. Mrs. Hutchinson's doctrine was that to look   
to any signs, like love of the truth or the transforma­   
tion of the conduct, as tokens that a man was a saved   
man, was to be under a "covenant of works." The  
 "covenant of grace " demanded that every Christian   
should know he was a saved man by an immediate   
intuition ordisclosure of the fact. These notions, as   
Winthrop says, had "many branches." They led out   
into exaggerated ideas of the possibility of present   
revelations, and into depreciated conceptions of the   
moral virtues. They prompted naturally to contemp­   
tuous estimates of the value of learning in religious   
matters, and to exalted claims to immediate inspira­   
tion. The seed fell into heated soil; the whole com­   
munity was alive with the excitement. Some were   
intoxicated with the assurance of personal salvation;   
some, wanting the declared indispensable illumina­   
tion, were overwhelmed with despair. One woman of   
the Boston congregation, long troubled with doubts,   
was driven to distraction, and threw her child   
into a well, saying, "now she was sure she should be   
damned."2

The partisans of Mrs. Hutchinson were cheered by

1 Winthrop, i. 239. 2 Ibid. 282.

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the support of the young governor, Henry Vane, and   
by the supposed sympathy of Mr. Cotton; and they   
rejoiced in proclaiming themselves the representatives   
of a peculiarly full and free gospel. They claimed   
that under the direct enlightenment of the Spirit their   
women and unlettered men preached better than the   
"black-coats" taught in the " ninnyversity," -- a   
designation whose feminine and Hutchinsonian origin   
it is impossible to question. The matter divided   
households, and entered into general politics. The   
Hutchinsonian party looked coldly on the efforts   
to assist Connecticut in the Pequot war, alleging that   
the Massachusetts " officers and soldiers were too   
much under a covenant of works."

The churches of the entire colony were turmoiled;

that of Boston was nearly rent asunder. The pas­   
tor, Mr. Wilson, supported by Mr. Winthrop and a   
few others, were on the one side; Mr. Cotton and a   
majority of the church were on the other. A meet­   
ing of the General Court, in December, 1636, called   
together the ministers and elders to consider the   
troubles.1 Mr. Wilson charged the difficulty on the   
spread of the new Hutchinsonian opinions; where­   
upon his church, led by Mr. Cotton, his associate,   
summoned him to answer for it publicly.2

A general Fast was observed on the 19th of Janu­

ary, 163 7, in view of the "dissension in the churches"   
and other evils. Mr. Wheelwright, at the afternoon   
service in the Boston church, preached a sermon   
which, in the heated temper of the time, was under-

l Winthrop, i. 248**.** 2 Ibid. 250.

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stood to be an assault on the anti-Hutchinsonian party   
as "antichrists.'' 1

The Court judged him guilty of sedition. The Bos­   
ton church interposed with a petition in his behalf.   
The excitement was so great that it was determined   
to hold the next Court of Election away from Boston,

- at Newtown. At that assembly, which was on the   
17th of May, -- just as the Massachusetts and Con­   
necticut soldiers were drawing near to the Pequot   
encampment, - matters came near to physical vio­   
lence.2 Mr. Wilson, the pastor of the Boston church,   
climbed a tree in the field where the voters were   
assembled, and addressed them from among the   
branches.3 The whole question of officers for the   
colony turned on the Hutchinsonian views. The re­   
sult showed that the sympathizers, though many, were   
in a minority. Governor Vane lost his election, and   
soon returned to England.

His defeat and departure removed one strong pillar   
of the delusion. Cooler counsels began to prevail.   
A day of humiliation was appointed in the churches   
for the 24th of July. By the coming of August   
matters were in a better condition for deliberate   
consideration. In April previous Mr. Hooker had   
written to Mr. Shepard, of Newtown, -- who, in the   
October following, was to become his son-in-law, --   
advising against a council on the Hutchinsonian mat­  
 ters.4 He wrote also, just about the same time, a

1Winthrop, i. 256. But see as to its real quality, Ellis's   
Puritan Age, p. 322.  
2 Winthrop, i. 262. 3 Hutchinson, i. 61, note. 4 Ibid, 63.

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sympathetic letter to Governor Winthrop on the posi­   
tion the Governor had taken in the affair:1 --

"When I first heard of those heavy distractions which   
have risen so vnexpectedly, I did reioyce from the root   
of my heart, that the Lord did & hath gratiously kept   
you from any taynt of those new-coyned conceits. You   
know my playnnesse: you cannot keepe your comfort,   
nor an honorable respect in Christ in the hearts of His,   
more then in keeping close to the truth. You shall have   
what interest I have in heaven to help you in that work."

But when August came, either he had changed his v  
iews about a council, or the state of things had   
changed; for on the 5th of that month Mr. Hooker   
and Mr. Stone arrived in the Bay from Connecticut   
by way of Providence, and "1fr. Ludlow, Mr. Pyn­   
cheon, and about twelve more," also arrived by   
another route, as delegates to the same assembly,   
bringing with them the Pequot skins and scalps before   
spoken of. The time till August 30th was spent in   
preliminary consultations, and the 24th was observed   
as a day of fasting and prayer.

The synod opened its sessions on the 30th of

August. It was com posed of all the ministerial elders   
in the country- about twenty-five in number -- and   
delegates from the churches. Mr. Shepard began the   
deliberations with a '" heavenly prayer." Rev. Peter   
Bulkley, of Concord, and Mr. Hooker, of Hartford,   
were chosen Moderators. The sessions continued   
twenty-two days. As a result of the deliberations a   
list of eighty-two opinions, more or less intimately

1 4 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., vi. 389, 390.

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connected with the recent controversy, were con­   
demned as "some blasphemous, others erroneous,   
and all unsafe."1

It was further resolved, with special reference to

1 Winthrop, i. 284. Some of these condemned opinions,   
phrased in antique style, are recognizable enough in   
their modern masquerading attire to justify the reproduction   
of a few of them here. --

'' 4. That those that bee in Christ are not under the law and   
commands of the Word, as the rule of life.''

" 20. That to call in question whether God be my cleare Fa­   
ther after or upon the commission of some hainous sinnes (as murther, incest &c.) cloth prove a man to be in the covenant of works"

"39. The due search and knowledge of the Holy Scripture   
is not a safe and sure way of finding Christ."

"40. There is a testimony of the Spirit, and voyce unto the   
soule, meerely immediate, without any respect unto or concur­  
rence with the Word."

" 43. The Spirit acts most in the saints when they indeavour least."

"47. The seale of the Spirit is limited onely to the imme­   
diate witnesse of the Spirit, and doth never witnesse to any   
worke of grace, or to any conclusion by a syllogisme."

"56. A man is not effectually converted till he hath full   
assurance."

"64. A man must take no notice of his sinne, nor of his   
repentance for his sinne."

"70. Frequency or length of holy duties, or trouble of con­   
science for neglect thereof, are all signes of one under a   
covenant of workes."  
"72. It is a fundamentall and soule-damning errour to make  
sanctification an evidence of justification."

'' 77 Sanctification is so farre from evidencing a good estate   
that, it darkens it rather; and a man may more clearely see   
Christ when he seeth no sanctification than when he doth:   
the darker my sanctification is, the brighter is my justification."

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Mrs. Hutchinson's Bible-readings, that though fe­   
males meeting, "some few together," for prayer and   
edification might be allowed, yet that " a set assem­   
bly ... where sixty or more did meet every week,   
and one woman ... took upon her the whole exer­   
cise," was "disorderly and without rule.'' 1

The synod broke up on the 22d of September, and   
on the following 26th Mr. Davenport, afterward of   
New Haven, preached by its appointment a sermon   
of gratulation and good counsel. The expenses of   
the delegates at Newtown and in travel from Con­   
necticut were paid at the colonial charge.2 And so   
after more than two months' absence, Mr. Hooker   
and Mr. Stone had a chance to go back to Hartford |  
again.

Poor Mrs. Hutchinson - the enthusiastic, kind­   
hearted, pious, and erroneous occasion of all these dis­   
turbances -- was soon after called before the Court for   
continuing her " disorderly" meetings, and promul­   
gating the opinions which, with less or more accuracy   
of statement or inference, the synod had condemned.   
She was awhile committed to Mr. Cotton's care, to   
be reasoned with by him and Mr. Davenport; and   
subsequently was brought before the Boston church   
for trial. The trial was in March, 1638, and was on   
two successive lecture-days, the 15th and 22d, and   
was held "befr all the Elders of other Churches, and   
the Face of the Country." The "saintly" Thomas   
Shepard and Mr. Welde, of Roxbury, appeared in the

1 Winthrop, i. 286. 2 Ibid, 283.

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character of prosecutors. It is a melancholy story.1   
The attempt was made to force upon her the avowal   
of immoral opinions concerning the relations of the   
sexes, which her reverend accusers declared would   
"necessarily follow " 2 as consequences from her   
views concerning the resurrection. But this attempt   
was vain. With all a pure woman's indignation she   
repudiated the imputation. " I hould it not . . . I   
abhor that Practise." 3 Surrounded by the adroit dia­   
lecticians of the Church and State, Mrs. Hutchinson   
made a substantial retraction of most, certainly, of the   
errors imputed to her, but was entangled in a labyrinth   
of confusions between her "Judgement" and her   
"Expressions," and particularly as to the time when   
she had first held and proclaimed her opinions. The   
church, through the mouth of Pastor Wilson, pro­   
nounced sentence of excommunication for her "*Erors"* and "forasmuch as *yow have made a Lye."* 4 It is   
impossible to read this trial without sympathy for the   
poor hounded woman, who, whatever her extravagances   
and errors, was put as much at a disadvantage before   
that tribunal as was ever victim of High Commission   
or Inquisition. Nor is it possible, either, to wink out   
of sight the fact that exasperating and disquieting as   
were her procedures at home, it was largely because   
of their apprehended effect in the old country that   
such severity of treatment was accorded to her.

l See Hutchinson's History, ii., appendix; and Report of   
Trial of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, in Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., 2d   
series, iv. I 59-191.  
 2 Report of Trial. 3 Ibid. 4 Ibid.

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Following her sentence of deliverance" *up to Sathan,"*and banishment "as a *Leper* . . . *owt of the con­   
gregtion,"* came, on the 28th of the month, her sen­   
tence of banishment from the colony. The exiled   
woman, whom the eye of modern sympathy follows   
with regret, soon after became a widow, moved to the Dutch   
frontier, and was, about six years later, with all her chil­   
dren but one of eight years, killed by the Indians.   
Her views were erratic, and her procedures in the   
existing state of things were probably to some real   
extent dangerous; but it may be hoped and believed   
that heaven was wide enough for her after all.

Her name, however, continued for many years a   
name of evil omen in New England; a curious illus­   
tration of which fact may come appropriately at this   
point into our story of Mr. Hooker. Perhaps the only   
recorded saying of Mr. Hooker's wife, Susannah, is   
quoted in a letter of her husband's from Hartford,   
about one of the alleged judgments which, in 1637,   
befell a near relative of Mrs. Hutchinson's who was   
"infected with her herisies." Mr. Hooker writes:

"While I was thus musing and thus writing, my study   
where I was writing and the chamber where my wife was   
sitting, shook as we thought with an earthquake, by the   
space of half a quarter of an hour. We both percieved   
it and presently went down. My maid in the kitchen   
observed the same. My wife said *it was the devil that   
was displeased that we confer about this occasion."* 1

It was said earlier in this chapter that the- first   
movements toward the confederation of the colonies

1 Magnalia, ii. 449.

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-- which was the main topic of the letters between   
Mr. Winthrop and Mr**.** Hooker from which quotations   
were there made - were apparently undertaken at the   
time of the Hutchinson Synod in Boston. In whose   
mind the scheme of union first originated it is proba­   
bly impossible to say. The need of such union arose   
from the common interests and common perils of the   
colonies themselves. The Dutch and the Indians   
drove them together in mutual defence. There is   
apparently no adequate ground for suggesting 1 a   
Netherland origin for a union which the necessities of   
the situation itself adequately explain. Plymouth,   
whose Netherlandish experiences were greatest, was   
not even present at the original conference on the   
matter.2 As a result of this conference, articles of   
union were first proposed by Massachusetts, and   
"drawn probably by Governor Winthrop himself."3   
Connecticut, however, objected to the binding power   
of a majority-vote of the commissioners as proposed   
by Massachusetts. A difference of judgment, further­   
more, as to what ultimate authority opposing views   
on points controverted among the colonies should be   
referred for decision -whether to the people as a   
whole or to the magistrates only -- entered into the

1 J. Q. Adams, 3 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., ix. 211; Palfrey, i.   
323; Doyle) i. 306. If a foreign exemplar, however, must be   
found for so natural an arrangement, why not refer to the   
Confederation of Switzerland, vastly older than Holland's, and  
known, by residence under its protection, by English Puritans  
for generations?  
 2 Winthrop, i. 283, 284.  
 3 Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., i. **1,** Dr. Trumbull's note.

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debate, and was topic of opposing opinion inthe   
correspondence between Mr. Winthrop and Mr.   
Hooker, wherein Mr. Hooker took, as usual, the   
democratic side. But the probable immediate cause   
of the temporary breaking off of the negotiations for   
federation was the claim of Massachusetts to jurisdic­   
tion over Agawam (Springfield), whose inhabitants had   
accounted themselves a part of the Connecticut Colony,   
and had acted with those of Connecticut in establish­   
ing the government which followed the expiration of   
the Massachusetts commission in March, 1637**.**1The   
plan of union was not however abandoned, but was,   
as there will be occasion hereafter to notice, prose­   
cuted by the personal endeavours of both the eminent   
men whose correspondence had disclosed so consider­   
able diversity of opinions, and was ultimately carried   
into successful accomplishment.

1Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., i. 13, and Dr. Trumbull's note.

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CHAPTER VI.

HOOKER IN CONNECTICUT.  
 SECTION II.

The birthplace of American democracy is Hartford.

JOHNSTON'S *Connecticut,* P· 73.

RETIJRNED to Hartford after the Hutchinsonian   
Synod in the autumn of 1637, Pastor Hooker doubt­   
less found the interests of the scarcely yet more than   
one-year-old settlement demanding his care. The   
winter following was, as has been seen,1 a "sad, sharp"   
one, in which many men and cattle lost their lives.   
In the opening spring the first steps were taken to­   
ward the more permanent meeting-house before re­   
ferred to,2 in place of the temporary structure till this   
time employed for the purpose.

But the chief occurrence which makes this, year   
memorable was the preparation in it for the establish­   
ment of that written Constitution of popular govern­   
ment which the first few weeks of the following year   
were to see formally adopted, and which is not only   
an instrument of unique and intense interest to all   
students of democratic institutions, but is in some   
sense Mr. Hooker's most distinguishing and abiding   
monument.

1Ante, p. 101**.** 2 Ante, p. 95.

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The preliminary. motions toward the establishment   
of this distinctively democratic Constitution are very   
imperfectly recorded. In a true sense they began in   
the differences which developed in the Bay govern­   
ment before the Connecticut settlers left that juris­   
diction, and which were, as has been pointed out,1   
among the efficient causes of that removal. Anycareful student of the early history of the Bay Colony   
cannot fail to see that there is all through it a con-   
stant struggle between the two conflicting princi­   
ples of aristocracy and democracy, and that the   
Connecticut secession was but one of its earlier   
manifestations. It was in the communities afterward   
emigrating to the river that dissatisfaction with the   
principle of authority earliest and most distinctly   
showed itself. In 1631 Watertown had objected to   
the levying of taxes by the Governor and Assistants   
without consent of the people.2 In 1632 Newtown   
was agitated about the limits of the authority exercised   
by the Governor, "whether by the patent or other­   
wise;" and a conference between the Deputy and   
the Governor in the presence of the leading Elders of   
the colony was had on the subject.3 In 1634 the dep­   
uty of Dorchester to the General Court was disabled   
from bearing office for three years for denying the   
magisterial authority of the Governor and Assistants.4

The Massachusetts government was not, and was   
never intended to be, democratic. Its chief civil ad-

1 Ante, pp. 87-89. 2 Winthrop, i. 84.

3 Ibid. 98-104.

4 Ibid. 185, 186, and Col. Rec., i. 135, 136.

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ministrator -- a man of the largest nobility and purity   
of character -- had much of the predisposition toward   
the established in religion and politics characteris­   
tic of most men of family and position in his time;   
and its chief religious representative and counsellor   
affirmed : " Democracy I do not conceive that ever   
God did ordain as a fit government either for Church   
or Commonwealth."

How the company who were associated with Mr.   
Hooker in his temporary Newtown residence felt on   
the questions at issue between magisterial and pop­   
ular rights, was significantly indicated by the fact that   
when, in 1634, the Assistants voted negatively on   
Newtown's petition for removal, and the Deputies voted  
 affirmatively, and dispute arose about the effect of   
the vote, the Newtown people took the vote of the   
lower house as granting all necessary authority, and   
made no further application for leave.

What Mr. Hooker's own personal position on the   
general question of the rights of magistrates and peo­   
ple was, cannot be open to question. An early   
chronicler says: "After Mr. Hooker's corning over it   
was observed that many of the freemen grew to be   
very jealous of their liberties."1 And this jealousy   
for popular liberty which his Massachusetts associates   
must have observed in him and borrowed encourage­   
ment from, found in this year of the preliminary   
procedures for the establishment of the Connecticut   
Constitution two most signal manifestations.

In the correspondence with Mr. Winthrop, written

1Hubbard's General History, p. 165**.**

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in the autumn of 1638, Mr. Hooker in the plainest   
terms avows his broadly democratic sentiments. Mr.   
Winthrop had written: 1 --

" I expostulated [with Mr. Hooker] about the unwar­   
rantableness and unsafeness of referring matter of counsel   
or judicature to the body of the people, quia the best part   
is always the least, and of that best part the wiser part   
is always the lesser. The old law was, choose ye out   
judges, etc., and thou shalt bring the matter before the   
judge, etc."

Whether, as Governor Winthrop's distinguished de­   
scendant and biographer contends,2 this statement of the   
Governor's views referred "only to matters of ' counsel   
or judicature,' which not even the democracy of our   
own days would willingly submit to the 'body of the   
people,' " or not, Mr. Hooker certainly seems to have   
taken it in a broader sense. He replied:8 --

" I fully assent to those staple principles which you set   
down; to wit, that the people should choose some from   
amongst them - that they should refer matter of counsel   
to their counsellors, matter of judicature to their judges:   
only, the question here grows - what rule the judge   
must have to judge by; secondly who those counsellors   
must be.

"That in the matter which is referred to the judge, the   
sentence should lie in his breast, or be left to his discre­   
tion according to which he should go, I am afraid it is a   
course which wants both safety and warrant. I must

I Winthrop, ii. 428.

2 Robert C. Winthrop's Life and Letters of John Winthrop,

ii. 237.

3 Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., i. II, 12.

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confess, I ever looked at it as a way which leads directly   
to tyranny, and so to confusion, and must plainly profess,   
if it was in my liberty, I should choose neither to live nor   
leave my posterity under such a government. Sit liber   
judex, as the lawyers speak. 17 Deut., 10, 11 -- Thou   
shalt observe to do according to all that they inform, ac­   
cording to the *sentence of tlze Law.* Thou shalt seek the   
Law at his mouth: not ask what his discretion allows,   
but what the Law requires. And therefore the Apostles,   
when the rulers and high priest passed sentence against   
their preaching, as prejudicial to the State, the Apostle   
Peter made it not dainty to profess and practice contrary   
to their charge, because their sentence was contrary to   
law, though they might have pretended discretion and   
depth of wisdom and policy in their charge….

"It's also a truth that counsel should be sought from counsellors; but the question yet is, who those should   
be. Reserving smaller matters which fall in occasionally   
in common course, to a lower counsel, in matters of   
greater consequence, which concern the common good,   
a general counsel chosen by all, I conceive, under favour,   
most suitable *to* rule and most safe for relief of the whole.   
This was the practice of the Jewish Church, directed by   
God, Deut. 17**:** 10, 11; 2 Chron. 19**;** and the approved   
experience of the best ordered States give in evidence   
this way."

It has been well said by a late historian of Con­  
necticut, that this "letter to Winthrop might be made   
the foundation of the claim that he [Mr. Hooker]  
had supplied the spirit of the Connecticut Constitu­   
tion." 1 Its definite formulation of the demand for

1 Alexander Johnston's Connecticut, p. 71. *See,* also, Fiske's

Beginnings of New England, p. 124**.**

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some rule of determination in civil matters above the   
"discretion of the magistrates," which the people in   
Massachusetts had asked for, but found " most of the   
magistrates and some of the elders not to be very   
forward " 1 about; and its preference of the counsel   
of the whole people rather than the advice of " the   
ministers of the churches," as Mr. Cotton contended   
for,2 and Mr. Winthrop practised,3 mark very clearly   
the lines on which the Constitution was framed, and   
fairly indicate the principles which that document,   
for the first time in human history, put into statutory   
form.

But Mr. Hooker's title to be regarded as the father   
of the Connecticut Constitution does not rest on any   
inference from his general position or from sentiments   
expressed in a letter like the one above quoted. It   
has very direct and conclusive support from another   
source, - support so direct and conclusive that it is   
regarded as altogether demonstrative by all late writers   
who have had occasion to notice and estimate its   
significance.

For the discovery of this interesting fact, not only   
in Mr. Hooker's story but in the story of constitu­   
tional history generally, indebtedness is due to the  
distinguished antiquarian scholar, Dr. J. Hammond  
Trumbull, of Hartford; to whom obligation is owing   
also for the discovery and identification, in its mis­   
placed position in the Massachusetts archives, of the   
letter of Mr. Hooker repeatedly quoted from above.   
In this case Dr. Trumbull had a harder and a still

1 Winthrop, i. 388, 389. 2 Ibid. 283. 3 Ibid. 300.

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more rewarding task. The evidence lay nearly two   
and a quarter centuries, undeciphered and unconjec­   
tured, in a little manuscript book which belonged to   
Mr. Henry Wolcott, Jr., of Windsor, now in the   
possession of the Connecticut Historical Society; and   
of which Dr. Trumbull says,1--

"This volume, of about five inches long by four wide,   
contains 380 pages, closely written, in cipher, -- compris­   
ing notes of sermons and lectures by Mr. Warham and   
Mr. Huit of Windsor, and Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone at   
Hartford, from April 19, 1638, to April 29, 1641, in regu­   
lar course. These notes give the dates, texts, and general   
outline of each discourse; and the questions discussed at   
the meetings for conference and for catechising, &c. The   
alphabet made use of is nearly the same with that of   
Willis (published in 1607), but the great number and   
variety of arbitrary signs introduced by the writer make   
the task of deciphering a difficult one.''

The sermon in which we are particularly interested   
was preached by Mr. Hooker at an adjourned session   
of the General Court of April, 1638. "To this Court,   
undoubtedly," Dr. Trumbull says,2 "though the records   
are silent on this point, was intrusted the formation of   
the first Constitution, which was formally adopted in   
January, 1639. Mr. Hooker's sermon, or rather lecture,  
 was delivered on Thursday, May 3 r, 1638, at an ad­   
journed session, probably, of the April Court, and was  
 apparently designed to lead the way to the general   
recognition of the great truths which were soon to be   
successfully incorporated in the Fundamental Laws."

1 Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., i. 19. 2 Ibid. 19, 20.

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This interesting and important utterance in constitu­   
tional history is given, in all that remains of it, here:1

"*Text:* Deut. 1: 13. 'Take you wise men, and un-   
derstanding, and known among your tribes, and I will   
make them rulers over you.' Captains over thousands,   
and captains over hundreds - over fifties - over tens, &c.   
*"Doctrine.* I. That the choice of public magistrates  
belongs unto the people by Gods own allowance.

" II. The privilege of election, which belongs to the  
 people, therefore must not be exercised according to their   
humors, but according to the blessed will and law of God.  
"III. They who have the power to appoint officers and   
magistrates, it is in their power, also, to set the bounds   
and limitations of the power and place unto which they  
call them.

*"Reasons. 1*. Because the foundation of authority is   
laid, firstly, in the free consent of the people.

"2. Because, by a free choice, the hearts of the people   
will be more inclined to the love of the persons [chosen]   
and more ready to yield [obedience.]

"3. Because of that duty and engagement of the people.   
" *Uses.* The lesson taught is threefold:

**"**1stThere is matter of thankful acknowledgement, in   
the [appreciation] of God's faithfulness toward us, and   
the permission of these measures that God doth com­   
mand and vouchsafe.

"2ndly. Of reproof -- to dash the conceits of all those   
that shall oppose it.

"3rdly Of exhortation -- to persuade us, as God hath   
given us liberty, to *take* it.

"And lastly - as Goel hath spared our lives, and given   
them in liberty, so to seek the guidance of God, and to   
choose *in* God and *for* God."

1 Conn. Hist. Soc. Coll., i. 20, 21**.**

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Such is the meagre outline, written by an occasional   
hearer's hand, of a discourse preached before an   
elected assembly of legislators charged with the busi­   
ness of framing a body of laws for a new common­   
wealth. It was a discourse preached by the recognized  
 leader of the colony, by a man of profound scholarship   
and of persuasive pulpit eloquence measured by the   
standards of the universities and churches of the   
home land. It was a discourse which, meagre as it   
is in outline, was probably elaborated at great length   
under every head, and may have taken an hour or   
two hours in delivery. Can any one question the   
effect of those novel propositions on the minds of   
those men in the wilderness setting up the fabric of a   
new popular government? Can any one read those   
clear definitions of the source, the limitations, and   
the warrant of all authority in human government, and  
not recognize the formulation of a new principle in   
political science? Can any one put this brief docu­   
ment beside the body of Fundamental Laws which   
this legislative assembly a few months later promul­   
gated, and not recognize from whose far-seeing mind   
the inspiration and distinctive character of those laws   
came forth? The evidence is too plain for ques-  
tion. Whose hand soever may in detail have phrased   
and formulated the Fundamental Laws, -- and Haynes   
and Ludlow and other men there were who might   
have done it, -- the outline of principle and idea,  
the inspiration and spirit of them, were Thomas

-

Hooker's. It is impossible not to recognize the

illuminating mind and guiding will. The pastor of

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the Hartford church was Connecticut's great legislator   
also.

And this fact has been recognized by those who   
have most carefully investigated the evidence. Dr.   
Leonard Bacon says:1 --

"Thatsermon by Thomas Hooker from the pulpit of   
the First Church in Hartford, is the earliest known   
suggestion of a fundamental law, enacted not by royal   
charter, nor by concession from any previously existing   
government, but by the people themselves, -- a primary   
and supreme law by which the government is constituted,   
and which not only provides for the free choice of magis­   
trates by the people, but also 'sets the bounds and limi­   
tations of the power and place to which' each magistrate   
is called."

To the same effect is the utterance of Professor Alex­   
ander Johnston: 2 --

"Here is the first practical assertion of the right of the   
people not only to choose but to limit the powers of their   
rulers, an assertion which lies at the foundation of the   
American system. There is no reference to 'dread sov­   
ereign:' no reservation of deference to any class, not even   
to the class to which the speaker himself belonged. Each  
 individual was to exercise his rights 'according to the   
blessed willand law of God,' but he was to be responsi­   
ble to God alone for his fulfillment of the obligation.   
The whole contains the germ of the idea of the Common­   
wealth, and it was developed by his hearers into the Con­   
stitution of 1639**.** It is on the banks of the Connecticut,   
under the mighty preaching of Thomas Hooker, and in

1 Centennial Conference address, pp. 152, 153.

2 Connecticut, p. 72.

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the Constitution to which he gave life, if not form, that   
we draw the first breath of that atmosphere which is   
now so familiar to us."

So, also, John Fiske says of the Connecticut Con­   
stitution of 1639: 1--

" It was the first written Constitution known to history   
that created a government, and it marked the beginnings   
of American democracy, of which Thomas Hooker de­   
serves more than any other man to be called the father.   
The government of the United States to-day is in lineal   
descent more nearly related to that of Connecticut than   
to that of any other of the thirteen colonies.''

And similarly, in his admirable address at the two   
hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the adoption of   
the Connecticut Constitution, Rev. Joseph Twichell   
says of this utterance of Mr. Hooker: --

"In so few and such words did young Mr. Wolcott of

Windsor set down the substance of that great manifesto  
 of liberty; how little deeming that his jottings are the   
sole record by which more than two centuries later it   
shall be redeemed from oblivion, and laurel with new and  
imperishable honor the memory of the divine and states­   
man who gave it voice."

In the May following the adoption of the Consti­   
tution in January, 1639, l\'Ir. Hooker and Mr. Haynes,   
the governor of Connecticut, went to Boston "and   
staid near a month." It was during this visit to the   
Bay that the curious personal incident occurred, illus­   
trative, perhaps, of a certain trait of Mr. Hooker's   
temperament alluded to before,1 and illustrative

1 Beginnings of New England, pp. 127, 128

2 Ante, p. &5 and note.

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certainly, as a late commentator on the original   
record which preserves the incident for us remarks,1   
of the " inordinate length " -- judged by modern   
standards -- "of Mr. Hooker's sermons." The story   
as Governor Winthrop gives it is as follows:2 --

*"Mr.* Hooker being to preach at Cambridge, the gov­   
ernour and many others went to hear him, (though the   
governour did very seldom go from his own congregation   
upon the Lord's day). He preached in the afternoon,   
and having gone on, with much strength of voice and   
intention of spirit, about quarter of an hour, he was at a   
stand, and told the people, that God had deprived him   
both of his strength and matter, etc., and so went forth,   
and about half an hour after returned again, and went on   
to very good purpose about two hours."

The object of Mr. Hooker's and Governor Haynes's   
visit to the Bay at this time was the renewal of   
negotiations about the Confederation which had been   
unsuccessfully begun two years before. They were   
moved thereto by increasing apprehension of their   
Dutch neighbours, "who had lately received a new   
governor," William Kieft, - an abler man than his   
predecessor, "who did complain much of the injury   
done to them at Connecticut." 3 Some agreement or   
"treaty" appears to have been successfully made or   
"renewed'' 4 between the Massachusetts and Con­  
necticut negotiators; but the formal ratification of   
a Confederacy, which was the thing Hooker and

1 Life and Letters of John Winthrop, ii. 244.

2 Winthrop, i. 366. 3 Ibid. i. 36o. **4** Ibid.

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Haynes desired, was destined still awhile to delay.   
It came soon, however, hastened at last not only by   
the increasing vigour of the Dutch administration   
on the west, but by the breaking out of civil war in   
England.

The long conflict of Puritanism and Prerogative on   
the home soil had at last come to the arbitrament of   
arms. No one could say how it would eventuate.   
But every consideration impelled the communities   
which were in substantial agreement with the Puritan   
party in the conflict, on this side of the water, to   
draw closer together and be ready for whatever might   
happen. Accordingly, at the September session of the   
General Court of Massachusetts, in 1642, " propo­   
sitions sent from Connecticut about a combination"   
were referred to a committee, who amended them,   
and sent " them back to Connecticut to be considered   
upon against the spring, for winter was now approach­   
ing, and there could be no meeting before." 1 The   
year following, 1643, saw the important enterprise con­   
summated by the agreement of commissioners of the   
various colonies in twelve articles, which constituted   
in effect, for certain matters of common interest, a   
federal government under the title of the "United   
Colonies of New England."2

Mr. Hooker,s satisfaction in this long-desired result,   
and his hearty acknowledgment of the commanding   
influence in securing its final attainment of the large­   
minded governor of Massachusetts, from whom he

1 Winthrop, ii. 102, 103. Cf. Mass. Coll. Rec., ii. 16, ***31.***

2 Winthrop, ii. 121, 127.

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had sometimes differed in judgment on other matters,   
is well expressed in the following beautiful letter:1 --

*To his much Honored freind John Wyntropp Esquier,   
Governor of the plantations in the Matcheshusets  
 Bay, dd.*

MUCH HONORED IN OUR BLESSED SAVIOUR, -- At  
the returne of our Magistrates, when I vnderstood the   
gratious & desired successe of ther indeavor, and by the   
ioynt relation of them all, not only your christian readi­   
nes, but enlarged faythfullnes in an especiall manner to   
promote so good a work; though the appearance of flat­   
tery (if I know myself & be knowne to you) be not only   
crosse to my conscience but to my disposition, yet my   
heart would not suffer me but as vnfeynedly to acknowledge   
the Lords goodnes, so affectionately to remember your   
candid & cordiall cariage in a matter of so great conse­   
quence; laboring by your speciall prudence to settle a   
foundation of safety and prosperity in succeeding ages:   
a work which will be found not only for your comfort,   
but for your crowne at the great day of your account.   
Its the greatest good that can befall a man in this world,   
to be an instrument vndcr God to do a great deale of   
good. To be the repayrer of the breach, was of old   
counted matter of highest prayse & acceptance with   
God & man: much more to be a meanes, not only to   
mayntayne peace & truth in your dayes, but to leave both,   
as a legacy to those that come after, vntill the coming of   
the Sonne of God in the clouds.

I know my place & I would not abuse your pacience,

or hynder greater imployments: my ayme is nakedly this;  
to be in the number, & to have my voyce with those, that   
whyle your self and your faythfull Assistants (as Zerub­   
babell & his fellow helpers) be laying the first stone of

l Life and Letters of John Winthrop, ii. 310, 311.

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the foundation of this combynation of peace, I may   
crye grace, grace to your indeavors. And by presenting   
the worth and acceptableness of the work before you,   
to strengthen your hands, & encorage your hearts to   
proceed on with blessing & successe. Goe on therefore   
(worthy Sir) & be ever enlarged in such worthy ser­   
vices, & the God of truth & peace will ever be with you,   
which he desires dayly to begg, who desires to be

Yours in all due respect

THO: HOOKER:

The 15thof the 5th mon: 1643:l Sea-Brooke:

This important measure of Confederation, though   
deficient in its power to reach individual citizenship,   
or effectually to carry out the legislation of the   
Union, -- much in the same way that the Confedera­   
tion of the States was deficient a hundred and forty   
years later, - was nevertheless the most important po­   
litical step yet taken by the colonies. It could not   
have been effected even a few years before under the   
watchful eye of Laud and his Privy Council, who had   
the government of English colonial affairs in their   
keeping. But Laud was now in prison. The king   
was an exile from his own capital. The time was

1. This date is printed in the ''Life and Letters of John

Winthrop," and in the Massachusetts Historical Society's   
republication of this letter, as 1642; but the internal evidence   
of the letter itself, as well as the distinct indorsement of it by  
Governor Winthrop as "Rec: ( 5) 24, 1643," settles its proper   
date; and as l\1r. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr., says in a recent   
letter to the writer, justifies us in "assuming that Hooker

either carelessly made his 3 to look like a 2, or absent-mind­   
edly wrote 2 for 3." See also Proceedings Mass. Hist. Society, May, 1891.

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opportune for the establishment of a union which   
had great immediate practical benefits as well as   
large educative power in training the scattered colo­   
nists of the little New England Commonwealths into   
mutual trust and confidence. It was also, though   
they knew it not, a prophecy and forerunner of a   
greater Confederacy to come, which was to unite the   
whole Atlantic seaboard settlements into one similar   
combination, and prepare the way for the federal   
union of the United States of America.

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# VI.

HOOKER IN CONNECTICUT.   
 SECTION III.

*If any to this Platform can reply*

*With better reason, let this volume die:   
But better argument if none can give,*

*Then* Thomas Hookers Policy *shall live.*

SAMUEL STONE'S *Elegy.*

THE turmoiled condition of affairs in England was   
felt in New England in relation to other than political   
matters only. The ecclesiastical ground-swell in the   
home-land had its answering motions here. Puritan­   
ism had been taking possession more and more of the   
popular mind in the old country, and with the assem­   
bling of the Long Parliament in r 640 the downfall of   
the hierarchical system, whose arbitrary administration   
by Laud had been the main cause of the population   
of the new settlements in America, was assured.

But the course of Puritanism in England and in   
New England had been different. In England the   
progress of dissent from the Establishment had taken   
main direction toward Presbyterianism. In New   
England it had been almost exclusively toward Inde­   
pendency. The churches of the new settlements   
modelled themselves more or less intentionally after

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that of Plymouth and of the exiles who had brought Congregationalism over with them from Scrooby and   
Leyden.

This adoption of principles of ecclesiastical pro­   
cedure divergent to some considerable extent from   
those of the majority who in England were generally   
sympathetic with the American colonists in their Pu­   
ritan views, had been the occasion already of much   
correspondence between the leading men of the   
Puritan party there and here. In 1636 or 1637   
"many ministers in Old England " sent inquiries to   
their " Reverend Brethren in New-England concern­   
ing Nine Positions" supposed to be taken by the   
churches of the New England colonies on important   
points ofecclesiastical usage. This inquiry was fol­   
lowed up in 1638 or 1639 by "two and thirty Ques­   
tions" of similar character from the same source.   
Answers to these interrogations were forwarded, -- to   
the first by Rev. John Davenport, of New Haven,   
and to the second by Rev. Richard Mather, of   
Dorchester.

The points covered by these inquiries and answers   
embraced the whole scope of church organization,   
terms of membership, fellowship with English parishes,   
office and responsibility of the ministry, power of the   
laity, doctrinal standards, and authority of councils.   
It was in reference to the last point -- the authority   
of councils, or synods, as they were then commonly   
called -- that divergence of views here and in Eng­   
lish Puritanism most loudly manifested itself, though   
there was perhaps almost equal difference of judgment

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concerning the right of each church to institute its   
own ministry.

But as the conflict in England between the king   
and Parliament progressed, the tendency of English   
Puritanism toward Presbyterianism strengthened. It   
was deemed best to secure the aid of an ecclesiastical   
synod to settle the religious order of things on that   
basis. As early as 1641 the London ministers pro­   
posed to Parliament the calling of an Assembly, and   
in December of that year the Commons mentioned   
the matter as one of their desires in the Grand Re­   
monstrance.1 A bill was passed for the purpose in   
1642, but failed for want of the royal assent. The   
final order for it, without the king's concurrence, was   
June 12, 1643. The king, by proclamation, forbade   
the meeting, and threatened to deprive of their liv­   
ings those who disobeyed. This substantially pre­   
vented the " loyal " portion of the Episcopalians   
from attending, and added to the certainty of the   
Presbyterian character of the result.

But an Assembly being determined on, the Ameri­

can divines were not forgotten. A letter from the   
Earl of Warwick, -- Mr. Hooker's old Chelmsford   
friend and protector, -- Lord Say and Sele, Oliver   
Cromwell, and some thirty other minority members   
of Parliament, "who stood for the independency   
of churches," was sent to New England, inviting   
Mr. Cotton, l\Ir. Hooker, and Mr. Davenport to   
"assist in the synod there appointed to consider and

1Forster's Grand Remonstrance, pp. 263, 269.

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advise about the settling of church government."1  
Mr. Cotton and Mr. Davenport were inclined to go;  
the former the more because in the course of his

Scripture expositions at that time he happened to   
come upon a passage in the Acts which " led him to   
deliver that doctrine of the interest all churches have   
in each other's members for mutual helpfulness." Mr.   
Hooker, with characteristic sagacity, saw the possible

complications that might arise from participation in a   
synod where the views of the New England churches   
were certain of rejection; and he sent word by the   
messengers who came on from Boston with the invi­   
tation that he "liked not the business, nor thought   
it any sufficient call for them to go 3000 miles   
to agree with three men." 2 The "three men" in   
the Assembly who "stood for independency" were   
in fact five from the outset, -- Thomas Goodwin,   
Philip Nye, Jeremiah Burroughs, William Bridge, and   
Sydrach Simpson. As the sessions went on, their   
numbers doubled; but they were in a hopeless   
minority.

The wisdom of Mr. Hooker's judgment was soon   
affirmed by letters from Hugh Peter and others "out   
of England," advising the invited American divines   
"to stay till they heard further; so this care came to   
an end."3 This assembly, which has passed into   
history as the Westminster Assembly, was preponder­   
antly Presbyterian; and that party grew stronger in   
it as its eleven hundred and sixty-three sessions advanced.

1 Winthrop, ii. 91, 92. 2 Ibid. 3 Ibid.

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This growing, though temporary, dominance of   
Presbyterianism in England was not without its effect  
 in this country. It gave new vigour and encourage­   
ment to a few ministers in the Massachusetts Colony,   
whose views were more in accordance with that polity  
 than with the Congregational Way around them. The  
 two excellent ministers of Newbury -- Thomas Par­  
 ker, the Pastor, and James Noyes, the Teacher - strongly sympathized with most of the Presbyterian   
principles; and their church was much disquieted bytheir advocacy of them.1

Fearful of the spread of these dissensions, it was   
deemed best to hold a meeting of the ministers of   
the churches at Cambridge to emphasize Congrega­   
tional principles. This assembly, sometimes errone­   
ously called a synod, -- which character, however, it   
lacked, being a meeting of ministers only, and these   
non-delegated in their gathering,2 -- met in Septem­   
ber, 1643, and was composed of "all the elders in   
the country, (about 50 in all,) such of the ruling   
elders as would were present also, but none else." 3

Here, again, as in the Hutchinsonian Council, Mr.   
Hooker was one of the moderators; his associate at   
this time being Mr. Cotton. "They sat in the col­   
lege, and had their diet there after the manner of   
scholar's commons, but somewhat better, yet so or­   
dered as it came not to above sixpence the meal for

**l** Coffin's History of Newbury, pp. 72, II 5.  
2 Sec Richard Mather's characterization of it, in his" Reply  
to Rutherford," pp. 77, 78.  
3 Winthrop, ii. 165.

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a person…. The assembly concluded against some   
parts of the presbyterial way, and the Newbury   
ministers took time to consider the arguments."1

Consideration of the "arguments" was a chief part   
of the industry of the time on both sides of the   
Atlantic. A musketry-fire of pamphlets and a heavier   
cannonade of bulkier volumes answered one another   
on both sides of the controversy and of the sea. Two   
or three lesser tractates by Mr. Cotton, published in   
1641 and 1642, were followed about the latter date   
by the circulation in manuscript form of his "Way of   
the Churches of Christ in New England." To these   
was added, from the same ever-ready pen, in 1644,   
Mr. Cotton's celebrated treatise on the "Keyes of the   
Kingdom of Heaven." This was at once introduced   
to the English public by Thomas Goodwin and Philip   
Nye -- members of the Westminster Assembly then   
in session - as setting forth that "very Middle-way  
. . . between that which is called Brownisme and the   
Presbyteriall-government" which they had contended   
for in the Assembly.2 To such of these American   
tractates as were extant at the time of his writing,   
Professor Samuel Rutherford, also a member of the   
Assembly, -and according to John Cotton a "chief   
part" of it, - undertook a reply from the Presbyterian   
point of view. He directed his answer mainly against   
Cotton's "Way; " Mather's Reply to the "XXXII   
Questions; " Mather's answer to Herle; and certain   
treatises of John Robinson's. Mr. Rutherford was an

1Winthrop, ii. 165**.**2 "Prefatory Letter" to the " Keyes.''

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able, courteous, and learned man, and one of the   
great lights of the Scottish church. He was familiar   
with a wide range of the literature of the controversy,   
and was the most competent man of the Presbyterian   
party to put the argument for that polity into cogent   
as well as conciliatory form. His book of nearly   
eight hundred pages, entitled "The Due right of   
Presbyteries," 1 and a volume by Rev. John Paget,   
"A Defence of Chvrch Government exercised in   
Presbyteriall, Classicall & Synodical Assemblies,"   
were deemed by our New England Congregationalists   
deserving of answer; and notwithstanding Cotton's   
"Keyes" came out about contemporaneously with   
Rutherford's volume, a more explicit rejoinder to the   
Presbyterian treatises was deemed expedient. The   
task of replying to Rutherford appears to have been   
assigned to Mr. Hooker, and the answer to Paget   
to Mr. Davenport. The result of this partition of   
labor was the production of the two volumes, -- Dav­   
enport's "Power of Congregational Churches," and   
Mr. Hooker's "Survey of the Summe of Church­   
Discipline."

These books had a curious history. At a meeting   
held at Cambridge, July 1**,** 1645, "the elders of the   
churches through all the United Colonies ... con­   
ferred their councils and examined the writings which   
some of them had prepared," -- these of Hooker   
and Davenport among the number, - "which being   
agreed and perfected were sent over into England  
 to be printed."2

1 London, 1644. 2 Winthrop, ii 304.

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This is Winthrop's contemporaneous account of what   
the meeting concluded upon. The books of Hooker   
and Davenport were not however apparently fully   
completed, and in point of fact were not sent till the   
January following. They were then despatched in a   
vessel sailing from New Haven, which was lost at sea   
and was never heard of after; save in that spectral   
phantom of a ship which two years and five months   
later appeared sailing into New Haven harbor, and   
which presently, in the sight of a crowd of witnesses,   
vanished into smoke. This vision Mr. Davenport   
declared had been given for the quieting of the hearts   
of those who wondered where the lost vessel and its   
precious conveyance of passengers had gone.1

Convinced of the loss of their manuscripts, the   
two authors, Hooker and Davenport, re-wrote them;   
though Hooker his very reluctantly, -- as he had   
indeed reluctantly composed it at the first, -- leav­   
ing it at last unfinished, to be sent over and printed   
only after his death. An "Epistle to the Reader,"   
by the hand of his Hartford friends Edward Hop­   
kins and William Goodwin accompanies the repro­   
duced treatise, and explains the circumstances of its   
origin.

Mr. Hooker's "Survey" is a very able presentation   
of the early New England view of the church and its   
administration, as opposed to the Presbyterian con­   
ception advocated by his distinguished opponent the   
Professor of Divinity at St. Andrews, as well as by

1 Bacon's Historical Discourses, p. 107; Atwater's New Haven Colony, pp. 208,209, and Appendix III. to that volume.

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Samuel Hudson, whose writings are also traversed in   
Mr. Hooker's reply. The "Survey" suffers, how­   
ever, in comparison with such a book as the reader   
easily sees might have been the product of the same   
pen, by the necessity the author's task seemed to   
impose upon him, rather to reply to Rutherford in   
minute detail than to set forth a direct treatise of   
his own on the subject.

It was perhaps this controversial aspect of the mat­   
ter which made him so reluctant to undertake the   
work at first. He says in the Preface of the book, -­   
which from various indications seems to have been   
also the preface of the book which was lost as well,  
-- "I can professe in a word of truth that against   
mine own inclination and affection, I was haled by   
importunity to this so hard a task." And his friends   
Hopkins and Goodwin remark in their Epistle ac­   
companying the published work: "Some of you are   
not ignorant with what strength of importunity he was   
drawn to this *present service,* and with what fear and   
care he attended it. The weight and difficultie of   
the work was duly apprehended by him, and he lookt   
upon it, as somewhat unsutable to a Pastor, whose   
head and heart and hands, were full of the imploi­   
ments of his proper place." It is matter for regret   
that the task to which Mr. Hooker was thus "haled   
by importunity " involved to such an extent the fol­   
lowing the track of another's argument, instead of   
formulating -- somewhat after the model of Cotton's  
 ''Keyes," for example -- a treatise of church polity   
untrammelled by the necessity of polemic analysis

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and rejoinder; for that in that case we might have   
had a document unsurpassed and probably unequalled   
in clear and vigorous statement of early Congrega­   
tional principles by any other of New England origin,   
this treatise as it stands, and especially the Preface,   
abundantly shows.

In this Preface occurs a kind of summary of the

principles set forth in the body of the book. It is   
a paragraph of importance in more ways than one.   
It not only gives as succinct a presentation of Con­   
gregational principles then entertained as was ever   
given, but it has the additional interest and value ofbeing a statement of positions concerning which Mr.   
Hooker says,--

" *In all these I have leave to professe the joint judge­   
ment of all the Elders upon the river: Of* New-haven,   
Guilford, Milford, Stratford, Fairfield: *and of most* of   
the Elders of the Churches in the Bay, *to whom I did   
send in particular, and did receive approbation from   
them, under their hands: Of the rest (to whom I could   
not send) I cannot so affirm: but this I can say, That* at  
 a common meeting1 *I was desired by them all, to publish   
what now I do."*

On all grounds, therefore, this brief statement of   
Congregational principles formulated by Mr. Hooker   
and assented to by the " elders of the Churches through   
all the United Colonies,"2 requires a place here.

*"If the Reader* shall demand how far this way of   
Church-proceeding receives approbation by any common  
  
1 Doubtless the meeting of July 1, 1645, at which the agree­   
ment to reply to "many books coming out of England" was   
entered into at Cambridge. Sec ante, p. 140.  
2 Winthrop, ii. 304.

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concurrence amongst us: *I shall plainly and punctually   
expresse my self in a word of truth, in these following   
points,* viz.

Visible Saints are the only true and meet matter,   
whereof a visible Church should be gathered, and con­   
faederation is the form.

The Church as *Totum essentiale,* is, and may be, before   
Officers.

There is no Presbyterial! Church *(i.e.* A Church made   
up of the Elders of many Congregations appointed Clas­   
sickwise, to rule all those Congregations) in the N. T.

A Church Congregationall is the first subject of the   
keys.

Each Congregation compleatly constituted of all Offi-  
cers, hath sufficient power in her self, to exercise the   
power of the keyes, and all Church discipline, in all the   
censures thereof.

Ordination is not before election.

There ought to be no ordination of a Minister at   
large, *Namely, such as should make him Pastour with­   
out a People.*

The election of the people hath an instramentall causall   
vertue under Christ, to give an outward call unto an   
Officer.

Ordination is only a solemn installing of an Officer into   
the Office, unto which he was formerly called.

Children of such, who are members of Congregations,   
ought only to be baptized.

The consent of the people gives a causall vertue to the   
compleating of the sentence of excommunication.

Whilst the Church remains a true Church of Christ, it   
doth not loose this power, nor can it lawfully be taken   
away.

Consociation of Churches should be used, as occasion   
doth require.

Such consociations and Synods have allowance to coun­   
sell and admonish other Churches, as the case may require.

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And if they grow obstinate in errour or sinfull miscar­   
riages, they should renounce the right hand of fellowship   
with them.

But they have no power to excommunicate.

Nor do their constitutions binde formaliter & juridice**."**

The elaborate volume from whose preface the   
above extract is quoted was finally published in 1648,   
and remains a monument of its author's most remark­   
able learning and great dialectic skill. The first two   
of the Parts into which the treatise is divided -- " Ec­   
clesiasticall Policie Defined," and "The Church con­   
sidered as it is *corpus Organicum* " -- are wrought   
out prbbably with about the fulness of the copy lost   
at sea. The other two -- "Of the Government of   
the Church," and "Concerning Synods," - and espe­   
cially the latter of them, are wholly incomplete, and   
would doubtless have been much amplified and illus­   
trated had the author lived to finish the re-writing   
of his book. The argument, however, is clear   
throughout, and the subtlety and strength of the pre­   
sentation of the case for the Congregational Way, as   
held by the early fathers of New England, entitle the   
"Survey " to all, at least, of the honour it has ever   
received as an authoritative exposition of the views   
in church government which it learnedly and power­   
fully maintains.

Before the re-writing of the books of Hooker and   
Davenport was attempted, however, -- and indeed  
perhaps before their authors were perfectly assured   
of the loss of the first copies made, -- the danger ofthe subversion of the ecclesiastical usages of the col-

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onies seemed so imminent that the Court of Massa­   
chusetts, in May, 1646, moved for a general synod,   
"to discusse, dispute & cleare up by the word of God,   
such questions of Church governmt & discipline" as   
had been before spoken of, and others, " as they shall   
thinke needful & meete; "and invited the ministers   
and churches of "Plimoth, Connecticott & Newe­   
Haven," on the same terms of "librty & powr of dis­   
puting and voting " as the Massachusetts ministers   
and messengers.1 The proposition was received with   
general acceptance, though with demurrer on the part   
of the Boston, Salem, and Hingham churches, as   
a trespass of the civil authority upon the ecclesias­   
tical domain.2 But most of them finally withdrew   
opposition, and the 1st of September found all butfour of the Massachusetts churches, and a consid­   
erable number of those from the other colonies, in   
session at Cam bridge, in what is now called, by way   
of pre-eminence, the Cambridge Synod, -- the best   
remembered of all the early New England assemblies,   
and from which the well-known Platform of church­   
polity receives its name. Mr. Hooker, however, was   
not there. His colleague, Mr. Stone the Teacher,   
was present, and Deacon Edward Stebbins, a delegate   
of the church; but the Pastor was absent. He had

written his son-in-law, Thomas Shepard, the month   
before:--

"My yeares and infirmityes grow so fast vpon me, yt  
wholly disenable me to so long a journey; and because  
 I cannot come myself, I provoke as many elders as I can

1Mass. Col. Rec., ii. 155. 2 Winthrop, ii. 329- 332**.**

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to lend their help and presence. The Lord Christ be in   
the midest among you by his guidance and blessing."

Mr. Hooker had made the journey from Hartford   
to Boston on public business four times certainly,   
and probably more.1 It was still a roadless wilder­   
ness, to be traversed only on horseback, with a   
nightly encampment on the ground, under the open   
skies, by the way. It is not strange that though   
interested in the synod, he shrank from the repeated   
pilgrimages.

The synod continued in session at its first gath­   
ering only a fortnight. It. appointed three of its   
members to draw up a Scriptural Model of Church­   
government, and adjourned to June 8 of the fol­   
lowing year. Mr. Shepard wrote to his father-in-law,   
giving account of discussions arising in the synod   
about the extent of synodical authority, and the   
power of magistrates in summoning such assemblies.   
The report received from his correspondent induced   
the ever democratically-inclined author of the "Sur­   
vey " to write concerning the first of the two points: --

"I renew thanks for the letter and copy of the passages   
at the synod. I wish ther be not a misunderstanding of   
some things by some, or that the bynding power of synods   
be not pressed too much: for, I speake it only to yourself,   
he that adventures far in that business will fynd hott and   
hard work, or else my perspective may fayle, which I   
confesse it may be."

1 In August, 1637; in May, 1639; in September, 1643; and  
July, 1645. See Winthrop, i. 281,360; ii. 165,304.

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A comparison of these expressions with the Re­   
sult 1 of this preliminary session, agreed to "thus far   
onely, That they should be commended unto more   
serious consideration against the next Meeting," may   
perhaps indicate that some jealousy as to synodical   
authority was justifiable.

On the other point, however, -- of the magistrate's   
power in calling a synod, -- Mr. Hooker writes to   
Shepard:--

" I fynd Mr. Rutherford and Apollonius to give some­   
what sparingly to the place of the magistrate, to putt forth   
power in the calling of synods, wherein I perceive they   
goe crosse to some of our most serious and iudicious   
writers."

This implies the same view which Mr. Hooker   
maintained in his "Survey" on this matter, where he   
advocates the right of civil authority in summoning   
ecclesiastical assemblies. Democratic as Mr. Hooker   
was, he had not, nevertheless, arrived at the modern   
conception of the separate prerogatives of Church   
and State; and his doctrines on this matter of magis­   
terial power in ecclesiastical affairs might have been,   
and probably were, a few years after his death quoted   
in justification of a long series of meddlesome inter­   
ferences of the General Court of the colony with the   
concerns of his own distracted church.

The synod re-assembled, according to adjournment,   
in June, 1647, but was almost immediately forced to

1 Result of a Synod at Cambridge in New England, anno

1646, pp. 63-66.

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adjourn again by reason of an "epidemical sickness"   
which prevailed over the whole country among Indians   
and English, French and Dutch.1

Mr. Hooker was one of the victims of the disease.   
His colleague, Mr. Stone, arrived home from the dis­   
persed synod in season to see him die. He wrote to   
Mr. Shepard, under date of July 19, 164 7: --

DEAREST BROTHER, God brought us safely to Hart­   
ford, but when I came hither God presented me a sad spec­   
tacle. M Hooker looked like a dying man, God refused   
to heare our prayers for him, but tooke him from vs July  
 7 a little before sunne-set. Our sunne is set, our light is   
eclipsed, our ioy is darkened, we remember now in the   
daye of our calamitie the pleasant things which we en­   
ioyed in former times. His spirits & head were so op­   
pressed with the disease that he was not able to expresse   
much to vs in his sicknesse, but had exprest to Mr. Good­   
win before my returne that his peace was made in heaven   
& had continued 30 years without alteration, he was   
aboue Satan. 1\farke the vpright man for the end of that   
man is peace! He lived a most blameless life. I thinke   
his greatest enemies cannot charge him. He hath done   
much work for Christ, & now rests from his labours & his   
workes follow him, but our losse is great & bitter. My   
losse is bitter.... Mtrs Hooker was taken with the same   
sicknesse that night when I came to Hartford, & was   
very neer death, she is yet weak but I hope recouering.   
It would haue been a great aggravation of our miserie i£

1 The synod gathered for the third time, August 15**,** 1648,

and after a fortnight's discussion adopted the Platform substan­   
tially drafted by one of its three members designated for the   
purpose at its first meeting, -- Rev. Richard Mather, of Dor­   
chester. The principles of the Cambridge Platform are too   
familiar to need explication here.

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God had blotted out all that pleasant familee at once.   
Little Sam: Shepard is well1 ….

We shall do what we can to prepare Mr. Hookers   
answer to Rutterford, that it may be sent before winter

... If I have the whole winter you may think whether   
it be not comely for you & myself & some other elders   
to make a few verses for Mr. Hooker & inscribe them   
in the beging of his book,2 as if they had• been his funeral   
verses. I do but propound it.  
 fr: t: S. Stone.3

Mather gathers up and records several more or   
less authentic incidents of Mr. Hooker's last hours,   
which may as well be given here as found in the "Magnalia": 4

-

"In the time of his sickness he did not say much to   
the standers by; but being asked, that he would utter his   
apprehensions about some important things, especially   
about the state of *New-England,* he answered, *I have   
not that work now to do. I have already declared the   
counsel of the Lord:* and when one that stood weeping   
by the bedside said unto him, Sir, *you are going to re­   
ceive the reward of all your labours,* he replied, *Brother,   
I am going to receive mercy.* At last he closed his own   
eyes with his own hands, and gently stroaking his own   
forehead, with a smile in his countenance, he gave a little   
groan, and so expired his blessed soul into the arms of   
his *fellow servants,* the *holy angels,* on July 7, 1647."

1 Mr. Hooker's grandson by his daughter Susannah, Mr.   
Shepard's wife.  
 2 This was done with more friendship than poetic fire, and  
verses by Stone, Cotton, and Rogers were printed, with the letter of Hopkins and Goodwin, in the "Survey," which was published in 1648.  
 3 4 Mass. Hist. Coll., viii. 544-546.  
 4 Magnalia, i. 3 I 7.

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His age was sixty-one years. He died, it is be­   
lieved, on the anniversary of his birth. He made a   
will1 the day he died, in which he left directions for   
the guidance of his household and for the custody   
and publication of his manuscripts; intrusting his   
"beloued frends, Mr. Edward Hopkins and Mr.   
William Goodwyn" with the care of the "education   
and dispose" of his children and the management of   
his estate.

As was natural, the death of so eminent a leader of   
the little Commonwealth prompted the remembrance   
by survivors of portents and supernatural tokens   
of it. The event occurred in the mid-season of a   
pestilential summer, when languor and oppression in   
the probably crowded and ill-ventilated meeting­   
house might have been expected. But looking back   
upon it, -

"Some of his most observant hearers observed an aston­   
ishing sort of a *cloud* in his congregation, the last Lord's   
day of his publick ministry, when he also administred   
the Lord's Supper among them; and a most unaccountable   
heaviness and sleepiness, even in the most *watchful   
christians* of the place, not unlike the drowsiness of the   
disciples, when our Lord was going to die; for which, one   
of the elders publickly rebuked them. When those de­   
vout people afterwards perceived that this was the last   
sermon and sacrament wherein they were to have the   
presence of the *pastor* with them, 't is inexpressible how   
much they bewailed their unattentiveness unto his *fare­   
wel dispensations;* and some of them could enjoy no peace   
in their own souls, until they had obtained leave of the

1 Appendix I.

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elders to confess before the whole congregation with many   
tears, that inadvertency." 1

The blow was indeed a great one, and felt not alone   
in the Connecticut Colony. Some sense of its impor­   
tance to the whole group of cisatlantic settlements   
is expressed in the simple, noble language of Gover­   
nor Winthrop in his account of the pestilence of that   
disastrous summer: 2 --

"That which made the stroke more sensible and   
grievous, both to them [of Connecticut] and to all the   
country, was the death of that faithful servant of the   
Lord, Mr. Thomas Hooker, pastor of the church in   
Hartford, who, for piety, prudence, wisdom, zeal, learn­   
ing, and what else might make him serviceable in the   
place and time he lived in, might be compared with men   
of greatest note; and he shall need no other praise: the   
fruits of his labors in both Englands shall preserve an   
honorable and happy remembrance of him forever."

This wise and eloquent eulogy, written in the pages   
of a personal diary with no thought of public repro­   
duction in a biography of the man whom the large­   
hearted Massachusetts governor loved and honoured   
above all differences which had ever risen between   
them, needs no amplification.

No portrait or even minute description of Mr.   
Hooker's physical appearance remains. The impres­   
sion gained from the various references to him leaves   
upon the mind, however, the imagination of a figure

1 Magnalia, i. 317**.**

2 Winthrop, ii. 378.

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of dignity and something of command.1 He is al­   
ways spoken of by contemporary and by nearly suc­   
ceeding writers with marked respect and veneration.   
He is said 2 to have been " a man of a cholerick dis­   
position," which one can easily conjecture from the   
fervour of his oratorical temperament and the frequent   
vehemency of his rhetoric. But the same authority   
which affirms his possession of a fiery spirit says   
also 3 that "he had ordinarily as much government of   
his choler, as a man has of a mastiff dog in a chain;   
he *could let out his dog, and pull in his dog, as  
he pleased.'* " Eulogiums of his benevolence, of his   
patience, his humility, as well as of his practical   
sagacity and wisdom in the management of the affairs   
of his own and of the neighbouring churches, are pre­   
served on various pages of the pedantic writer to   
whom, with all his faults and not infrequent inaccu­   
racies, we are indebted for so much that would be   
otherwise unknown, not only of Hooker, but of most   
of the fathers of our New England history. One   
interesting and suggestive illustration of this practical   
and kindly wisdom in the management of the con­   
cerns of his own church must conclude our chapter:

''As for ecclesiastical censures, he was very watchful   
to prevent all proceedures unto them, as far as was con­   
sistent with the rules of our Lord; for which cause (ex-

1 This impression is well realized in the full-length statue   
ordered by the State of Connecticut for erection in the State   
Capitol, a representation of which constitutes the frontispiece   
of this volume.

2 Magnalia, i. 313. 3 Ibid.

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cept in grosser abominations) when offences happened,   
he did his utmost, that the notice thereof might be ex­   
tended no further than it ,vas when they first were laid   
before him; and having reconciled the offenders with   
sensible and convenient acknowledgements of their mis­   
carriages, he would let the notice thereof be confined unto   
such as were aforehand therewith acquainted; and hence   
there was but one person admonished in, and but one   
person excommunicated from the church of *Hartford,* in   
all the fourteen years, that Mr. *Hooker* lived there." 1

**1** Magnalia, i. 316, 317.

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VII.

THOMAS HOOKER'S WRITINGS.

'Twas of *Genevahs* Worthies said, with wonder,   
(Those Worthies Three) *Farell* was wont to thunder;   
*Viret,* like Rain, on tender grasse to shower,

But *Calvin,* lively Oracles to pour.

All these in *Hookers* spirit did remain:

A Sonne of Thunder, and a Shower of Rain,   
A pourer-forth of lively Oracles,

In saving souls, the summe of miracles.

JOHN COTTON'S *Elegy.*

WITH the single exception of the '' Survey of the   
Summe of Church Discipline," spoken of in the last   
chapter, Mr. Hooker was not in primary purpose an   
author of books. Of his published writings some thirty   
titles are indeed extant.1 Yet all these volumes, with   
the exception of the one on Church Polity, to whose   
composition he had been "haled by importunity,"   
were at first discourses, whose original and main use   
was oral delivery, and whose chief object was the im­   
mediately practical one of impressing, convincing, and   
persuading the hearers of his voice.

Some of these discourses were apparently printed   
from notes taken clown by hearers of his Lectures at   
Chelmsford, or possibly still earlier at Emmanuel; and

1 Appendix II.

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even of others, concerning which we have the assur­   
ance that they are " as they were penned under his   
own hand," or "printed from his own papers written   
with his own hand," 1 we have no tokens of editorial   
revision by himself, and little of any intention in their   
composition that they should be printed at all. All   
his books -- unless "The Poore Doubting Christian"   
be a possible exception -- being published in Eng­   
land, either during his exile in Holland, his residence   
in America, or after his death, he saw none of them   
through the press; and though authorizing the   
issue of some of them, imparted to none the benefit   
of an author's customary review of the printed page.   
One of them-- "The Saints Dignitie and Dutie,"   
published in 1651 -- was compiled by his son-in-law,   
Shepard; two or three others -- as "A Comment   
upon Christs Last Prayer," published in 1656, and   
"The Application of Redemption," published in1659 -were issued under the prefatory supervision of   
Rev. Thomas Goodwin and Rev. Philip Nye; and some   
inall probability were printed from copies of Mr.   
Hooker's discourses made by Rev. John Higginson,   
of Guilford, who is said 2 to have "transcribed from   
his manuscripts near two hundred of these excellent   
sermons which were sent over into *England* that   
they might be published; but by what means I know   
not, scarce half of them have seen the light unto this

1 See Goodwin and Nye's preface, and the publisher's an­   
nouncement to the" Comment upon Christs Last Prayer" and   
"The Application of Redemption."

2 Magnalia, i. 315.

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day." Several of the volumes are altogether anony­   
mous, -- a fact itself suggestive of the surreptitious use   
and publication of the materials of which they were   
compiled.

But though there is some diversity in the details of   
style and finish, such as this variety of manner in the   
appearance of the volumes would suggest, the family   
likeness is unmistakable. They obviously came, what­   
ever verbal blemish may attach to them, from the   
same mind and pen.

l\Ir. Hooker was regarded by his associates --   
themselves men of great learning -- as a learned man;  
 and indications of the fact come out distinctly in his   
"Survey," and, in an exegetical way, to some extent  
 in his discourses. But one looks in vain in his writ­  
 ings, as in the writings of his Puritan contemporaries  
 generally, for any apparent knowledge of current  
 secular literature. The poets of the Elizabethan pe­   
riod find not the slightest token of existence in his   
pages. Shakspeare died in Hooker's university days;  
 Bacon while he was preaching at Chelmsford; but nei­   
ther the poetry of the one nor the philosophy of the  
 other, nor the literature which either of them stood in  
 any wise the representative of, apparently came in the   
least degree within the ken of Hooker, any more   
than they did within the ken of most of his associates   
in the Puritan ministry of his time. Even the litera­  
 ture of the Prayer-book, with which they must have  
 been familiar from childhood, is almost unreflected in  
 their pages.

Of the graces of a literary style, therefore, Hooker

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must not be looked to as an illustrator. He himself   
says, in the preface to his "Survey," what is applica­   
ble to all his writings: --

"As it is beyond my skill, so I professe it is beyond   
my care to please the nicenesse of men's palates with any;   
quaintnesse of language. They who covet more sauce   
then meate, they must provide cooks to their minde….  
The substance and solidity of the frame is that which   
pleaseth the builder, it is the painters work to provide   
varnish."

This disclaimer is in Hooker's genuine style. It is   
itself an illustration of that homely vigour and vivacity   
which made his pulpit utterances so arrestive of the   
most wandering or antagonistic attention, and makes   
the faded pages of his printed books frequently so   
lively and picturesque.

As to the mass of his writings, they are -- laying   
aside the "Survey" -- essentially on one theme.   
They are a body, not of doctrinal, but of experimental   
divinity. The discourses of which they are com­   
posed are said to have been,1 and it is inherently   
probable that they were, the result of repeated preach­   
ings and lecturings upon the experimental aspects of   
religion, first at Cambridge when he lectured at Em­   
manuel, afterward at Esher and Chelmsford, and sub­   
sequently in America. He went over the ground   
again and again with marvellous minuteness and ful­   
ness of detail. His volumes are, when collected into   
their organic relationship, a development of what he   
conceived to be the soul's way of seeking, finding,

1 Magnalia, i. 314.

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and enjoying Christ. Their titles, whether his own   
or given by others, distinctly indicate this recognized   
purpose running through them. "The Soules Prepa­   
ration for Christ," "The Soules Humiliation," '' The   
Soules Vocation," "The Soules Iustification," "The   
Soules Implantation,""The Soules Vnion with Christ,''   
"The Soules Benefit from Vnion with Christ," "The   
Saints Dignitie and Dutie," -- these, among others,   
show clearly the track along which he moved.

It is the line of thought followed rather by the  
 pastor than the theologian. The robustest Calvin­   
istic system of theology is everywhere implied and  
 incidentally expressed in these discourses, but the   
statement of a system of theology is in none of them,   
or all of them, an aim. The aim is the persuasion  
 of men; and to this purpose the preacher brings a  
 fecundity of conception, a power of spiritual anatomy,  
 an amplitude and variousness of illustration, and an   
energy of utterance truly wonderful. Especially   
striking is this anatomic skill in dealing with the   
moral phenomena at that time so generally ante­   
cedent to, or attendant upon, conversion. To most  
 modern readers the proportion will seem excessive   
which Mr. Hooker gives to the experiences of the soul  
 in mere "preparation " for conversion. He has vol­  
 umes on these preliminary exercises of the spirit be­  
 fore it gets to the point of trust in Christ. He hid   
himself open, even while he lived, to the remark of  
 the shrewd Rev. Nathaniel Ward, of Ipswich: "Mr.  
 Hooker, you make as good Christians before men are   
in Christ as ever they are after; would I were but as

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good a Christian now as you make men while they   
are but preparing for Christ."1

Mr. Hooker's course in this respect was probably   
extreme even for his time. But in those days of re­   
coil from the outward ceremonial religion in which   
the Papacy had so long held men, the inward facts of   
personal experience were made the subject of the   
most careful scrutiny and dissection. Especially all   
the evasions and windings of the human spirit in re­   
coil from the stern presentations made of the sov­   
ereignty and righteousness of God: were followed with   
microscopic acuteness and pitilessness of exposure.   
Conversion was a great thing and a difficult thing.   
It was "not a little mercy that will serve the   
turne . . . the Lord will make all crack before thou   
shalt finde mercy." 2 Mr. Hooker's son-in-law, the   
"saintly" Thomas Shepard, put the matter thus in   
his " Sincere Convert " : " Jesus Christ is not got  
with a wet finger. ... It is a tough work, a wonder­   
full hard matter to be saved." 8 And again: "'Tis a   
thousand to one if ever thou bee one of that small   
number whom God hath picked out to escape this   
wrath to come." 4

•

Holding these views of the immense difficulty of

saving conversion, the vast liability to deception about   
it, together with the infinite misery of failure in the  
 enterprise, it is not strange that the whole process of   
the spiritual enterprise should have been tried as by

1Giles Firmin's Real Christian, p. 19.

2 Hooker's The Soules Preparation, pp. 9, 10.

3 Shepard's Sincere Convert, p. 1 50. 4 Ibid. p. 98.

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fire. As specimens of this kind of endeavour Hook­   
er's writings arc unsurpassed. Of this feature of his   
teachings, as well as of others which will afford a   
more general view of his spirit and method as apreacher, the best conception will be gained by some   
quotations from his books.

In "The Soules Preparation for Christ," the   
preacher is arguing on the necessity of a clear view of   
a man's sinfulness, and says:1 --

" First it is not every sight of sinne will serve the   
turne, nor every apprehension of a mans vilenesse; but   
it must have these two properties in it, First, he must   
see sinne clearely; Secondly, convictingly. First, he that   
will see sinne clearely, must see it truly and fully, and be   
able to fadome the compasse of his corruptions, and to   
dive into the depth of the wretchednesse of his vile heart,   
otherwise it wil befall a mans sinne as it doth the   
wound of a mans body: when a man lookes into the   
wound overly, and doth not search it to the bottome, it   
begins to fester and rancle, and so in the end he is slaine   
by it; so it is with most sinners, wee carry it all away   
with this, Wee are sinners; and such ordinary confes­   
sions; but we never see the depth of the wound of sin;   
and so are slaine by our sinnes. It is not a generall,   
slight, and confused sight of sinne that will serue the   
turne: it is not enough to say, It is my infirmity, and I   
cannot amend it: and wee are all sinners and so forth.   
No, this is the ground why wee mistake our evils and re­   
forme not our wayes, because we have a slight and overly   
sight of sinne; a man must prove his wayes as the Gold­   
smith doth his gold in the fire, a man must search nar­   
rowly and have much light to see what the vilenesse of his

1 The Soules Preparation (1632), pp. 12-14.

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owne heart is, and to see what his sinnes are, that doe   
procure the wrath of God against him …. We must

looke on the nature of sinne in the venome of it, the   
deadly hurtful! nature that it hath for plagues and mis­   
eries, it doth procure to our soules; and that you may   
doe, partly if you compare it with other things, and   
partly if you looke at it in regard of yourselves: First,   
compare sinne with those things that are most fearefull   
and horrible; As suppose any soule here present were to   
behold the damned in hell, and if the Lord should give   
thee a little peepe-hole into hell, that thou didst see the   
horror of those damned soules, and thy heart begins to   
shake in consideration thereof; then propound this to thy   
owne heart, what paines the damned in hell doe endure   
for sinne, and thy heart will shake and quake at it, the   
least sinne that ever thou didst commit, though thou mak­   
est a light matter of it, is a greater evill then the paines   
of the damned in hell, setting aside their sinne; all the   
torments in hell are not so great an evil, as the least sin   
is: men begin to shrink at this, and loathe to goe down   
to hell, and to be in endlesse torments."

But such a thorough sight of sin is needful to a   
thorough work of grace; for1 --

"Many have gone a great way in the worke of hu­   
miliation, and yet because it never went through to the   
quicke, they have gone backe againe, and become vile as   
ever they were; I have known men, that the Lord hath   
layed a heavie burthen upon them, and awakened their con­   
sciences, and driven them to a desperate extremity, and   
yet after much anguish, and many resolutions, and the   
prizing of Christ, as they conceived, and after the re­   
nouncing of all, to take Christ upon his owne termes   
as they imagined; and even these when they have bin eased

1 The Soules Preparation (1632 ), pp. 150-152.

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and refreshed, and God hath taken off the trouble, they   
have come to be as crosse to God and all goodnesse, and   
as full of hatred to Gods children as ever and worse too.

"Now why did these fall away? Why were they   
never Justified and Sanctified? and why did they never   
come to beleeve in the Lord Jesus ? The reason is, be­   
cause their hearts were never pierced for their sinne,  
they were never kindly loosened from it; this is the   
meaning of that place in *Ier., Plow up the fallow ground  
of your hearts, and sowe not among thornes,* it is noth­   
ing else, but with sound saving sorrow to have the heart   
pierced with the terrours of the Law seising upon it, and   
the vilenesse of sin wounding the conscience for it. The   
heart of man is compared to fallow ground that is un­   
fruitfull; you must not sow amongst thornes and thistles,   
first plow it, and lay it bare and naked, and then cast in   
your seed. If a man plow here a furrow, and there a   
furrow, and leave here and there a bawke, hee is never   
like to have a good crop, there will grow so mariy thistles   
and so much grasse, that it will choake the seed: our   
hearts are this ground, and our corruptions are these   
thornes and thistles: Now if a man be content to finde   
some sinne hatefull, because it is shamefull; but will   
keepe here a lust and there a lust, hee will never make   
any good husbandry of the heart: though a faithfull Min­   
ister should sow all the grace of promises in his soule, he   
would never get any good by them, but the corruptions   
that remaine in the heart will hinder the saving work   
thereof. Therefore plow up all, and by sound saving sor­   
row labour to have thy heart burthened for sinne, and   
estranged from it, and this is good husbandry indeed."

But there is great liability to self-deception about   
this matter: --

"Oh doe not cozen your owne soules; it is not the   
teares of the eye, but the blood of the heart that your

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sinnes must cost, and if you come not to this, never   
thinke that your sorrow is good. . . . Now if all be true  
 that I have said, there are but few sorrowers for sinne,   
therefore few saved; here wee see the ground and reason   
why many fly off from Godlinesse, and Christianity: This   
is the cause, their soules were onely troubled with a   
little hellish sorrow, but their hearts were never kindly   
grieved for their sinnes. If a mans arrne be broken and   
disjoynted a little, it may grow together againe; But if it   
be quite broken off, it cannot grow together; so the ter­   
rour of the Law affrighted his conscience, and a power­   
full Minister unjoynted his soule, and the Judgements of   
God were rending of him; but he was never cut off   
altogether: and therefore he returnes as vile, & as base,  
 if not worse then before, & he growes more firmly to his   
corruptions. It is with a mans conversion, as in some  
 mens ditching; they doe not pull up all the trees by the   
roots, but plash them: so when you come to have your corruptions cut off, you plash them, and doe not wound   
your hearts kindly, and you doe not make your soules  
 feele the burthen of sinne truly: this will make a man   
grow and flourish still, howsoever more cunningly and   
subtilly…. Looke as it is with a womans conception,   
those births that are hasty, the children are either still   
borne, or the woman most commonly dies; so doe not   
thou thinke to fall upon the promise presently. Indeed   
you cannot fall upon it too soone upon good grounds;  
 but it is impossible that ever a full soule or a haughty   
heart should beleeve, thou mayest be deceived, but thou   
canst not be engrafted into Christ: therfore when God   
begins to worke, never rest till you come to a full meas­   
ure of this brokennesse of heart. Oh follow the blow and  
 labour to make this worke sound and good unto the   
bottome." 1

1 The Soules Preparation (1632), pp. 182-187.

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But one test and measure of this "sound work"   
inculcated by Hooker has not, perhaps, attracted the   
notice its place in our American religious history   
deserves. It is that test of true conversion which in   
New England theology is commonly connected with   
the name of Dr. Hopkins, of Newport, -- that a   
Christian should be willing to be damned if it be   
God's will. Cotton Mather 1 follows his father In­   
crease 2 in an attempt to defend Mr. Hooker from   
the imputation of teaching this doctrine, on the ground   
that the publication of Mr. Hooker's writings was to  
 a great extent "without his consent or knowledge;   
whereby his notions came to be deformedly misrep­   
resented in multitudes of passages, among which I  
will suppose that crude passage which *Mr. Giles Fir­   
min,* in his *Real Christian* so well confutes, *That if   
the soul be rightly humbled, it is content to bear the  
state of damnation."* The defence is well meant, but   
it is idle. The Hopkinsian doctrine of contentment   
in being damned was taught, nearly a century and a   
half before Hopkins, by Hooker and his son-in-law   
Shepard with the utmost distinctness. It is not by   
any supposition of incorrect reporting that the tenet   
can be got out of Hooker's " Humiliation" or Shep­   
ard's "Sincere Convert." Hooker's "Humiliation"   
is one of the best published of all his treatises, and   
bears internal evidence of as much accuracy in repro­   
ducing his thought and idiom of speech as any other.   
And the doctrine in question is logically and rhetori-

1. Magnalia, i. 315**.**
2. Prefatory letter to Solomon Stoddard's Guide to Christ.

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cally woven into the texture of both Hooker's and   
Shepard's volumes. It appears and reappears in   
them. It is prepared for, led up to, stated, enforced,   
and objections to it answered. There is no acciden­   
tal and inconsiderate slipping into its utterance. It   
is accepted with full intelligence, and with clear   
recognition of its obnoxiousness and its difficulty to   
common experience.

The teachings of Hooker and his son-in-law on   
this matter were made the topic of correspondence   
between Shepard and Rev. Giles Firmin, and of an   
elaborate treatise by Firmin, largely in confutation of   
the utterances of Shepard and his father-in-law on   
the doctrine in question.1 Many pages might be   
quoted from Shepard's writings in support of this   
doctrine, but attention must here be confined to   
Hooker's teachings on the subject.

The preacher is well aware he is dealing with a   
hard point: --

"Now I come to this last passage in this worke of   
Humiliation, and this is the dead lift of all. The Prod­   
igall doth not stand it out with his Father and say, I am   
now come againe, if I may have halfe the rule in the Fam­   
ily, I am content to live with you. No, though hee would   
not stay there before, yet now bee cannot be kept out, hee  
 is content to bee anything ... Lord (saith he) shew me   
mercy, and I am content to be, and to suffer anything.   
So from hence the Doctrine is this. *The Soule that is   
truly humbled is content to be disposed by the Almightie,   
as it pleaseth him.* The maine pitch of this point lyes

1Firmin's Real Christian, Preface, Introduction, and pp.

107-149.

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in the word content. This phrase is a higher pitch then   
the former of submission: and this is plaine by this ex­   
ample. Take a debtor, who hath used all meanes to avoyd   
the creditor: in the end he seeth that bee cannot avoyd   
the suit, and to beare it bee is not able. Therefore the   
onely way is to come in, and yield himselfe into his credi­   
tors hands; where there is nothing, the King must loose   
his right; so the debtor yields himselfe : but suppose the   
creditor should use him hardly, exact the uttermost,   
and throw him into the prison; Now to bee content to   
under-goe the hardest dealing it is a hard matter: this is   
a further degree then the offering himselfe. So, when the   
Soule hath offered himselfe, and he seeth that Gods writs   
are out against him, and his conscience (the Lords Ser­   
jeant) is coming to serve a *Subpaena* on him, and it is not   
able to avoyd it, nor to beare it when he comes, therefore   
he submits himselfe and saith, Lord, whither shall I goe,   
thy anger is heavy and unavoydable; Nay, whatsoever   
God requires, the Soule layes his hand upon his mouth,   
and goes away contented and well satisfied, and it hath   
nothing to say against the Lord. This is the nature of   
the Doctrine in hand; and for the better opening of it let   
me discover these things…. For howsoever the Lords   
worke is secret in other ordinary things, yet all the Soules   
that ever came to Christ, and that shall ever come to   
Christ, must have this worke upon them; and it is im­   
possible that faith should be in the Soule; except this   
worke bee there first, to make way for faith.1….

"Thirdly, Hence the Soule comes to be quiet and   
framable under the heavy hand of God in that helplesse   
condition wherein he is; so that the Soule having been   
thus framed aforehand, it comes to this, that it takes the   
blow and lies under the burthen, and goes away quietly   
and patiently, he is quiet and saith not a word more:

1 The Soules Humiliation (1638), pp. 98-100.

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oh! this is a heart worth gold. He accounts Gods deal­   
ing and Gods way to be the fittest and most seasonable   
of all. Oh (saith he) it is fit that God should glorifie   
himselfe though I be damned forever, for I deserve the   
worst.1 ...

"Now see this blessed frame of heart in these three   
particulars. First, the Soule is content that mercy shall   
deny what it will to the Soule, and the Soule is content   
and calmed with whatsoever mercy denyes. If the Lord   
will not heare his prayers, and if the Lord will cast him   
away, because he hath cast away the Lords kindnesse, and   
if the Lord will leave him in that miserable and damnable   
condition, which he hath brought himselfe into, by the   
stubbornnesse of his heart, the Soule is quiet. Though   
I confesse it is harsh and tedious, and long it is ere the   
Soule be thus framed; yet the heart truely abased is con­   
tent to beare the estate of damnation; because hee hath   
brought this misery and damnation upon himselfe." 2

"But some may here object and say, Must the Soule,   
can the Soule, or ought it to be thus content, to be left in   
this damnable condition? For the answer hereof; Know   
that this contentednesse implies two things, and it may   
bee taken in a double sense. First, Contentedness some­   
times implies nothing else, but a carnall securitie….

But then; Secondly, it implies a calmnesse of the Soule   
not murmuring against the Lords dispensation toward   
him. . . . So wee should not bee carelesse in using all   
meanes for our good, but still seeke to God for mercy;   
yet thus we must be, and thus we ought to be contented   
with whatsoever mercy shall deny, because wee are not   
worthy of any favour; and the humble Soule reasons   
thus with itselfe and saith, my owne sinne, and my abomi­   
nations have brought me into this damnable condition   
wherein I am, & I have neglected that mercy which

l The Soules Humiliation (1638), pp. 106, 107. 2 Ibid. 112.

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might have brought me from it, therefore why should I   
murmure against mercy, though it deny me mercy? ...

Marke this well. He that is not willing to acknowledge   
the freenesse of the course of mercy, is not worthy, nay,   
hee is not fit to receive any mercy; but that Soule which   
is not content that mercy deny him what it will; he doth   
not give way to the freenesse of the Lords grace and   
mercy, and therefore that Soule is not fit for mercy.1…

" But some may object. Can a man feele this frame of   
heart, to be content, that mercy should have him in hell?   
doe the Saints of God find this? and can any man know   
this in his heart?

"To this I answer. Many of Gods servants have been   
driven to this, and have attained to it, and have laid   
open the simplicitie of their Soules, in being content with   
this."2…

" The soule that is thus contented to be at Gods dis­   
posing, it is ever improving all meanes and helpes that   
may bring him neerer to God, but if mercy shall deny it,   
the soule is satisfied and rests well apaid; this every   
Soule that is truely humbled may have, and hath in some   
measure." 3

But this submission and humiliation of the soul no   
one can accomplish for himself; for --

"This union that is betweene the Soul and its cor­   
ruptions is marveilous strong and firme, nay so strong   
and firme that there is no meanes under heaven, no   
creature in the world that is able to breake this union,   
and dissolve this combination that is betweene sinne and   
the sou1e, unless the Lord by his Almighty power come   
and break this conspiracy that is betweene sin and the

1 The Soules Humiliation (1638), pp. 113-115**.**

2 Ibid. 115, 116. 3 Ibid. 114.

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soule against himselfe and the glory of his name….

As it is with the body of a man if there were a great and   
old distemper in a mans stomacke, if a man should put a   
rich doublet upon him and lay him in a Featherbed and   
use all other outward meanes this would doe him noe   
good because the disease is within…. lust so it is   
with the soule of a man; a mans heart will have his   
sinne; there is an inward combination betweene the soule   
and sinne; now all meanes, as the Word and the like, is   
outward, and can doe no good in this kind, they cannot   
break the union betweene a mans heart and his cor­   
ruptions, unless the Lord by his Almighty power and   
infinite wisdome make a separation betweene sinne and   
the soule, and dissolve this union."1

And God does sometimes interpose to afford this indis­   
pensable aid. Not always, indeed, for God's purpose   
does not always go to the extent of a saving work.

"The Lord deales diversely as bee seeth fit; specially   
in these three wayes. First, if God have a purpose to   
civilize a man, he will lay his sorrow as a fetter upon   
him; he onely meanes to civilize him, and knocke off his   
fingers from base courses…. God onely rips the skinne   
a little, and layeth some small blow upon him: but if a   
man have beene a rude and a great ryoter, the Lord begins   
to serve a Writ upon him ... so that now the soule   
seeth the flashes of hell, and Gods wrath upon the soule,   
and the terrours of hell lay hold upon the heart, and he   
confesseth that hee is so, and hee hath done so, and   
therefore he is a poore damned creature, and then the   
soule labours to welter it, and it may be his conscience   
will bee deluded by some carnall Minister that makes the   
way broader than it is, ... or else it may be, bee stops

1 The Vnbeleevers Preparing for Christ (1638), pp. 138-140.

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the mouth of conscience with some outward performances:  
... and he wil pray in his family, and heare sermons,   
& take up some good courses; & thus he takes up a   
quiet civill course, and stayeth here a while, and at last   
comes to nothing: And thus God leaves him in the lurch,   
if he meanes onely to civilize him.

But secondly, if God intends to doe good to a man, hee

willnot let him goe thus, and fall to a civill course....  
will ferret him from his denne, and from his base   
courses and practises: He will be with you in all your   
stealing and pilfering, and in all your cursed devices, if   
you belong to him hee will not give you over. … Now

the soule is beyond all shift; when it is day, he wisheth it  
were night, and when it is night, hee wisheth it were day;   
the wrath of God followeth him wheresoever he goeth, and   
the soule would fain be rid of this, but hee cannot; and yet   
all the while the soule is not heavy and sorrowfull for sin;   
hee is burdened, and could bee content to throw away the  
punishment and horror of sinne, but not the sweet of   
sinne: as it is with a child that takes a live coale in his   
hand, thinking to play with it, when hee feeles fire in it, hee   
throwes it away; bee doth not throw it away because it   
is black, but because it burnes him: So it is here: A   
sinfull wretch will throw away his sinne, because of the   
wrath of God that is due to him for it, and the drunkard   
will be drunke no more; but if he might have his queanes   
and his pots without any punishment or trouble, he would   
have them with all his heart, bee loves the black and   
sweet of sinne well enough, but he loves not the plague   
of sinne. . . . Now in the third place, if the Lord pur­   
pose to doe good to the soule, he will not suffer him to be   
quiet here, but hee openeth the eye of the soule further;   
and makes him sorrow, not because it is a great and   
shamefull sinne, but the Lord saith to the soule, Even the   
least sinne makes a separation betweene mee and thee;   
and the heart begins to reason thus: Lord, is this true?

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is this the smart of sinne? and is this the vile nature of   
sinne? O Lord! how odious are these abominations that   
cause this evill, and though they had not caused this evill,   
yet this is worse then the evill ; that they make a separa­   
tion betweene God and my soule. Good Lord, why was  
 I borne?" 1

So that if God really intends to save a man he does   
not stop with any "morall and external drawing,"   
but he works "effectually" to that end.

"I expresse it thus, looke as it is with the wheele of a   
clock, or the wheele of a lack that is turned aside, and   
by some contrary poyse set the wrong way. He now that   
will set this wheele right, must take away the contrary   
poyse, and then put the wheele the right way, and yet   
the wheele doth not goe all this while of it selfe, but first   
there is a stopping of the wheele, and a taking away of the   
poyse: and secondly the wheele must be turned the right   
way, and all this while the wheele is only a sufferer; so   
it is with the soule of a man, the heart of a man, and the   
will of a man, and the affections of a man; they are the   
wheeles of the soules of men…. Now when the Lord   
commeth to set these wheeles aright, he must take away   
the poyse and plummet that made them runne the wrong   
way, that is, the Lord by his almighty power, must over­   
power those sins and corruptions which harbour in the   
soule . . . and then the frame of the soule will be to   
God-ward, it will be in a right frame and order, itwill   
runne the right way, and all this while the will is only a   
sufferer, and this I take *to* be the meaning of the text:   
That God by a holy kind of violence, rendeth the soule of   
a poore sinner, and withall by his almighty power, stops   
the force of a mans corruptions, and makes the soule   
teachable, and framable to the will of God, it makes it to

1 The Soules Preparation (1632), pp. 131-136.

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lie levell, and to be at Gods command, and this is done   
by a holy kind of violence."1

But when this " effectual" sovereign work of grace   
is accomplished, there is no end to the consolations   
of the gospel.

"It is a word of consolation, and it is a cordiall to   
cheare up a mans heart, and carry him through all troubles   
whatsoever can betide him or shall befall him. This doc­   
trine of Iustification it seems to me to be like *Noahs* Arke, when all the world was to bee drowned: God  
 taught *Noah* to make an arke, and to pitch it about, that no   
water, nor winds, nor stormes could breake through, and  
 so it bore up *Noah* above the waters, and kept him safe   
against wind and weather; when one was on the top of a   
mountain crying: 0 save me, another clambering upon  
 the trees, all floting, and crying, and dying there; there  
 was no saving but for those only that were gotten into   
the arke: Oh so it will be with you poor foolish be­  
 leevers, the world is like this sea, wherein are many   
floods of water, many troubles, much persecution: Oh   
get you into the arke the Lord Jesus, and when one is   
raring and yelling, Oh the devill, the devill; another is   
ready to hang himselfe, or to cut his owne throat; another   
sends for a Minister, and hee crieth, Oh there is no   
mercy for mee, I have opposed it; Get you into Christ, I   
say, ·and you shall bee safe I will warrant you; your   
soules shall bee transported with consolation to the end   
of your hopes."1

And of such justified state the Spirit of God gives  
 inward witness: --

"The spirit doth evidence to the soule, broken and   
humbled, That the soule hath an interest in this mercy,

1 Preparing for Christ (1638), part ii. pp. 24-26.

2 The Soules Exaltation (1638, pp. 122, 123.

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that it was appointed for it, and he hath to meddle with it**.**. . . We may observe that a witnesse in a cause doth mar­   
vellously cleare it, if he be wise and judicious, and the   
thing that before was doubtfull, comes now to be apparant:   
as now in a point of Law, two men contend for land; now   
if an ancient wise man of some place is called before the   
Judge at the Assizes, and bee beares witnesse upon his   
knowledge, that such Landes have beene in the possession   
of such a generation or family, for the space of many   
yeares; this is a speciall testification, that this man being   
of that generation, he hath an interest in these lands: So   
it is with the witnesse of Gods Spirit, there is a contro­   
versie betweene Satan and the soule, the soule saith, oh,   
that grace and compassion might be bestowed on mee;   
why, (saith Satan) dost thou conceive of any mercy, or   
grace and Salvation? marke thy rebellions against thy   
Saviour, marke the wretched distempers of thy heart, and   
the filthy abhominations of thy life: dost thou thinke of   
mercy? ... Now the Spirit of God comming in, that casts   
the cause and makes it evident, if such a poore heart have   
interest, and may meddle and make challenge to mercy and   
salvation, because it hath beene prepared for them, from   
the beginning of the world to this very day. Now this   
gives a light into the businesse, & the evidence is sure, that  
 this man hath title to all the riches and compassion of   
the Lord Jesus; *Acts.* 2. 39. Every poore creature thinkes,   
that God thinkes so of him, as hee thinkes of himself  
… whereas the Spirit of the Lord judgeth otherwise,   
and God meanes well toward him, and intends good to   
all you that have beene broken for your sins; and there   
is witnesse of it in heaven, and it shall be made good to   
your owne consciences."1

Which gives a good ground for comfort and cheerful   
living: --

1 The Soules Effectual! Calling (1638), pp. 79, 80.

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"Come what wit come. This is his aim to settle the   
conclusion of their happines, and the certainty thereof:   
To be beyond the reach of al the hosts in Heaven and   
Earth. Therefore he musters up al, what we are, what   
shal be. If there were a thousand worlds to come, and  
 should set themselves to shake the comforts of the faith­  
 ful, it could not be ….The Devils and sin may as wel   
separate Christ from the Father, as pul the love of the   
Father from his own heart, and so from Christ, as separate   
us from it. ... Be therefore content with what thou hast,   
our Saviors desire is to interest thee in the heart and  
 love of the Father, as himself. Not to love thee as a   
Creature, as a friend, a subject, but as the Son of his love.   
*What me?* Yes thee, poor, weak, silly, worthless Worm,  
 that beleevest in him. Go thy way therefore, never   
quarel, nor question any more. It is enough, nay it is   
too much. I would not have thought it. I durst not  
 have desired it. I could not have beleeved it, but that our   
Savior hath said and done it." 1

But what sort of preaching is it which leads to   
these salvatory results? Hooker gives his idea about  
 it in answering the question, " What is a powerful   
minister? ''

"The word is compared to a sword: as, if a man   
should draw a sword and flourish it about, and should not   
strike a blow with it, it will doe no harme; even so it is   
here with the Ministers, little good will they doe if they   
doe onely explicate; if they doe onely draw out the sword of   
the Spirit: for unlesse they apply it to the peoples harts   
particularly, little good may the people expect, little good   
shall the Minister doe. A common kind of teaching when   
the Minister doth speake only hoveringly, and in the gener­  
 all, and never applies the word of God particularly, may be

1 Comment on Christs Last Prayer (1656), pp. 319, 320.

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compared to the confused noise that was in the Ship   
wherein *Jonah* was, when the winds blew, and the sea   
raged, and a great storm began to arise. The poore Mar­   
riners strove with might and maine, and they did endeav­   
our by all meanes possible to bring the ship to the shore;   
every one cried unto his god and cast their wares into the   
sea, and all this while *Ionas* was fast asleepe in the ship:   
but when the Marriners came down and plucked him up,   
and said, *A rise thou sleeper,* ... *who art thou? Call upon   
thy God,* then he was awakened out of his sleepe. The   
common delivery of the word is like that confused noise:   
there is matter of heaven, of hell, of grace, of sin spoken   
of, there is a common noise, and all this while men sit   
and sleepe carelessly, and never looke about them, but   
rest secure: but when particular application comes, that   
shakes a sinner, as the Pilot did *Jonah,* and asks him,  
what assurance of Gods mercy hast thou? what hope of   
pardon of sinnes? of life and happinesse hereafter? You   
are baptized, and so were many that are in hell: you come   
to Church, and so did many that are in hell: but what is   
your conversation in the meantime? Is that holy in the   
sight of God and man?

"When the Ministers of God shake men and take them   
up on this fashion then they begin to stirre up themselves,   
and to consider of their estates. This generall and com­   
mon kind of teaching is like an enditement without a   
name: if a man should come to the assizes, and make   
agreat exclamation and have no name to his enditement,   
alas, no man is troubled with it, no man feares it, no man   
shall receive any punishment by reason of it. So it is   
with this common kind of preaching, it is an enditement   
without a name. We arrest none before wee particularly   
arraigne them before the tribunall of the Lord, and show   
them these are their sinnes, and that unless they repent   
and forsake them they shall be damned: for then this   
would stirre them up, and make them seke to the Lord for

*HIS WRITINGS.* 177

mercy: this would rowse them out of their security, and   
awaken them, and make them say as the Jewes did to   
*Peter* and the rest of the Apostles, *Men and brethren   
what shall wee doe to bee saved?*''1

These extracts must suffice. They give a fair aver­   
age indication of Hooker's style. But they can of   
course only partially suggest the wonderful variety of   
pat, homely, forcible illustration, and of sharp, search­   
ing, and energetic application, with which the same   
essential theme of the process of personal religion in   
the soul is treated in every one of his many volumes,   
with the single exception which has been specified.   
They are the product of a mind intent on the char­   
acteristic functions of the preacher. And such a   
preacher was sure of hearers. Such an analyst of   
human emotions touched men at many points. A   
son of thunder and a son of consolation by turns, his   
ministry -- whatever the defects or extravagances of   
his theology -- could not have been other than that   
which all testimony declares it to have been, one of   
the most powerful of his age.  
  
 1 The Soules Implantation (1640), pp. 73-77.

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APPENDIX I.1

THOMAS HOOKER'S WILL AND INVENTORY OF  
 ESTATE.

The last Will and Testament of Mr. Thomas Hooker,   
late of Hartford, deceased.

I Thomas Hooker, of Hartford, vppon Connecticutt in   
New England, being weake in my body, through the   
tender visitation of the Lord, but of sound and perfect   
memory, doe dispose of that outward estate I haue beene   
betrusted withall by him, in manner following: --

I doe giue vnto my sonne John Hooker, my howsing   
and lands in Hartford, aforesaid, both that which is on   
the west, and allso that wch is on the east side of the   
Riuer, to bee inioyed by him and his heires for euer,   
after the death of my wife, Susanna Rooker, provided   
hee bee then at the age of one and twenty yeares, it being   
my will that my said deare wife shall inioye and possess   
my said howsing and lands during her naturall life: And   
if shee dye before my sonne John come to the age of one   
and twenty yeares, that the same bee improued by the   
ourseers of this my will for the maintenance and educa­   
tion of my children not disposed of, according to theire   
best discretion.

I doe allso giue vnto my sonne John, my library of   
printed bookes and manuscripts, vnder the limitations   
and provisoes hereafter expressed. It is my will that my

1 See page 151.

*HIS WILL**AND INVENTORY.* 179

sonne John deliuer to my sonne Samuell, so many of my   
bookes as shall bee valued by the ourseers of this my will   
to bee worth fifty pounds sterling, or that hee pay him   
the some of fifty pounds sterling to buy such bookes   
as may bee vseful to him in the way of his studdyes, at   
such time as the ouerseers of this my will shall judge   
meete; but if my sonne John doe not goe on to the per­   
fecting of his studdyes, or shall not giue vpp himselfe to   
the seruice of the Lord in the worke of the ministry, my   
will is that my sonne Samuel inioye and possesse the   
whole library and manuscripts, to his proper vse for euer;   
onely, it is my will that whateuer manuscripts shall bee   
judged meete to bee printed, the disposall thereof and   
advantage that may come thereby I leaue wholly to my   
executrix; and in case shee departe this life before the   
same bee judged of and setled, then to my ouerseers to   
bee improued by them in theire best discretion, for the   
good of myne, according to the trust reposed in them.   
And howeuer I do not forbid my sonne John from seeking   
and taking a wife in England, yet I doe forbid him from   
marrying and tarrying there.

I doe giue vnto my sonne Samuell, in case the whole   
library come not to him, as is before expressed, the sum   
of seuenty pounds, to bee paid vnto him by my executrix   
at such time, and in such manner, as shall be judged   
meetest by the ouerseers of my will.

I doe allso giue vnto my daughter Sarah Hooker, the   
sum of one hundred pounds sterling, to bee paid vnto her   
by my executrix when she shall marry or come to the age   
of one and twenty yeares, wch shall first happen; the dis­   
posall and further education of her and the rest, I leaue   
my wife, advising them to attend her councell in the feare   
of the Lord.

I doe giue vnto the two children of my daughter Joan­   
nah Shephard deceased, and the childe of my daughter   
Mary Newton, to each of them the sum of ten pounds, to

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bee paid vnto them by my sonne John, within one yeare   
after bee shall come to the possession and inioyment of   
my howsings and lands in Hartford, or my sonne Samuell,   
if by the decease of John, bee come to inioye the same.

I doe make my beioued wife Susannah Hooker, exec­   
utrix of this my last Will and Testament, and (my just   
debts being paid,) do giue and bequeath vnto her all my   
estate and goods, moueable and imouable, not formerly   
bequeathed by this my will. And I desire my beloued   
frends Mr. Edward Hopkins and Mr. William Goodwyn,   
to affoard theire best assistance to my wife, and doe con­   
stitute and appoint them the ouerseers of this my will.   
And it hauing pleased the Lord now to visitt my wife   
with a sicknes, and not knowing how it may please his   
Matie to dispose of her, my minde and will is, that in case   
shee departe this life before shee dispose the estate be­   
queathed her, my aforesaid beloued £rends, Mr. Edward   
Hopkins and Mr. William Goodwyn, shall take care both   
of the education and dispose of my children (to whose   
loue and faithfullnes I commend them,) and of the estate   
left and bequeathed to my wife, and do committ it to   
theire best judgment and discretion to manage the said   
estate for the best good of mine, and to bestow it vppon   
any or all of them in such a proportion as shall bee most   
sutable to theire owne ap'hensions; being willing onely   
to intimate my desire that they wch deserue best may   
haue most; but not to limmitt them, but leaue them to   
the full scope and bredth of their owne judgments; in   
the dispose whereof, they may haue respect to the fore­   
mentioned children of my two daughters, if they see meet.   
It being my full will that what trust I haue comitted to   
my wife, either in matter of estate, or such manuscripts   
as shall bee judged fitt to bee printed, in case shee liue   
not to order the same herselfe, bee wholly transmitted and   
passed ouer from her to them, for the ends before speci­   
fied. And for mortallity sake, I doe put power into the

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hands of the forementioned beloued freinds, to constitute   
and appoint such other faithfull men as they shall judge   
meete, (in case they bee depriued of life or libberty to   
attend the same, in theire owne persons,) to manage,   
dispose and performe the estate and trust comitted to   
them, in as full manner as I haue comitted it to them for   
the same end.

THOMAS HOOKER.

This was declared to bee the last Will and   
Testament of Mr. Thomas Hooker, the   
seuenth day of July, 1647.

In the presence of

HENRY SMITH,SAMUELL STONE,   
JOHN WHITE.

ANINVENTORY OF THE ESTATE OF MR. THOMAS HOOKER, DECEASED, TAKEN THE 21ST APRILL, 1649.

*In the new Parlour;* It.: 3 chaires, 2stooles, s. d.)

6 cushions, a clock, a safe, a table, window

curtaines, &c., 0500 00

*In the Hall;* It.: a chest of drawers, and in   
 it, 2 dozen of dishes, a pewter flagon, ba-

sons, candlesticks, sawcers, &c., 06 00 00  
 It.: in ammunition, 4l. It. : in a table, &

forme, and 4 wheeles, *1l* . [05 00 00]

*In the ould Parlour;* It.: 2tables, a forme, 4   
chaires, 4 stooles, 4 table carpetts, window   
curtaines, andirons and doggs &c., in the

chimny, . 09 00 00

*In the Chamber ouer that;* It.: a featherbed   
and boulster, 2 pillowes, a strawbed, 2blan­   
kitts, a rugg, and couerlitt, darnix hangings   
in *7* peeces, window curtaines, curtaines and

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valence to the bed, a bedstead, 2 chaires, and [ s. d.]

3 stooles, andirons &c. in the chimny, & a

courte cubberd, 14 05 00

It.: curtaines and valence to the same bed,   
of greene say, and a rugg of the same, with

window curtaines, 05 00 00

*In the Hall Chamber;* It.: a trunck of linnen,   
cont.: 20 pr sheets, 8 table cloaths, ***5*** doz.  
napkins, 6 pr of pillow beers, and towells, 27 00 00

It.: a bedstead, two truncks, 2 boxes, a chest

& a chaire, . 03 05 00

*In the Kittchin Chamber;* It.: a featherbed, a   
quilt bed, 2 blankitts, 2 couerlitts, 1 boulster,   
a flockbed and boulster, a rugg and blankitt,  
a chest & ould trunck, and a bedstead, l 2 00 00

*In the Chamber ouer the new Parlour;* It.: 2   
featherbeds, 2 boulsters, a pr of pillows, ***5*** blankitts and 2 ruggs, stript valence and   
 curtaines for bed & windowes, a chest of   
drawers, an Alarum, 2 boxes, a small trunck,

2 cases of bottles, 1pr of dogs, in the

chimney, 21 00 00

*In the garritts:* It.: in corne and hoggsheads

and other houshould lumber, 14 15 00

It.: in apparrell and plate, 40 00 00

*In the Kittchin;* It.: 2 brass kettles, 3 brass   
potts, 2 chafing dishes, 2 brass skilletts, a   
brass morter, a brass skimmer, and 2 ladles,  
2 iron potts, 2 iron skilletts, a dripping pann,  
2 kettles, 2 spitts & a jack, a p' of cobirons,   
a pr of andirons, a pr of doggs, fire shouell   
and tongs, 2 frying panns, a warming pann,   
a gridiron, *7* pewter dishes, 2 porringers, 1   
pr of bellowes, a tinn dripping pann, a ros­   
ter, & 2 tyn couers, potthooks and tram-

mells; all valued at . 12 10 00

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*In the Brew ltowse\_;* It.: a copper mash tubbs,   
 payles, treyes, &c. 04 10 00

***In*** *the sellars*\_; It. : 2 stills and dairy vessells, 06 00 00

It.: in yearne ready for the weauer, 03 00 00

It.: 2 oxen, 2 mares, 1horse, 2 colts, 8  
 cowes, and 2 heifers, 3 two yeares ould and 6  
yearlings, valued at, . . 143 00 00 It.: Husbandry implements, . *05* 00 00 It.: Howsing and Lands within the bounds of  
Hartford, on both sides the Riuer, . *450* 00 00  
 It.: Bookes in his studdy &c., valued at 300 00 00 It. : an adventure in the Entrance, 50 00 00

1136 **15** 00

The foregoing perticulars were prised the day and   
yeare aboue written, according to such light as at prsent   
appeared,

by NATHANIELL WARD,

EDWARD STEBBING.

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**APPENDIX** II.1

# THOMAS HOOKER'S PUBLISHED WORKS. (Furnished by Dr. J. Hammond Trumbull.)

? *[The Poor Dovting Christian drawne vnto Christ.*

8° *London: Printed in the year* 1629.]   
Title from Henry Stevens, -from whom Sabin copied it.   
This book does not appear in the Registers of the

Stationers' Company until 1637, when (May 6) "The   
poore doubting Christian drawn to Christ, &c. vpon John   
the 6th, the 45th [verse], by Master Hooker" was en­   
tered for copyright to Mr. [R.J Dawlman and Luke   
Fawne *(Registers,* iv. 383). Two weeks earlier, "certain   
Sermons vpon John the 6th, verse the 45th, by T. H.,"   
had been entered to Andrew Crooke *(ibid. 381),* -- which   
may have been another edition of the same work.

Its *sixth* edition was printed in 1641: --

"The Poore Doubting Christian drawn to Christ.   
Wherein the main Lets and Hindrances which keep men   
from coming to Christ are discovered. With especiall   
Helps to recover God's favor. The Sixth Edition." 12°   
*London: I. Raworth for Luke Fawne. pp.* (2), 163.

After the 6th, I can trace, in the seventeenth century,   
only three editions [1652 *(Dr. Willams's Libr. Cat.);*

1 See page 1*55.*

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1659, *J. Macock, for Luke Fawne,* 12°, and 1667, 16°   
*(Am. Antiq. Soc. Catalogue)],* before "The Twelfth   
Edition," **12°,** 1700.

The first American edition, with an "Abstract of the   
author's Life," by the Rev. Thomas Prince, was printed   
in Boston (for D. Henchman), 1743 (12° *pp.* 14, 144).   
This edition, with the Life, and an Introduction by Rev.   
Dr. Edward W. Hooker, was reprinted, Hartford, 1845   
(16° *pp.* 165, I).

Sabin *(Dictionary,* no. 32847) says: "This, the ear­   
liest and most popular of Hooker's works, first appeared  
 in a collection of sermons entitled ' The Saints' Cordial,'   
attributed to Sibbs." I have not seen this collection,   
nor can I find any mention of the edition of 1629, except   
in H. Stevens's catalogue (and in Sabin), as before noted.

*The Sovles Preparation for Christ.* Or, A Treatise   
of Contrition. Wherein is discovered How God breaks   
the heart and wounds the Soule, in the conversion of a

Sinner to Himselfe. *.PP.* (8), 258.

4° *London, R. Daw/man,* 1632.

[2d edition?] 4° *London,* 1635.  
[3d edition?] sm. 12° *Printed (for the use and   
 benefit of the English Churches) in   
 the Netherlands.* 1638.

4th Edition. 4° *London: Assignes, of T. P.   
 for A. Crooke,* 1638.  
6th Edition. **12°** *Lond., M. F. for R. Dawlman.*

1643.

7th Edition. 12° *Lond.,* J. G. for R. Dawlman.

1658.

This work was entered to R. Dawlman, 29 Oct., 1631,   
as "The Soules Preparation for Christ, out of Acts 2,   
37, and Luke 15, by *F.* H.,'' -- as the printed Register   
(iv. 263) has it, by a clerical error for *T.* H. One third of   
the copyright was assigned, 14 Oct., 1634, to R. Allott,

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and by Allott's widow, 1 July, 1637, to Legatt and Andrew   
Crooke.

*The Eqvall Wayes of God:* Tending to the Rectifying   
of the Crooked \Vayes of l\fan. The Passages whereof   
are briefly and clearly drawne from the sacred Scriptures.   
By T. H.

4° *London.,· for '.John Clarke,* 1632. *pp.* (8), 40.

Entered to J. Clarke, 6 Dec., r631 *(Registers,* iv. 267).  
The prefatory address, To the Christian Reader, is signed  
T. H., showing that the publication was authorized by the   
author.

*[An Exposition of the Lord's Prayer.* By T. H. 1638.]   
 Entered, as above, to Mr. [R.] Dawlman, *5* Sept., 1637 *(Stat.   
Registers,* iv. 392). It is advertised, as pub­   
lished, in a list of :Mr. Hooker's books, prefixed to (the   
4th edition of) "The Soules Preparation," etc., 1638.   
The Bodleian Catalogue has : *Heaven's Treasury opened,*in a faithfull Exposition of the Lord's Prayer, go *Lond.*1645 ; and Sabin has that title and date nearly (no.   
32839), with" fruitful" in place of "faithfull," and add­   
ing: "with a Treatise on the Principles of Religion;" but  
 marking the size as 4to. The Bodleian has, as a separate  
 title: " An Exposition of the Principles of Religion," go  
1645, -- in the list of Hooker's works.

*The Sovles Humiliation.* 4° *London, for A. Crooke,*1637. Entered (as, by T. H.) Feb. 28, 1636-7, to A.   
Crooke, by whom one half the copyright was assigned to  
P. Nevill, 13 March, 1637-8 *(Registers,* iv. 374,412). The   
licenser's imprimatur is dated Oct. 10 and Dec. 6, 1637.

The Second Edition, 4° *I. L.for A. Crooke.* 1638. The   
Third Edition. 4° *T. Cotes for A.*  1640.

*Crooke and P. Nevill.*

Another. 8° *Amsterdam, for T. L. near the   
English Church.* 1638. *pp.* 302.

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*The Soules Implantation.* A Treatise containing,   
The Broken Heart, on Esay 57. 15. The Preparation of   
the Heart, on Luke 1. 17. The Soules Ingraffing into   
Christ, on Mal. 3. 1. Spirituall Love and Joy, on Gal. 5.  
22. By T. H. 4° *R. Young, sold by F. Clifton,* 1637.  
*pp.* (2), 266.

Entered 22 Apr., 1637, to Young and Clifton *(Regis­   
ters,* iv. 382). Another, much improved edition, under   
the title --

The Soules Implantation into the Naturall Olive. By

**T.** H. Carefully corrected, and much enlarged. With a   
Table of the Contents prefixed.

4° *R. Young, sold by F. Clifton,* 1640. *pp.* (6), 320.

The Sermon on Spiritual *Joy,* on Habak. 3. **17,** 18, is   
added in this edition, and the preceding Sermon, on Spir­   
itual *Love,* was printed from larger and more accurate   
notes.

*The Sovles Ingrafting into Christ.* By T. H.

4° *J. H[aviland] for A. Crooke,* 1637. *pp.* (2), 30.   
The text is Mal. 3. 1. It is one of three "Sermons ...

by T. H." entered to Crooke, 22 July, 1637 *(Registers,*

iv. 390). Another edition of it makes part of "The   
Soules Implantation" 1637. See the next preceding   
title.

*The Sovles Effectual! Calling* to Christ. By T. H.   
4° *J. H[aviland] for A. Crooke,* 1637. *pp.* (2), 33-668.

Entered to A. Crooke, 21 Apr., 1637, as "certain Ser-

mons upon John the 6th, verse the 45th, by T. H."   
*(Register,* iv. 381.) Usually bound with "The Sovles   
Ingrafting," with which its paging is continuous; but   
also published separately (though without change of   
paging), with a second title prefixed, --

*The Sovles Vocati'on* or Effectval Calling to Christ.

*By T. H.*

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With a Table of Contents (II leaves), and in imprint,   
the date 1638.

*[The Soules Possession of Christ:* upon Romans 13: 4,   
Acts 16:31, Psal. 51:16, John *7*:37, 2 Kings 2:12,

**1** Peter 5:*5,* Zeph. 2:3. By T. H.] 8°, 1638.

So entered to [R.] Dawlman, 13 Nov. 1637. The   
Bodleian Catalogue has: The Soules Possession of   
Christ: whereunto is annexed a Funeral Sermon on   
2 Kings ii. 12. 8° *Lond.* 1638. *"Spirituall Munition:* a funeral Sermon, on 2 Kings ii. 12. By T. H. 8° *Lond.*1638" *(Bodl. Cat.),* appears to have been also published   
separately.

*The Sovles Exaltation.* A Treatise containing The   
Soules Vnion with Christ, on I Cor. 6. 17, The Soules   
Benefit from Vnion with Christ, on I Cor. I. 30. The   
Soules Justification, on 2 Cor. ***5.* 21.** By T. H.

4° J*. Haviland,for Andr. Crooke,* 1638. *pp.* (16), 311.

8 April, 1637, [12] "Sermons .. , by T. H." were   
entered to Andrew Crooke, - the text of each being   
named *(Registers,* iv. 380). These sermons were made   
up into three volumes, under the titles, "The Soules   
Exaltation" (3), "Four Treatises," etc. (3), and "The   
Vnbeleevers Preparing for Christ" *(5),* - all published   
in 1638.

*The Vnbeleevers Preparz"ng for Christ.* Luke 1. 17.  
By T. H.

4° *T. Cotes for Andr. Cro(Jke,* 1638. *pp.* (4), 204, (4);119, (4).

Six sermons. The first five selected from the '' Ser­  
mons by T. H.," entered to A. Crooke, 8 April, 1637; the   
last (on John 6. 44), one of "certain sermons ... by

T. H.," entered to the same publisher, 22 July, 1637

*(Registers,* iv. 380, 390).

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*Four godly and learned Treatises:* viz.: The Car­   
nall Hypocrite. The Churches Deliverances. The De­   
ceitfulness of Sinne. The Benefit of Afflictions. By

**T.** H.

12° *A. Crooke,* 1638.

(Prince Library and Bodleian Catalogues.) Probably   
four of the (12) Sermons by T. H. entered to Crooke,  
8 April, 1637. Among "several Treatises by this Au­  
thor" advertised by Cooke, 1638, are "Sermons on   
Judges 10. 23; on Psalms 119. 29; on Proverbs 1.28, 29;   
and on 2 Tim. 3. *5.''* These sermons are included in the   
collection entered 8 April, except the third, which is one

of four entered to the same publisher, 22 July, 1637.   
(Crooke assigned half the copyright of these "Four   
Treatises" to Wm. Wethered, 1 Sept., 1638.)

? [ *The Garments of Salvation* first putt off by the   
Fall of our first Parents. Secondly, putt on again by   
the Grace of the Gospel. By T. H. 1639 ?]

Entered, 6 May, 1639, to R. Young and Fulke Clif­   
ton *(Registers,* iv. *465).* Mr. Arber queries,"? by   
Thomas Hooker." Certainly intended to *pass* for his.   
I have not been able to find a copy of it.

*The Cliristians Two Chiefe Lessons,* Viz. Selfe-Deniall,   
and Selfe-Tryall. .As also, The Priviledge of Adoption   
and Triall thereof. In three Treatises on the Texts fol­   
lowing: Viz. Matt. 16. 24. :2 Cor. 13. *5.* Iohn I. 12, 13.   
By T. H.

4° *T. B. for P. Stepliens and C. Meredith,* 1640. *pp.*

(24), 303.

An "Epistle Dedicatory" to "the Honourable and   
truly Religious Lady, the Lady Anne Wake," is sub­   
scribed, Z. S. [Rev. Zechariah Symmes of Charlestown?],   
who "had taken some paines in the perusall and tran­   
scribing" the copy "after it came into the Printers

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hands," and "one that was inwardly acquainted with the   
Authour [Thomas Shepard?] hath laboured with me in   
this taske."

*"A Treatise or certaine Sermons' of Selfe Denyall'*upon Matthew 16. 24 and 25 verses, by T. H.," was en-   
tered 15 Dec., 1638, to Stevens and Meredith *(Regis­   
ters,* iv. 448). The completed work, with the title as   
above, was entered to the same partners, **15** Oct., 1639   
*(ibld.* 483).

*[The Patterne of PeifecHon* exhibited in God's Image   
on Adam and God's Covenant with him, on Genesis 1**.**

26. Whereunto is added, *An E:rhortacion to redeeme   
tyme* for recovering our losses in the premises on Ephe­   
sians, *5.* 16. Also *certaine Queries* touching a true and   
sound Christian, by T. H.]

This title was entered to Mr. [R.J Young and Fulke   
Clifton, 19 Feb., r638-9 *(Reglsters,* iv. 455). Published   
(in a second edition?), 1640, 8° *(Bodi. Cat.).*

*Tlze Danger of Desertion:* or A Farwell Sermon of   
Mr. *Thomas Hooker,* Somtimes Minister of God's Word   
at *Chainsford* in *Essex;* but now of *New* England.   
Preached immediately before his departure out of old   
England. - Together with Ten Particular rules to be   
practised every day by converted Christians.

4° *G. M.for Geo. Edwards,* 1641. *pp.* (4), 29.

Text, Jerem. 14. 9. A Second edition was printed the   
same year (Prince Libr. Cat.). A MS. note by the Rev.

T. Prince attributes the "Ten Rules" to the Rev. E.   
Reyner.

*The Faithful Covenanter.* A Sermon preached at the  
Lecture in Dedham in Essex. By that excellent ser-  
vant of Jesus Christ, in the work of the Gospel, Mr. Tho.  
Hooker, late of Chelmsford; now in New-England. Very

*HIS PUBLISHED WORKS. 191*

usefull in these times of Covenanting with God. Psal.   
78. vers. 9, [10, 36, 37: 8 lines].

4° *Christopher Meredith,* 1644. *pp.* (2), 43.

Text from Deut. 29. 24, 25. Printed from the notes of   
some hearer - and without the author's knowledge -- as   
"very useful in these times" of subscribing the "Solemn   
League and Covenant."

"? [*An Exposition of the Principles of Religion.*

8° 1645.]

Title from the Bodleian Catalogue. I have not seen it.

*The Saints Guide,* in three Treatises on Gen. vi. 13,

[3,] Rom. i. 18, and Ps. i. 3. 8° *Lond.* 1645.

Bodl. Catalogue. "Three Sermons upon these Texts   
(vizt.)"Romans I. 18, Genesis 6. 3, Psalms r. 3, by T. H."   
were entered to John Stafford, 10 Aug., 1638 *(Stat. Reg.,*iv. 428); but I can trace no earlier edition than that of 1645.

? *[The Immortality of the Soule.* The Excellencie   
of Christ Jesus, treated on. Wherein the faithfull people   
of God may find comfort for their Souls. By T. H.   
Published according to Order. 4° 1646. *pp.* (2), 21.]

Title from Sabin's *Dictionary* (no. 32841), where it

is attributed to Hooker.

? [*Heautonaparnumenos:* or a *Treatise of Self-Deny­   
all.* Intended for the Pulpit; but now committed to   
the Presse for the Publike Benefit. By Thomas Hooker.  
 *London, Wilson for Rich. Royston,* 1646.

itle from Sabin (no. 32840), who evidently had not   
seen the book, for he does not give the size or number of   
pages. I am confident this *title* is not (our) Thomas   
Hooker's : but the book may be a bookseller's make-up   
from "The Christians Two Chiefe Lessons/' *etc.,* pub­   
lished in 1640.

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POSTHUMOUS.

*A Survey of tlte Summe of Church-Discipline.*

Wherein, The Way of the Churches of New-England is   
warranted out of the Word, *etc.*... By THO. HOOKER,   
late Pastor of the Church at *Hartford* upon *Connecticott*in N. E.

4° *A. M. for John Bellamy,* 1648. *pp.* (36); Part 1.

The author's preface (r8 pp.) is followed by an Epistle

to the Reader (4 pp.) subscribed by Edward Hopkins   
and William Goodwin, Hartford, 28 Oct., 1647: a Poem   
"in obitum viri Doctissimi Thomae Hookeri," by Samuel   
Stone; others by John Cotton and E. Rogers: and a   
further commendation to the reader by Thomas Goodwin,   
April 17, 1648.

This work, it appears, was "finished, and sent near two   
years " earlier, to be printed; but the copy "was then   
buried in the rude waves of the vast Ocean, with many   
precious Saints, in their passage hither." Mr. Hooker   
reluctantly consented to prepare another copy for the   
press, but " before the full transcribing, he was translated   
from us to be ever with the Lord."

To some copies of the work, John Cotton's" The Way   
of Congregational Churches cleared" was appended, and   
a general title, including both works, prefixed to the   
volume. Mr. Cotton's treatise continues the answers to   
Rutherford, begun by Mr. Hooker in Part I. Chap. 10, of   
the Survey. That chapter ends on p. 139, the next page   
is blank, and Chapter r I begins on the next page follow­   
ing, numbered 18;, with a new signature. It may have   
been the intention of the editors to incorporate Mr. Cot­   
ton's work with Hooker's, in this division of the Survey,   
or the former may have been substituted for Hooker's   
unfinished notes.

*HIS PUBLISHED WORKS.* 193

*The Covenant of Grace opened:* wherein These partic­   
ulars are handled ; viz. **1.** ·what the Covenant of Grace   
is, 2. What the Seales of the Covenant are, 3. Who are   
the Parties and Subjects fit to receive these Seales.   
From all which Particulars Infants Baptisme is fully   
proved and vindicated. Being severall Sermons preached  
at Hartford in New-England. By that Reverend and  
faithfull Minister of the Gospel, Mr. Thomas Hooker.

4° *G. Dawson,* 1649. *pp.* (2), 85.

*The Saints Dignitie and Dutie.* Together with The   
Danger of Ignorance and Hardnesse. Delivered in   
severall Sermons: By that Reverend Divine, Thomas   
Hooker, Late Preacher in New-England.

4° *G. D[awson], for Francis Eglesjield,* 1651. *pp.*

(12), 246.

Seven sermons: 1. *The Gift of Gifts:* or, The End   
why Christ gave Himself *(Titus* 2. 14) : 2. *The Blessed   
Inhabitant:* or, The Benefit of Christs being in Beleev­   
ers *(Rom.* 8. 10); 3. *Grace Magnified:* or the Priviledges   
of those that are under Grace *(Rom.* 6. 14); 4. *Wis­   
domes Attendants:* or The Voice of Christ to be obeyed   
*(Prov.* 8. 32): *5. The Activitie of Faith:* or, Abraham's   
Imitators *(Rom.* 4. 12) : 6. *Culpable Ignorance:* or the   
Danger of Ignorance under Meanes (Is. 27: **11):** *7.   
Wilful Hardnesse:* or the Means of Grace Abused   
*(Prov.* 29. **1).** Each sermon has a full titlepage, with   
imprint as in the general title; and probably each was   
sold separately, though the paging is continuous.

The preface, signed T. S. [Thomas Shepard], shows   
that this volume was prepared for the press by Mr.   
Hooker's son-in-law.

*A Comment upon Christ's Last Prayer* In the Seven­   
teenth of John. Wherein is opened, The Vnion Beleev­   
ers have with God and Christ, and the Glorious Priviledges thereof…. By ... Mr. Thomas Hooker, *etc….*

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Printed from the Author's own Papers, ... and attested

tobe such ... by Thomas Goodwin and Philip Nye.

4° *Peter Cole,* 1656. *pp.* (26), 532.

Half-title, on p. I : "Mr. Hooker's Seventeenth Book   
made inNew-England." A series of sermons on John

17**.** 20-26, preached, at the administration of the Lord's   
Supper, in the last years of Mr. Hooker's pastorate.

The numbering of the volume as " Mr. Hooker's Seven­   
teenth Book" has given some trouble to the bibliographers.  
 Of a collection of seventeen "books " -- each comprising   
one or more sermons - sent to England for publication,   
the first *eight* were published together by P. Cole, 1656   
[and 1657], under the general title of "The Application   
of Redemption," etc. ; and two others, the *ninth* and *tenth,*made a second volume under the same title. Six others   
(the *eleventh* to the *sixteenth,* inclusive) were announced   
by Cole, in 1656, as "now printing, in two volumes," but I   
find no evidence that they were ever published. The   
*seventeenth* "and last" (as Cole announced it) was " AComment upon Christ's Prayer," etc.

*Tlie Application of Redemption.* By the Effectual   
Work of the Word, and Spirit of Christ, forthe bringing   
home of lost Sinners to God. [The first *Eight* Books.]

… By ... Thomas Hooker, *etc.* Printed from the  
Authour's Papers, ... with ... an Epistle by Thomas   
Goodwin, and Philip Nye. 8° 1657. *pp.* (46), 451.

The title and collation are from Sabin: but the Cat-   
alogue of the Red Cross (Dr. Williams's) Library men­   
tions two editions of 1656, one in octavo, the other in   
quarto.

*The Application of Redemption, etc.* The *Ninth* and

*Tenth* Books ... Printed from the Author's Papers,

Written with his own hand. And attested to be such,  
 in an Epistle, By Thomas Goodwin and Philip Nye.

4° *Peter Cole,* 1657. *pp.* (22), 702, (30).

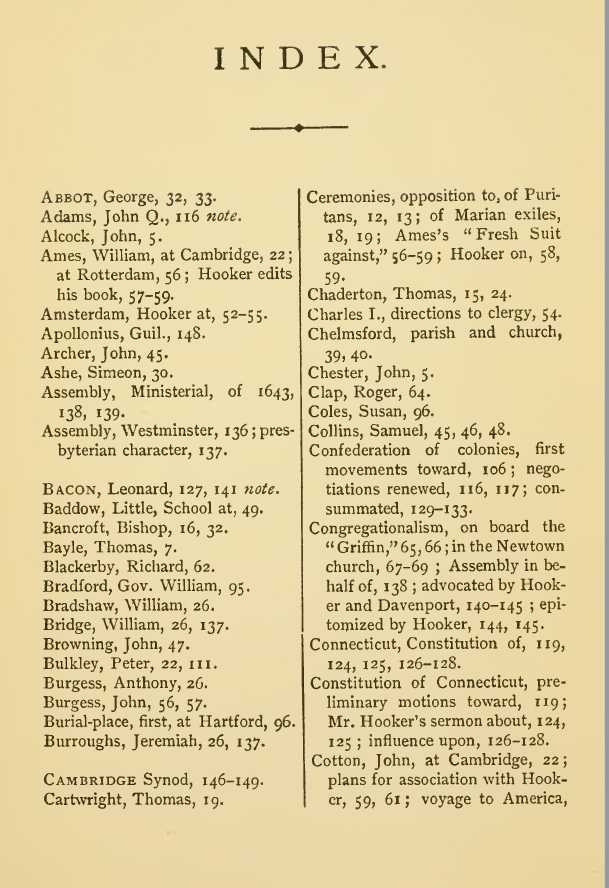
*HIS PUBLISHED WORKS.* 195

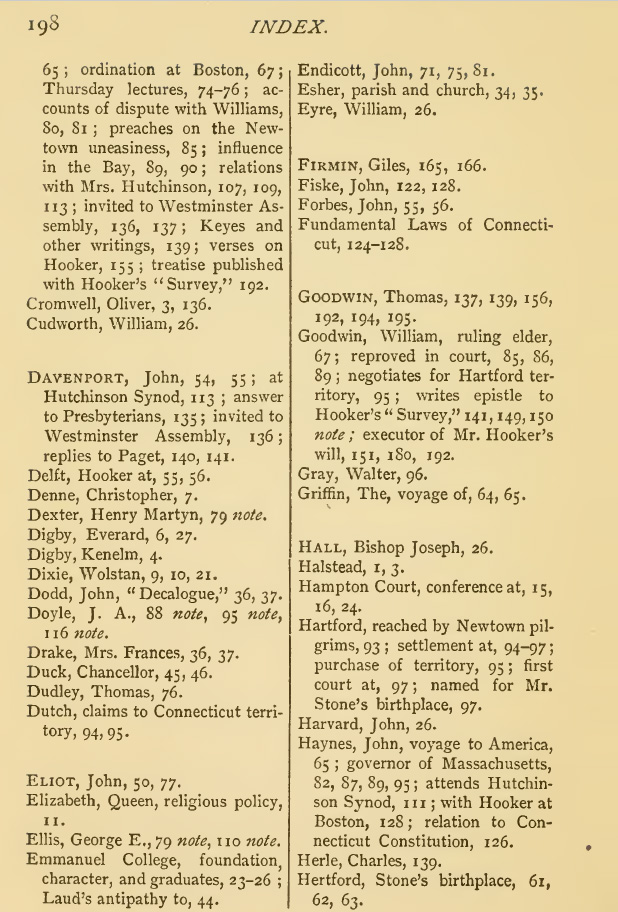
The same. The Second Edition.

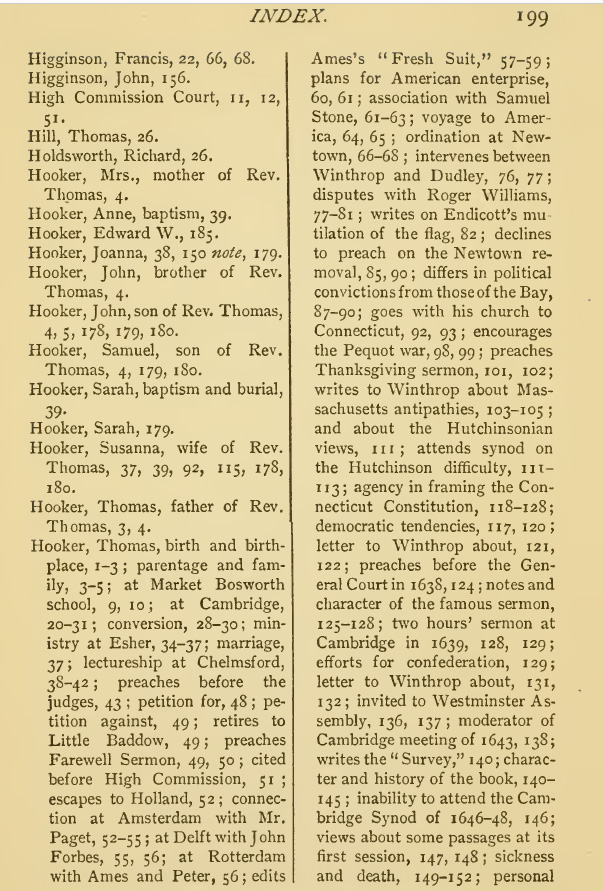
4° *Peter Cole,* 1659. *pp.* (22), 702, (30).

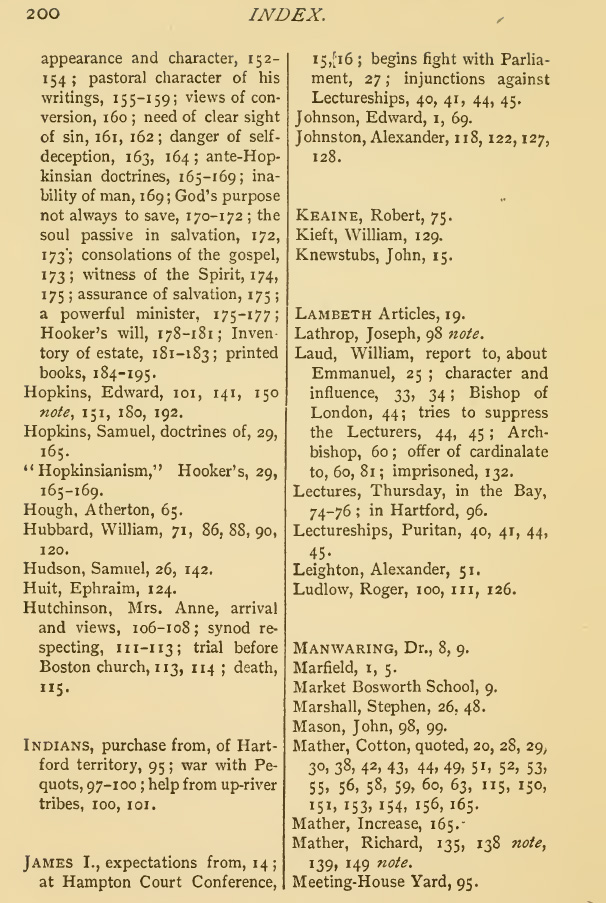
The prefatory epistle of Goodwin and Nye gives, **in**brief, the history of this work, and, incidentally, of many   
of the earlier editions of Hooker's sermons. "Many   
parts and pieces of this Author, upon this argument, ser­   
mon-wise, preach'd by him here in England, having  
been taken by an unskilful hand, which, upon his recess   
into those remoter parts of the World, was bold without   
his privity or consent to print and publish them,… his

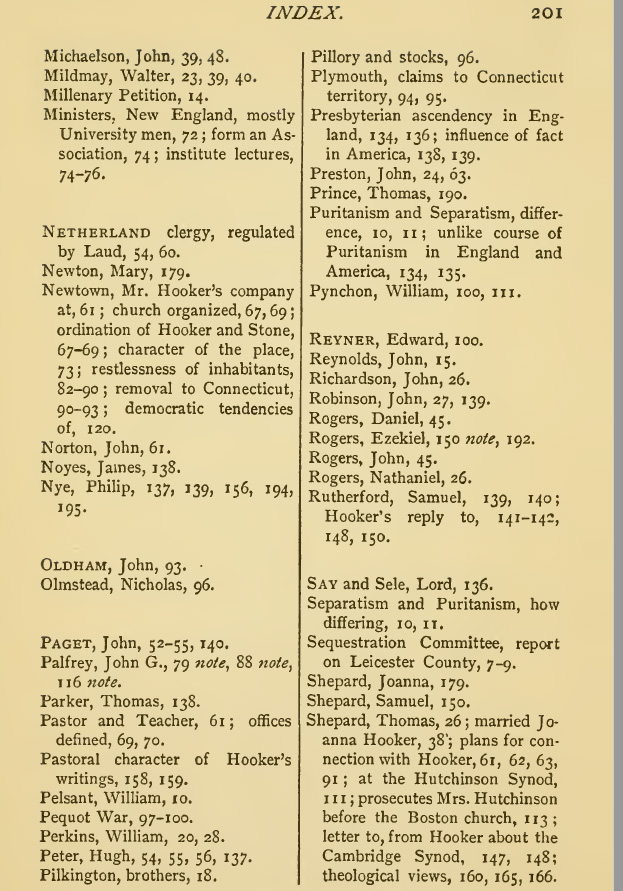
genuine meaning was diverted ... from the clear draft   
of his own notions and intentions …. In these Trea-   
tises, thou hast his Heart from his own Hand, his own   
Thoughts drawn by his own Pencil," *etc.* He had   
preached more briefly of this subject, first, while a Fellow   
and Catechist at Emmanuel College, and again, many   
years after, more largely, at Chelmsford, -- *"the product   
of which was those books of Sermons that have gone   
under his name, -*- and last of all, now in New-England."

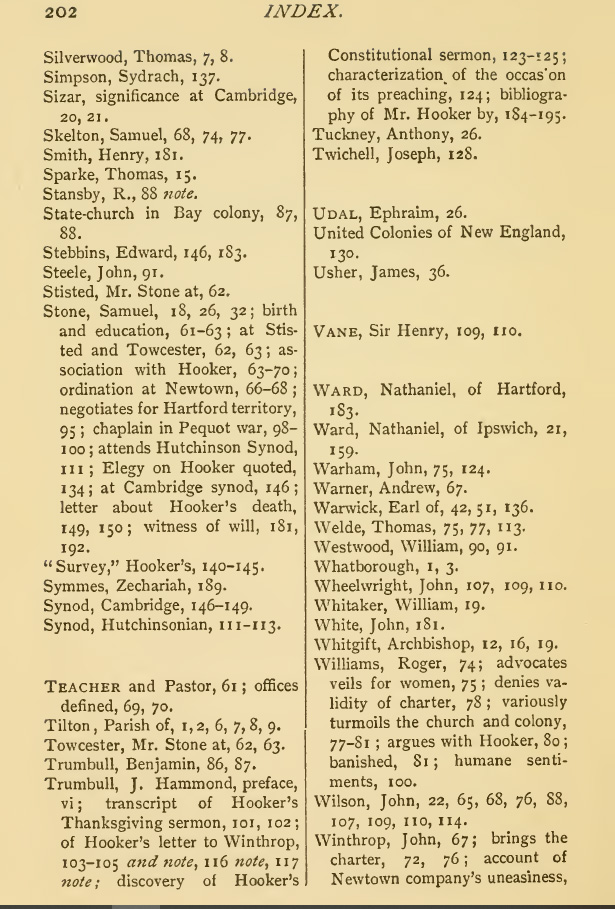
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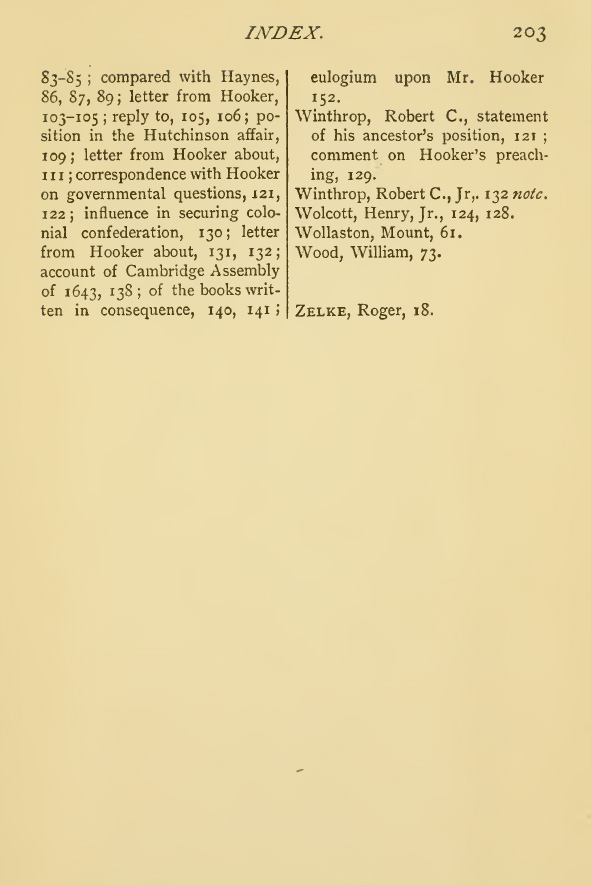
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