WARDWELL:

the Lives and Times of

THOMAS and WILLIAM WARDWELL,

English Emigrants to America-1633

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Revised - 1987

THE WARDALE FAMILY
of
Alford, Lincolnshire, England

HUGH WARDALE* was born in the 1500's in Lincolnshire, England, where the family had lived for centuries. As a patronymic, the name appeared as early as 1273, when Richard de Wardle of Lincolnshire was listed in the Hundreds Roll. There is record of a John de Wardale of Lincolnshire in 1379. Through the centuries following, the surname appears with great frequency.

By the 1560's, Hugh and his wife resided in the Parish of Alford in Lincolnshire, an important market-town some 20 miles northeast of Boston. Their son, **JOHN**, was baptized June 13, 1562 at Alford.**

During Hugh's lifetime, profound changes occurred in England which would affect not only the destiny of his descendants but also the history of the entire world. When the church bells rang throughout England in 1533, they announced the marriage of King Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn; they also tolled the beginnings of a religious dissension that would eventually drive many Englishmen to the New World in quest of theological freedom.

Excommunicated from the Roman Catholic Church, Henry promptly established his own church, The Church of England; and state and church became one. In reality, the new church remained the same as of old: continuing belief in transubstantiation, the confessional, private masses and celibate priests; only the Pope in Rome was discarded. Henry had a Bible printed in English so that all might be able to read it; and for the first time, this English Bible was placed in every church in England.

By the time young Edward the 6th assumed the throne in 1547, and until his death in 1553, England was considered "Prostestant" even though the country was still largely Roman in form, sympathy and belief. During these two reigns many of the "true" Roman Catholics were persecuted and their homes and records destroyed.

Upon the death of her brother Edward, Mary ascended the throne and reinstituted throughout her kingdom the Roman rites and the Pope as head of the church. Hundreds of "Prostestants" were hanged or burned, and her four-year-reign became known as that of "Bloody Mary".

*The surname in England is found as Wardale, Wardall, Wardell and Wardle; the second "w" was added in America.

**From Alford Parish Records of Birth, Christening and Marriage Dates, on file at the LDS Libraries.

England returned to "Prostestant" in 1558 when Elizabeth became Queen, and once again the Church and State were one. By the time of the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588, the majority of Englishmen were truly Prostestant Anglicans. But there was no room for dissenters as the Queen demanded absolute uniformity of belief. By 1594 the most stringent of laws were enacted: "Any persons who absented themselves from the orthodox service of the Anglican Church for more than a month, or attempted to persuade others to do so, or attended any but the established Church of England were to be imprisoned until they pledged to conform". These "dissenters" were given 3 months to obey or they were "to quit the realm on pain of death": and if they returned, were to be executed.

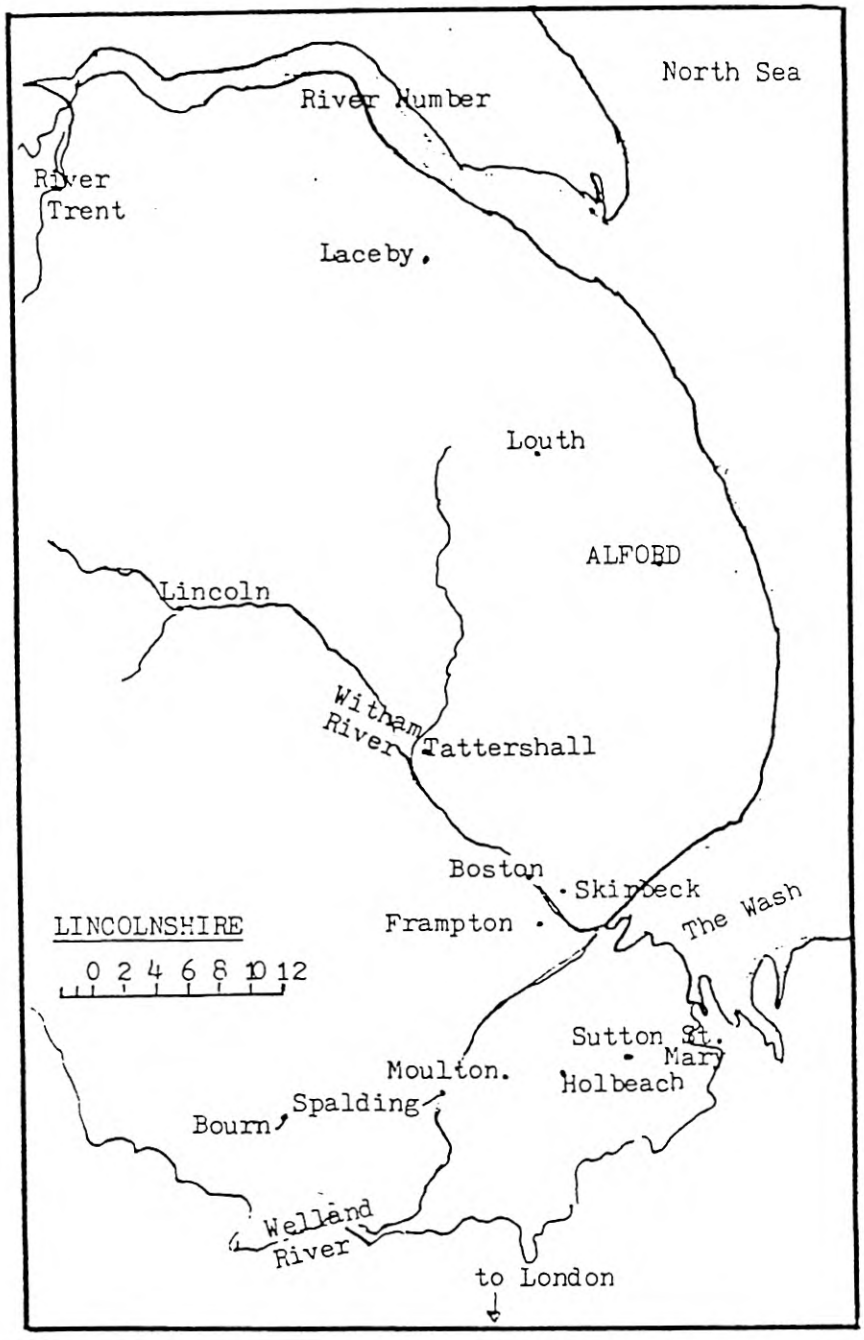
The religious conflict was merely one aspect of a profound crisis occurring not only in England but also throughout Western Europe. The rigid social and economic structure, medieval in its origin, held the country in a vice. The Crown and its Court and the nobility of the realm, controlled all the wealth and power and lands. The vast majority of people were poor, owning no land, working for others, servants indentured for life. Their only hope of mobility was downward. Somewhere between these two groups existed the merchants (a new class evolving since the Spanish War) and a few landed gentry (yoeman) whose descendants would find the attainment of what little their fathers had achieved a difficult task.

The great exploration by sea in the late 1500's financed by the monarchies of Europe drained the coffers of each country. Though the new lands offered gold and silver and the western passage to the great China trade, no country could control the wealth of these lands without permanent population and the trade thereto.

The Colony of Roanoke was attempted by England in 1584, and was a successful venture; for by 1587 there was a full fledged settlement of more than 100 men, women and children. The Governor of the Colony returned to England for additional supplies, and during this time, it is now surmissed, the colonists survived by moving inland and joining a friendly Indian tribe. As the tribe moved westward in the next years, the colonists went with them and were eventually assimilated into the tribe. When the Governor of the Colony did return in 1590, the original colony could not be found. Until recently, historians have called this first England colony, "The Lost Colony of Roanoke".

Hugh Wardale and his wife died in Alford, leaving their son John, and perhaps the following (from Alford records):

William married December 2, 1591, Margaret Horne
Thomas married May 27, 1602, Ame Kelk
Myles married c1594
children: Thomas, baptized Dec. 28, 1596
Matthew, baptized April 2, 1598



"Lincolnshire - the English county to which so many New Englanders trace their ancestry."

JOHN WARDALE was baptized June 13, 1562 in the Parish of Alford, Lincolnshire,* England, son of Hugh Wardale.

Around 1590 John married, the ceremony probably performed by the Rev. Francis Marbury, vicar of St. Wilfrid's Church of Alford. Shortly thereafter, Marbury's license to preach was canceled due to his critical attitude towards the priesthood and his unorthodox opinions, and he remained "silenced" until 1605.

John Wardale raised a large family, though several of the children died in early childhood. The family may have resided in the village of Well, one of the many hamlets of the Parish (township) of Alford. His American grandson, Uzal, would later in life declare that his family had come from the village of Well and thus his surname was "Wardwell".

In the year of the birth of John's 7th child (Thomas), the Tudor dynasty of England ended with the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603. James I, the only son of Mary, Queen of Scots, ascended the throne as a "stranger and an alien in England". Because he was from Calvinist Scotland, the Separatists, the Puritans, the Huguenots and the various other dissenters from the Anglican Church hoped he would espouse their cause.

But James felt that if men could decide for themselves about religion, they could also decide for themselves about politics, and made it clear that Elizabeth's "Conform or Go" would continue in effect. At the Hampton Court Conference of 1604, the petition presented by the Puritans was flatly turned down. But the King did agree to issue a new version of the Bible. Superseding all other versions, the King James' Bible made its first appearance in England in 1611...and it would last without revision for over 300 years.

In the spring of 1605, James I had 300 ministers of Puritan leanings silenced and removed from their pulpits. In Alford, Rev. Marbury, silenced since 1591 (the year his daughter Anne was born) had remained without a pulpit in the intervening years. His older brother Edward had been knighted in 1603 and this may have enable Rev. Marbury to be appointed to a church in London in 1605.

During the first few years of his reign, James, coming from penurious Scotland to wealthy England, spent lavishly. But the value of the pound had diminished due to inflation from the importation of precious metals from the New World, swelling the rise of prices throughout Europe and England.

*Each shire (county) of England was sectioned into "Divisions" and each of these was sub-divided into "Wapentakes" (or "Hundreds"). Alford was in the Wold Division of the Hundred of Calceworth.

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In order to increase his revenues, James I on April 20, 1606, chartered two commercial companies: "The London Company" and "The Plymouth Company". These charters gave the right to certain London "merchant-adventurers" and their financial backers to colonize "that part of America, commonly called Virginia". While the intent of these ventures was strictly for commercial profit, they initiated the real beginnings of English colonization in America.

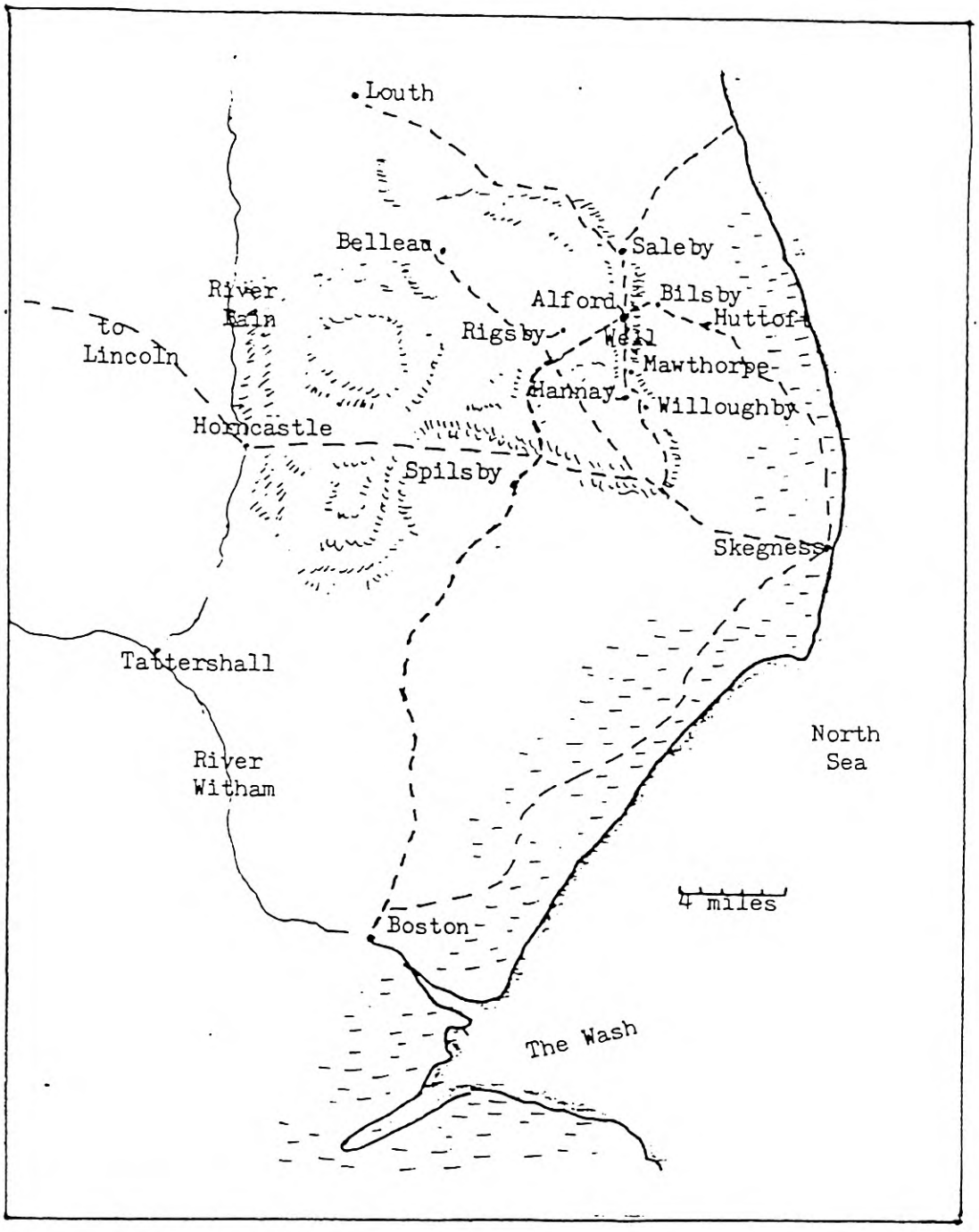
In the following years, many ships sailed from England. But it was the three which landed on the the shores of the James River in Virginia, and the two which came to the rocky coast of present-day Maine, which affected the lives of so many Englishmen in the centuries to come.

Another ship sailed from England in the year 1607, bearing passengers under the leadership of the Rev. John Robinson and Mr. William Brewster. This group of "Saints", as they called themselves, had been imprisoned temporarily in the Guild Hall at Boston, Lincolnshire, before being allowed to sail for Holland. Many of them were from Scrooby, a town about 50 miles northwest of Alford, and all wish to separate from the Anglican Church. These Separatists looked for refuge from religious persecution in Holland.

John Wardale and his wife lived and died in the Parish of Alford. Two of their sons would become the first of the family to emigrate to the New World.

Children: all born and baptized in the Parish of Alford, Lincolnshire

Richard	bp. December 30, 1592	buried January 6, 1592/93
Thomas	bp. April 20, 1594	buried September 19, 1597
William }	bp. April 4, 1596	buried April 27, 1596
John }	bp. April 4, 1596	died by April, 1597
John	bp. April 17, 1597 m. (1) April 28, 1625, Alford, Dorothy Stanes (Staines/Stones), who died October 20, 1643 (2) Grace	
[child]	b. c1599,	
Francis	bp. August 23, 1601	buried June 10, 1633
THOMAS	bp. January 31, 1603/04	
WILLIAM	bp. January 4, 1606/07	
Mary	bp. June 25, 1609 m. August 22, 1634, Alford, John Pyce (Pise)	



ALFORD and ENVIRONS

Lincolnshire, England

THOMAS WARDWELL 1603 - 1646

WILLIAM WARDWELL 1606 - 1670

The peaceful market-town of Alford "sits on a rolling foot-hill height where the Lincolnswold dips down to meet the Low Lindseys marshes. From its edge, one might look out mile upon endless mile over flat and verdant marshy fens, checkered with dikes, ditches, windmills and occasional trees, to as far as the broad sweep of the North Sea, 6 miles to the east." The small stream which ran through Alford "crossed the line of the village street twice; from that it derived its ancient name. The houses were strung along the highway between the fords.*

In the 1500's, **HUGH WARDALE** lived in the parish of Alford, and here his son, **JOHN WARDALE**, was baptized June 13, 1562** at St. Wilfrid's, the parish church two centuries old. John married around 1590 and had a large family of at least 8 sons and a daughter; but only five lived to adulthood.

"During this period, society felt that a child's death was the parents' punishment for failure to their God-given duty. They were required to display a sign on their house consisting of a conspicuously bright red cross inscribed with the words, 'Lord have mercy upon us'." It was also the custom to give the name of a deceased child to a newborn baby of the same gender.

THOMAS, the 7th child, was born in 1603. Of the six sons born prior to Thomas, four had died in early childhood; and this 7th child was named for a Thomas baptized in 1594 who died in 1597. Thomas was baptized January 31, 1604 at Alford.

WILLIAM, the youngest son, was born in 1606 and named for a brother (and a twin) baptized in 1596, who had died in the same year. William was baptized January 4, 1607 at Alford. (The incidence of twins would occur in both brother's descendants.)

*The History of the County of Lincoln" T. Allen 1833

**All dates are from the Alford Parish Records of Birth, Christening and Marriage Dates on file at the LDS Libraries.

While little is known of the lives of the two Wardale brothers prior to their departure from England in 1633, a great deal can be surmised from the political and religious situations of their times as well as from their friends and associates of Alford township.

As the seat of the parish (township) Alford included the villages of Well, Rigsby, Belleau, Saleby, Bilsby, Huttoft, possibly Hannay, and several other smaller hamlets and manors. A few miles to the south was Willoughby, and 10 miles to the north the parish of Louthe.

All of the village and hamlets surrounding Alford were within easy walking distance, and Alford was "their pocket metropolis, supplying a center of exchange and socialability". The Wardale Family was well acquainted with others of these small communities, which included the families of Bellingham, Crame, Dearborn, Heaton, Hutchinson (of whom there were quite a few), Marshall, Pormont (or Pormort), Rawbone, Storre, Vane, Wentworth, Wheelwright, White, Wight, and Willix. Many of these families were interrelated, and later, all would be interdependent for survival in the New World.

The two brothers attended the free Grammar School, which had been endowed in 1565, and offered free tuition "for the godly and virtous education of the youth of Alford" (ie. males) and scholarships at Cambridge to successful students. This was an unusual establishment in a little country village such as Alford. Capt. John Smith, born in Willoughby, had attended the same school in his youth. In 1614 Capt. Smith explored, charted and mapped the northeastern coast of America, naming the region "New England".

In what leisure time the two boys had, they could wander the flat countryside where herds of sheep pastured by the byways near the Dutch-style windmills; or they could venture to the sandhills to watch the gray line of the North Sea a few miles away while seabirds soared overhead.

Tuesday was "market day", held in the center of Alford, a short walk from St. Wilfrid's Church. Alford served as the market town for the surrounding farms and villages which were unable to raise all the food they needed, especially in poor growing seasons. Alford, working through middlemen, would buy the surplus of other market towns or import food from abroad. These middlemen, with their wide and varied contacts, brought all the news from the outside world.

There were also twice yearly fairs, held regularly in late May and late October. These exciting week-long events brought peddlers and traveling merchants from all over England and from throughout Western Europe. Though seemingly isolated, through "market days" and these annual Fairs, the citizens of Alford were kept up-to-date on world affairs.

In 1620, when Thomas was 17 (and already apprenticed as a cobbler) and William 14, an event occurred in England which would affect their lives, as well as those of thousands of Englishmen, although its importance at the time was unknown. The "Mayflower" with 102 passengers sailed from England for the New World. 49 of the passengers were "Separatists", most of them originally from Scrooby, England, the congregation which had settled in Holland in 1607. The "Mayflower" reached the New World safely, but by the following spring over half of the original 102 passengers were dead. Those remaining alive established the first and lasting self-sustaining colony in the New World.

But in the year of 1621 the attention of the residents of Alford was centered on the marriage of John Wheelwright of Laceby, to Mary, the daughter of Thomas Storre, vicar of Bilsby, which took place on November 8th.* John's father, Robert, and his grandfather, John, were landholders in the Fen district of Lincolnshire and moderately well-to-do. John had taken his master at Cambridge in 1618, where he was notable as a scholar as well as an athlete: a fellow collegian, Oliver Cromwell, said later in life, "that he had never felt as much fear before any army as before Wheelwright in competitive sports". Through the death of his father and other relatives, John "early became possessed of landed property".

After the death of his father-in-law, Wheelwright succeeded to the vicarage of Bilsby on April 9, 1623. Later in the same year, the widower Augustine Storre, son of the late Rev. Storre, married Susanna Hutchinson, a daughter of Susanna and Edward Hutchinson of Alford, on November 21st.*

The herds of sheep wandering the Alford countryside produced fine wool which kept the cloth-mills busy and the people prosperous. "During the 1620's, however, the textile industry of England suffered a depression that affected the whole country. Clothworkers were unemployed, hungry but unable to pay for the country produce; clothiers could not market their fabrics; farmers could not pay their rents." The anticipated revenues from the New World were not as expected, and the Crown revenues suffered. Early in 1625 Charles I ascended the throne on the death of his father, James I.

This accession threw the Puritans into dismay, for Charles had married a Catholic princess of France and "was rightly suspected of 'being soft' about Catholicism". Their dismay was justified as Charles turned to Bishop William Laud, who wished to order and discipline the Church of England on an Anglo-Catholic pattern. Under Laud, the government began to purge the universities of Puritans (a great many were at Cambridge) and to put pressure on the Puritan clergy "to conform or get out".

*From Alford Parish Records of Birth, Christening and Marriage Dates (LDS Libraries); the surname Storre is also found as Stor, Storer, Storie, Storr, Storrer and Story.

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Even though the Elizabethan bishops had driven "the nobler and tougher Puritan spirits" out of the Established Church and had destroyed the organization of the party in the 1590's, small illegal gatherings of religious extremists had continued to meet. By the mid-1620's, there were Puritans of considerable number and influence in Parliament attempting to enact laws to purify the Anglican Church.

In the summer of 1625, while London was frightened by the plague and the country suffered a severe drought alternating with flooding storms, Charles dismissed Parliament and proceeded to the task of raising money by a forced loan, to be paid for by the already over-burdened taxpayers. (No Parliament could meet without the summons of the King, nor sit after he had dismissed it. It was only the need of money that forced a King to deal with Parliament at all, and Charles circumvented this with the forced loan.)

As the evils of church and state multiplied and the economic situation worsened, Puritans and other religious dissenters began to look elsewhere for a place to live and to worship.

In 1628 the Council for New England (a new name for the old Plymouth Company which had sponsored the "Mayflower") granted a land patent in New England to a group of Englishmen for settlement between the Charles and Merrimack Rivers with an indefinite extension inland. Among the 11 ships which sailed for New England in 1629, taking as many as 500 colonists and servants, was the "George Bonaventure" whose passengers included the Rev. Samuel Skelton and his family, vicar of Sempringham near Tattershall, Lincolnshire. He was to minister to the first Puritan group to settle in the New World at Naumkeag (later Salem).

These first Puritans were backed by a powerful and wealthy group of Puritans of Lincolnshire, who, by 1629, had obtained a Royal Charter as the "Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England". One of the financial backers was the Earl of Lincoln, a devout Puritan, who had been imprisoned briefly for his refusal to submit to the King's forced loan. It was at his estate at Tattershall that the group from Lincolnshire planned the exodus of a large party of emigrants, destined to sail for The Massachusetts Bay in the Spring of 1630.

The leaders of the Puritan group from Lincolnshire included Isaac Johnson, Esquire, of Tattershall (whose wife was the Earl's sister, Lady Arbella), Thomas Dudley (the Earl's steward), Simon Bradstreet of Horbling (later Dudley's son-in-law and a founder of Andover, Massachusetts), Mr. Roger Williams, "a young man of good estate", who had landed property at Alford, William Coddington and Atherton Hough, both of Boston and parishioners of the Rev. John Cotton.

The Rev. John Cotton, a Cambridge graduate, was appointed vicar of the magnificent St. Botolph's in Boston in 1613 when he was about 27 years old. Within a few years he was attracted to the Puritan tenets; and in the years following, his sermons influenced not only his own parishioners but also those from other surrounding parishes including Alford. While Boston declined as a commercial port, the prestige of the town increased with Cotton as minister. He was responsible for the migration of early and important groups of Puritans from Lincolnshire.

On March 10, 1629, King Charles formally dissolved Parliament and it was not to meet again for 12 years.

At Bilsby, Rev. Wheelwright's congregation had grown considerably in the first 6 years of his ministry, and included among others the Hutchinsons, the Storres, the Wentworths and the Wardales. "The life of the Alford countryside became deeply enmeshed in the life of John Wheelwright, creating affections and loyalties that time, distance, and adversity could not eradicate." As vicar of Bilsby he was known for his godliness and for the modesty of his preaching, which moved steadily closer to the Puritan principles that were then so stridently challenging the soundness of Anglican orthodoxy." Like the Rev. Cotton at St. Botolph's, Rev. Wheelwright emphasized the Covenant of Grace rather than the Covenant of Works.

In May of 1629, Wheelwright's wife, Mary Storre, died in Bilsby, leaving him with two infant sons and a new-born daughter. In the winter following, Rev. John Wheelwright married Mary, another daughter of Susanna and Edward Hutchinson (1).

Edward Hutchinson was a well-to-do merchant and mercer (a dealer in textiles) of Alford, whose fortune seemed undiminished by the economic situation and the expenses of a large family. His many children played important roles not only in the lives of Thomas and William Wardale, of John Wheelwright and others of the township, but also in the history of the Bay Colony of Massachusetts. Of the at least 11 Hutchinson children:

William Hutchinson married 1612, Anne Marbury, born 1591 in Alford, daughter of the Rev. Francis Marbury, who was also an uncle of William Wentworth of Alford and Bilsby.

Samuel Hutchinson born 1598; probably a widower upon arrival in Boston in 1637

Esther Hutchinson born 1593; married the Rev. Thomas Rishworth of Laceby, Lincolnshire; their son, Edward Rishworth , later married Susanna Wheelwright Rev. John's daughter by his 1st wife

Susanna Hutchinson born 1601; married 1623, Augustine Storre of Bilsby, who was Wheelwright's brother-in-law by his first marriage.

Anne Hutchinson born 1603; married c1611, Rev. Ralph Leavitt(Levitt) of Grainsby, Lincolnshire; his nephew was Thomas Leavitt.

Mary Hutchinson born 1605; married 1629, Rev. John Wheelwright

Edward Hutchinson(2) born 1607; married Sarah; in the Bay Colony he was listed as "Senior"

A cousin of the above, Ellen Hutchinson, married August 18, 1607 at Boston, John Field (Feilde); probably son, Darby Field

"The Great Puritan Migration" under the leadership of Governor John Winthrop began in the Spring of 1630. "The leaders were Puritans, but the mass of the hand-picked colonists were drawn from the middle classes of the eastern counties, who had little or no religious preoccupation. They gave a neutral color to an expedition that dared not display its Puritan intent; and they provided the craftsmen and labor power for building a new 'promised land'.

There were at least 12 or more Puritan families from Lincolnshire who embarked on the great adventure: Susanna and Anthony Colby; Isaac Johnson and Lady Arbella (for whom the flagship was named); Anne and William Cheesbrough; the Richard Morris family; Mary and William Coddington; Anne and William Beamsley*; Anne (Dudley) and Simon Bradstreet; the Thomas Dudley Family; and possibly Godfrey Dearborn and his wife from Hannay (between Alford and Willoughby). The Rev. John Cotton went with the group as far as Southampton, where he preached the farewell sermon for the fleet of 11 ships preparing to get underway. By early summer of 1630, this Puritan group was established on the Charles River in New England.

By the summer of 1630, the plague which had ravaged London some years earlier, had moved northward and attacked Alford. "Every night and morning the death cart could be heard rattling along its sorrowful rounds, picking up bodies to be dumped into jam-packed pits filled with lime and reeking with the stench of disease and death." The epidemic began on July 22, 1630 and by the end of the month there were 20 deaths; and by the end of the year a total of 111 people had died. 19 more people died in the first two months of 1631, and after that the disease subsided, with 8 recorded to the end of 1631. In all, there were 138 epidemic-related deaths recorded for Alford during this outbreak, (including 2 daughters of Anne and William Hutchinson), at a time when the town's population was estimated to have been well under 1,000.

*A distaff Progenitor of the Thomas Wardwell Family of America

The plague of 1630 killed an estimated 35,000 people in all of England. "With the mysterious plague came epidemics of the common diseases of dysentery, small pox, measles and scarlet fever, which caused havoc among the inmates of the then unsanitary homes.

"The Alford townspeople were amazingly resourceful, as Alford was cut off from the rest of England during this siege, so that there was justifiable fears that starvation would cause as many deaths as the disease itself. When outsiders refused to enter the town with needed supplies, the town came up with a makeshift solution. A large hollowed-out stone was set up on Mills Cross Hill overlooking all of Alford. Alfordians would place money into the hollow, which had been filled with vinegar for purposes of decontamination. Then they would hasten away to their homes. Residents of surrounding areas would bring supplies in exchange for the sanitized money."

Louthe, 10-12 miles northwest of Alford was similarly struck by this plague and its population decimated. "Thomas Wardell, buried at Louthe, July 9, 1631. Being excommunicated was not buried by Mr. Melton or any other minister."* The relationship of this excommunicated Wardell to the Wardale Family of Alford is unknown; but he was obviously a Puritan or dissenter of the Anglican Church.

Lincolnshire had long been a "tempest of religious controversy" and a "hotbed" of Puritanism. At Alford's St. Wilfrid's, from about 1615 onwards, there had been no pastor at all, "the town relying instead on resident lecturers. Lack of money, local refusal to accept the ministers imposed by the Anglican Church, and ecclesiastical disorganization were the most likely reasons for this situation." Around 1632, another orthodox Anglican minister was appointed to St. Wilfrid's.

By 1632 most of the Puritan ministers throughout England had been "silenced" and marked for unfrocking, including Thomas Hooker and John Cotton. To escape the warrants for trials of heresy, many went into hiding, some fled to Holland under false names, while others sailed to the New World in disguise and by subterfuge. Although he apparently did not resign, early in 1633 the Rev. John Wheelwright was replaced as the minister at Bilsby. Thereafter he remained in seclusion at his manor in Saleby, preaching secretly.

*Ministers of the church were called "Mr.", pronounced "Master" and often so written, because they had taken the degree of Master of Arts. The title "Reverend" was seldom, if ever, used for clergymen in England or New England before the close of the 17th century. Aristocrats or gentlemen of the land were also addressed as "Mr." in respect of their position.

By 1633 Thomas and William Wardale had made the decision to abandon their home where the family had lived for generations and to strike out for the New World. As devout Puritans, they were troubled by the orthodox stand of Alford's ministers and by the silencing of their friend and minister, John Wheelwright. It now appeared that the only place for Puritan worship was in a new country.

From an economic standpoint, the two young men saw little hope in England for their future. Business was staggering under royal restrictions resulting in national stagnation. Since 1625 the economy of eastern and southern Lincolnshire had declined steadily with the once flourishing wool trade slipping away and Boston's prominence as a port gone.

As younger sons, neither brother had hopes of inheriting family lands or estates, since primogeniture was an established way of life in England at the time. Perhaps the move to the New World would allow them to find "a place of their own"...a continuing theme of thousands who were to emigrate to the New World in succeeding centuries.

Since the Puritans who emigrated at this period were of the wealthier class, the two brothers may have received thier small portion of their father's estate which they used to establish themselves in New England. It cost the better part of 50 £ for a family to go to New England properly equipped, "even if one knew exactly what to bring and what not to bring." The price fixed by the Massachusetts Bay Company, which was strictly a trading company engrossed in commercial profit, was 5 £ per adult, with "package deals" for children depending upon their age and number.

In addition to the passenger fare, there was the financial problem of household goods, which had to be taken as there was no way to obtain them in the early years of the Colony. This was fixed at 4 £ per ton; and if it arrived in any reasonable shape it was a miracle. Due to the small size of the ships traveling "in the trough of the mountainous Atlantic waves", goods were hurled from place to place from lack of proper stowage.

Emigration "to parts beyond the seas" was not an unrestricted right of an Englishman. Permission to leave England, even for the short trip to the Continent, had to be obtained in each individual case from the Privy Countil, and this included persons of all classes...nobility, gentry, merchant, yceman...any who desired this privilege for any reason whatsoever. By 1634, the Oath of Supremacy and Conformity to the Crown was also required.

In late May or early June of 1633, a small procession left Alford for the 10-day journey to London where they would embark for the New World:

THOMAS WARDALE, 30
WILLIAM WARDALE, 27
Sarah and Edward Hutchinson II, 26
Edward Hutchinson, "Junior", 20 (Anne & Will's eldest son)
Susanna (Bellingham) and Philemon Pormont, 35, schoolmaster
Hester (White) and John Crame, 36, of Bilsby

At Thameside, London, the 300-ton "Griffin" lay at her moorings, John Gallop, Master, ready to set sail for New England. Among the 200 passengers boarding in addition to the Alford group, were Elizabeth and Atherton Hough, Anne and Thomas Leverett, and the Edmund Quincy Family, all parishioners of the Rev. John Cotton's at St. Botolph's in 'old' Boston.*

Edmund Quincy was one of the wealthiest men to emigrate, and later the town of Quincy in Massachusetts would be named in his honor, and a later descendant would be John Quincy Adams. The Quincy family brought a great many "servants" to the New World, not only when they departed but in after years as well. In order to gain passage, many Puritans were listed as "servants" to get by official scrutiny which they had come under for a variety of reasons. Others, unable to afford the passage, came as servants and worked in the New World for the family sponsoring them until the debt was paid.** Some of the "servants" listed under Edmund Quincy's license to depart in 1633 were:

WILLIAM WARDALE
Katherine and Thomas Meakins
Thomas Meakins, Jr. (adult son)
ELIZABETH WOODRUFF

There were more than the usual number of King's men at the pier scrutinizing those boarding the "Griffin", as the search for renegade ministers had intensified. The "Griffin" set sail following the normal route of ships leaving the Eastern coast of England which were required to sail about a hundred miles due east to a point off the English coast called "the Downs". From here the ships headed west to the Atlantic, the final point of call being the Isle of Wight where fresh water and other perishables were taken aboard.

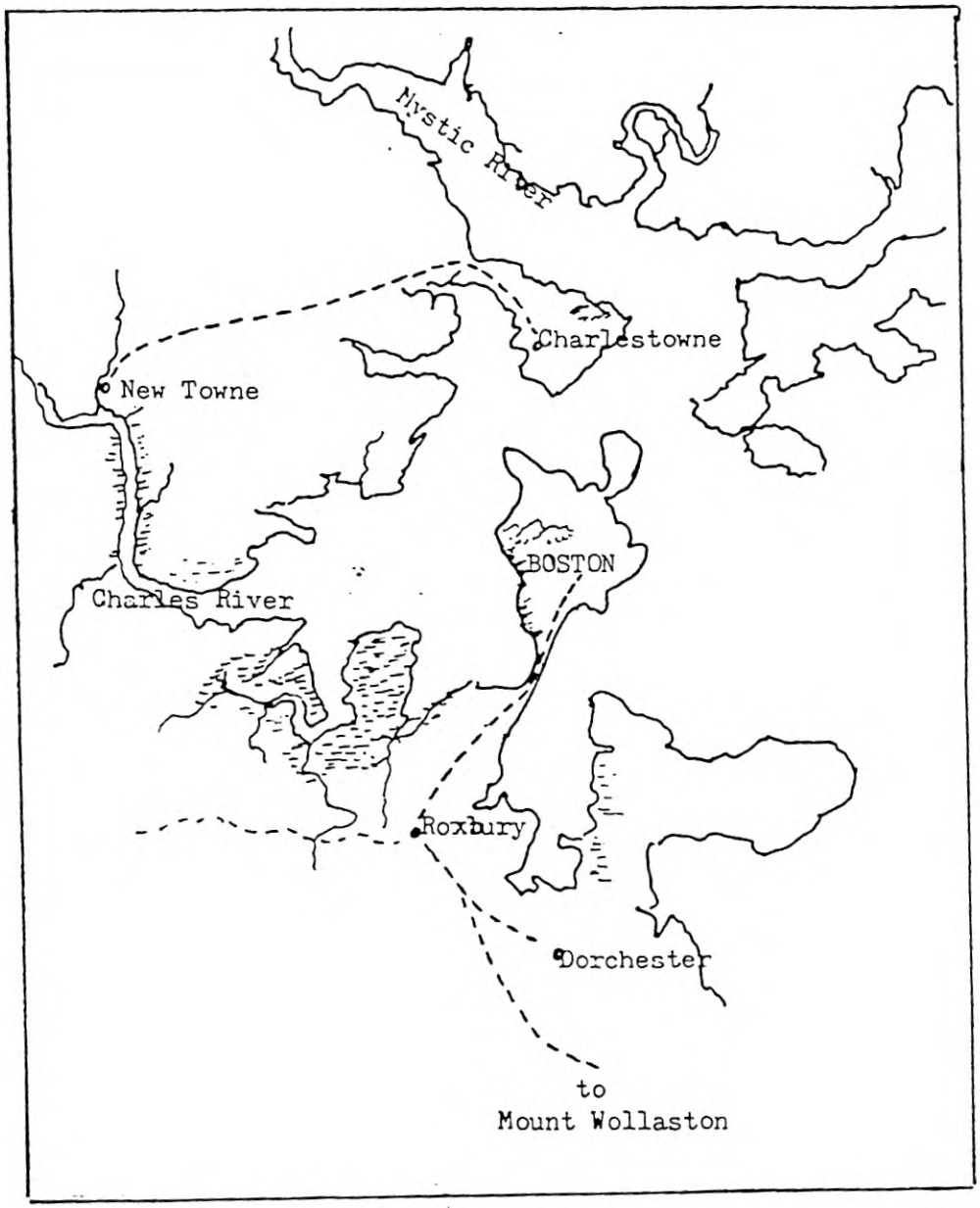
*There were no passengers lists as we know them today. Information about passengers comes primarily from William Bradford's "Of Plimoth Plantation", John Winthrops's "Journal", the Freemen Lists, and the Church Memberships Lists.

**Not to be confused with "indentured servants" brought to the New World to do the heaviest type of labor, and who were owned by their masters for 7 years, and often sold or hired out as such.

At "the Downs", much to the surprize of the majority of passengers, Thomas Hooker and John Cotton and their wives were smuggled aboard in disguise. The Rev. Hooker of Chelmsford, Essex, is said to have been "by far the greatest intellectual and clerical leader to influence emigration to the New World", with Cotton a close second.

Upon their arrival in Boston, Governor John Winthrop would write in his 'Journal', "John Cotton and Thomas Hooker gat out of England with much difficulty, all places being belaid to have them who had long been sought for to have been brought into the High Commission; but the Master (of the "Griffin") being bound to touch at the Wight, the pursuivants attended there, and in the meantime, the said two ministers were smuggled aboard at "the Downs" and remained well hidden until the ship was well out to sea."

The arduous passage across the Atlantic took several months. With two such prominent ministers aboard, the passengers indulged in daily services when their spiritual leaders "exercised" their souls in long prayer and sermons. But there was little else to occupy their time on the crowded deck of the small vessel which took them across the 3,000 miles that lay between the two continents. They went to bed at sundown, as there was no way to light the decks. They rose at the break of day to begin another round of doing nothing in particular. "If traveling with consorts, visiting parties might be arranged when sea conditions permitted." For the Rev. John Cotton, the highlight of the voyage was the birth of his first child, a son aptly named "Seaborn".



BOSTON HARBOR

Massachusetts Bay Colony

1633

BOSTON 1633 - 1637

"Having been 8 weeks from the Downs", the "Griffin" arrived at the Charles River in the Massachusetts Bay Colony of New England on September 4, 1633. The Wardales found shelter with friends in Boston, which had been so named in honor of the Rev. John Cotton's courageous stand at St. Botolph's in 'old Boston'.

At this time, Boston, with almost a thousand inhabitants, lay crowded on the hilly pastures of the small peninsula between Trimountain and the "Great Cove". "Its wooden buildings, unpainted and unornamented, jostled each other in disorder along narrow dusty streets and the only house of brick, which was locally made, was that of William Coddington, Treasurer of the Colony." Wolves and other wild animals roamed the streets at night and destroyed the crops by day. Indians, aloof but inquisitive, came and went at will.

More than a dozen villages had sprung up in the valleys of the Charles and Mystic Rivers and along the seacoast to the north and south. These villages, along with Boston as the center of trade, had a population of about 4,000 inhabitants. But it was still "only a thin fringe of civilization clinging to the edge of an unexplored wilderness."

The Wardales faced a bewildering array of new things. There was the unfamiliar time and weather: in the summer the days were two hours shorter than in England; in winter, two hours longer. Summer was much hotter and winter far colder than back home in Lincolnshire. All the days of the week as well as the months were distinguished by numbers rather than pagan names.* Christmas holidays that had been the occasion for great celebration in England were abolished in New England, denounced "synonymously as pagan-popish-Anglican". Sunday was called the "Lord's Day" or the "Sabbath", and one went to the "meeting house" for church services. "The Separatists of Plymouth Colony were mainly responsible for these innovations. 'Sabbatarianism', as we know it, was the brain-child of the Saints in America, and was not recognized by Martin Luther, John Calvin, or any or the early reformers."

*The first month of the Puritan's calender was March, sometimes starting on the 1st and sometimes on the 25th. All dates prior to 1752 would be 11 days earlier than today, England not adopting the Gregorian Calendar until 1752. Therefore, dates prior to this are often shown as 1633/34 and JAN./FEB. , for examples, when the calendars overlapped.

At Boston in the winter of 1633-34*, THOMAS WARDALE married ELIZABETH WOODRUFF. She was possibly baptized September 30, 1610 at Skirbeck, near Boston, Lincolnshire, daughter of Walter Woodroffe.** "Members admitted into Boston (First) Church in the 9th Moneth 1633" (November) included "Edmund Quinsey and Judeth his wife" and "Elizabeth Woodroffe our brother Edmund Quinseys maid servant".

"Willyam Wardall one of our brother Edmund Quinseys servants" was admitted to the First Church of Boston on the "9th of the 12th or last Moneth, 1633" (ie. February 9, 1633/34). Other early records showed the surname now spelled as "Wardall" or "Wardell", the sound nearly the same as "Wardale", but this spelling alteration would create a major problem for future hisotrians and genalogists. While the majority of the colonists could read and write to some degree, there was no standard spelling of names, either given or surname. The modern spelling of any particular name is pure accident. Before the Elementary Education Act of 1870, a considerable proportion of English people did not spell their names at all. They trusted to the ministers of the church and the clerks of the court, who did their best, and as the sound reached the ear of the writer, so it was written.

Hereafter, for reasons of clarity, the surname of WARDWELL will be spelled with two "Ws" in this history, except in direct quotations, and in the case of the New Jersey branch of the family where the second "w" was never included. When or why the second "w" was added is unknown.

The Wardwells were granted a home-lot in Boston where they built a cottage like all the others, of clay and timber, facing south, with a thatched roof and chimney. Most of these cottages had only one room, and as the family grew, another room was added and the chimney was then in the middle. The Wardwells probably started with a two-room cottage: one room for the family's use, with William sleeping in the loft area; the other room used for Thomas' cobbler shop. In the rear portion of the lot, Elizabeth created a vegetable garden, for each family had to supply its own food needs.

The cobbler always made a living. "The most human occupation is wearing out shoe leather and , in a day when most people walked almost everywhere they went, it wore out faster. If the cobbler was good, he was also a "cordwainer", that is, he not only mended shoes but he made them as well. The uppers of all shoes were hand-sewn, as were the soles of some, but heavy soles and all heels were put on with wooden pegs. The shoemaker didn't have to bother with matching a pair of shoes as mates, right and left; he merely made two shoes, exactly alike. Either shoe could be worn, with more or less comfort, on either foot."

*after her admittance to the Church and by February

**in English records the surname is found as Woodruffe, Woodruffe, and Woodroffe.

Among the household goods that most all had brought from gland in addition to the oak Bible-box, were mattresses, placed directly on the floor; pots, kettles, and utensils; perhaps a table and a cupboard; one or two chairs and long benches. The latter would be pulled to the table for meals served from plain wooden trenchers, using spoons, knives and "a liberal assist from fingers as forks were not yet in general use". Chairs were still so rare at this date that usually each family had only one, reserved for the head of the household who used it at the dining table or "board", whereas everyone else present sat on the long benches. From this came the expression, "chairman of the board".

Thomas and William were just two among thousands of Englishmen who came to the shores of New England. The two brothers were in the minority as Puritans, for the majority of the colonists came seeking economic advancement, content with the Anglican Church. In the Bay Colony, however, the control of the government was in the hands of the minority---Puritan ministers and strong, vocal Puritan laymen---and it was they who established "The Puritan Way of Life" for everyone.

The term "government" did not refer to the civil authority alone, but applied to the family and to the church and to all authoritative external restraints on human will. "These few Puritan leaders set up a religion-dominated state even more authoritarian and even less tolerant of dissenters than the England from which they had fled. Sincerely convinced that they knew exactly what God wished them to do, they had made it a requirement that to be a full fledged citizen with the right to vote, a "Freeman", a man first had to be a member of the Puritan Church."

The test for church membership was minute and exacting, and many failed to qualify. There were many who did not want to be a Puritan church member; nevertheless, they were required by the authorities to attend church regularly. The state tolerated only one form of religion, and it forced all the people to conform to it. There was no room for religious individualism in the Bay Colony.

As they were not yet Freemen, Thomas and William could only watch the proceedings of the General Court in the Spring of 1634, which became an historic event. So firmly had Governor Winthrop and his 18 Assistants established their "theocracy", that the self-perpetuating nature of the oligarchy and the rigid controls became too obsessive. A delegation of Freemen from each town demanded to see the Charter of the Company...and learned that they should, in fact, take part in the General Court and all lawmaking. Passing new legislation which vested governmental authority for all time in their own hands (the basis for the representation system as it later emerged in Massachusetts and elsewhere), it was decided that each town was to elect Freemen to appear at the Court as "Representatives" (also called "Deputies") f the other freemen of each town.

At the same time, Watertown introduced the first "Board of Selectmen", those Freemen chosen to run each town government, and this was adopted by the other towns of the Colony. Though more men now were involved in governmental affairs, the Colony remained a strict theocracy. At the May Election of 1634, Thomas Dudley, whose platform was "no tolerance for dissenters and no leniency for troublemakers", after 5 previous tries, defeated John Winthrop for Governor.

Along with the rest of the populace, the Wardwells attended church twice on Sabbath days and on Thursday afternoons after Boston's Thursday-morning Market Day. Thomas and William joined "in the well-established custom, and indeed about the only form of social contact among the male members of the theological community, of gathering together at a church member's home to indulge in a discussion or dissection of the substance of the preacher's sermon". The continual talking and thinking of God and of the Gospel was a basic practice of Puritanism; so these male-gatherings were encouraged by the clergy as a "godly" activity. Another practice novel to the New World was the custom of questioning the minister or teacher at the conclusion of his talk for further elucidation about certain features mentioned in the sermon.

During the years 1633-1634, the maritime traffic between England and New England was constant, almost a "shuttle run". 30 ships arrived at Ipswich alone, bearing nearly 3,000 imigrants and their cattle; 40 vessel or more came into Boston, while other ports-of-call included Plymouth Colony, Salem, the settlements along the coast of Maine, and those in and around the Piscataqua River in New Hampshire. **In the recorded history of man, there had never been such a mass exodus of people from one country to another as that which occurred between 1630 and 1640 in the New World.**

The "Griffin" arrived again in September of 1634 with passengers from Alford including Anne (Marbury) and William Hutchinson and their 7 children, and Elizabeth and Nathaniel Heaton and their 4 children. Anne Hutchinson's sister, Catharine, and her husband, Richard Scott of Suffolk, had arrived earlier in the year, as had Frances (Freiston) and Valentine Hill, cousins of Will Hutchinson; Anne and William Hibbens of 'old Boston' arrived aboard the "Mary and John".

Elizabeth and Thomas Wardwell greeted their old Alford friends with the news of the impending arrival of **"the first American-born Wardwell"**. Anne Hutchinson's presence at this momentous event was gratefully welcomed for she was renowned in Alford as a skilled nurse and midwife. A son, **ELIAKIM**, was born in November and baptized November 23, 1634 (23d 9m 1634) at the First Church of Boston by the Rev. John Cotton. Earlier in this 9th month, Thomas became a member of the First Church listed as "Thomas Wardall, shoomaker" on November 9, 1634.

Anne and William Hutchinson were made members of the First Church, although there was a delay in Anne's membership due to remarks she had made aboard ship which were overheard and reported by fellow passengers, the Revs. Lothrop and Symmes. William, a sound business man of considerable fortune (it was rumored that he had brought with him a tremendous sum of money, close to one thousand guineas in gold), was granted a half-acre lot in the "best section" of Boston. On the corner of School and Cornhill (later Washington) Streets, William built a huge house, commodious enough for his many children, cousins and relatives, and a space large enough for his store. The Hutchinson home became the gathering point for their many old Alford friends as well as others from Lincolnshire.

Thomas Wardwell was made a Freeman on March 4, 1635, as were William Hutchinson and his two sons. William Wardwell was also made a Freeman, but no exact date has yet been found of this.*

Thomas and William were among the Freemen at the May Election of 1635 who elected William Hutchinson, a man much respected and admired, as one of Boston's 3 Representatives. The General Court also appointed Hutchinson a Magistrate to settle small claims. He held both positions for 5 sessions until his resignation in protest in December of 1636.

Philemon Pormont of Alford opened his Latin Grammar School in May of 1635 on the lot back of the Hutchinson's house. The term "Latin" was used for "public schools" in the colonial period as it was the primary subject taught. William Hutchinson was one of the first benefactors of his friend's school.

Among the Lincolnshire families arriving in 1635 were Hannah and Robert Reade and Elizabeth and Richard Bellingham of 'old Boston', and Jeremy Blackwell of the City of Lincoln. Aboard the "Abigail", which arrived in October, were Susanna and George Rawbone of Huttoft (east of Alford) and Sir Henry Vane of Belleau (west of Alford), and the Rev. John Wilson.

Vane was the son of the Chancellor to King Charles, who had given special permission to the 22-year-old Vane to come to the Bay Colony in hopes that the nearness to the Puritans he so admired would cure him of his Puritan leanings. It had the opposite affect, as Vane, far ahead of the times in his political thinking, was housed at the home of the Rev. Cotton, and became close friends of Anne and William Hutchinson.

The Rev. John Wilson, the dour orthodox minister of the First Church of Boston, was returning to his ministry after a year's absence, having returned to England to fetch his wife who had refused to join him in "the wilderness" in 1630.

*Not until July 5, 1653 does William Wardwell appear on a Freemen List

For over a year while their Minister Wilson was in England, the congregation of the First Church of Boston had truly enjoyed listening to the sermons and lectures of their teacher, the Rev. John Cotton. Cotton had been warmly welcomed by the congregation upon his arrival in September of 1633, given immediate membership in the church and elected "teacher". The Puritan churches retained the system used in England, that of vicar and curate, but in New England they were called "minister" and "teacher". One expounded in lectures and the other preached the sermon and looked after the flock; one was not subordinate to the other.

In the six months following John Cotton's admission to the church, 63 persons---or nearly half the number of members acquired during the previous three years---joined the church. (It is said that in Cotton's first year a total of 117 new members were admitted.) His emphasis on the Covenant of Grace rather than the Covenant of Works, which the other ministers of the Bay preached, would become the heart of the "Controversy" which erupted later.

The Puritan Church also retained the old custom of segregating the sexes in the church: men entered by one door, the women by another; men sat on one side, the women on the other; all were seated according to their social standing in the community, with the wealthy and high officials (these two groups being, in fact, one and the same) in front, the lowest (servants, slaves and children) in the back. The Wardwells enjoyed a comfortable middle section in the church seating.

Democracy, either as a form of government or a social custom, was completely obnoxious to the founders of the Bay Colony. As for a democractic form of government, Winthrop denounced it as "the meanests and worst and so accounted among the most civil nations". "Accordingly, hard and meager as life was in the colony, where every man, and every woman also, had to lend a hand to actual labor, social distinctions were never forgotten." Those of birth and/or financial weight were called "Mr.". Next came "Goodman" and his "Goodwife", and below them the "insignificant, almost anonymous 'one'. Goodmen and the still humbler 'ones' could have their inglorious feet put into stocks, their ears lopped off, their backs lacerated by the lash; gentlemen who broke the law were fined."

The first major schism within the Bay Colony occurred in 1635, precipitated by Roger Williams. Forced to leave Cambridge by Bishop Laud for his non-conforming views, an early planner along with Winthrop of the Massachusetts Bay Company, Williams, not yet 30, his wife and 2 children, made their way to the Bay Colony late in 1630/31 aboard the "Lion". Welcomed as "one of the most brilliant and promising young dissenters fleeing the Anglican persecution", the Bay authorities were distressed to find that Williams appeared now to be more a "separatist" than a "puritan", and he was not offerred the post of "teacher" at Boston's First Church. Salem, one the other hand, was delighted to have him as Teacher, where he remained for about a year.

Williams then spent about 2 years with the Separatists of the Plymouth Colony, returning to Salem late in 1634 as Assistant to the Minister, the Rev. Samuel Skelton. The latter died in the spring of 1635, and Roger Williams became Minister of Salem. In his first years in the Bay Colony, Williams had been called before the General Court on several occasions for expressing thoughts and opinions contrary to the Puritan beliefs; one in particular, was his opinion that the colonists and the King had illegally taken lands which rightly belonged to the Indians.

Williams believed that every individual (man or woman) had certain rights by natural law; that government is created by a group of individuals bound together by what was then called a "social compact"; and that the government created by the people, is always their servant, responsible to them, and to be changed whenever they wished.

For Williams, the most precious privilege of any man or woman was that of worshipping God in his own way, and to prove his point, he gave up his attempt to convert the Indians. His philosophy of democracy was political as well as religious with the double idea of separation of church and state, and complete toleration by the government of all religions.

Early in October of 1635, the final confrontation between Williams and the General Court was held at a full meeting with all the ministers of the colony invited to attend. Williams, charged with "newe and dangerous opinions, against the authoritie of magistrates", made no attempt to deny the charges, and was ordered to leave the colony within six months. After his resignation as Minister of Salem, the Court extended his departure "if he would refrain from drawing others to his opinions".

People were just naturally attracted to Williams, and when the Court learned that he was still expressing his thoughts, the Court determined to send this "promoter of disorder" back to England. Warned in time, Williams fled southward and established the Colony of Providence (Rhode Island), the first genuinely democractic state of modern times and the only center in the world where there was complete religious toleration.*

*Roger Williams and William Penn are considered equally the greatest of our colonial statesmen. Winston Churchill wrote of Williams, "he was the first political thinker of America". 40 years after his banishment, at the outbreak of King Philip's War, the Bay Colony so needed Williams' help that they gave him "honesty" to return to the Bay Colony, but only for the duration of the War.

Thomas and William Wardwell, as well as the Hutchinsons and others of Alford and Lincolnshire, had followed the career of Roger Williams with interest, for he had been a neighbor in Alford. His philosophy of freedom of worship and the separtion of church and state was certainly in accord with their beliefs as practiced in the Covenant of Grace.

The search for religous perfection had long dominated the life of Anne Marbury-Hutchinson. In Lincolnshire she had been first influenced by her minister father, then by the Rev. John Cotton and later by the Rev. John Wheelwright. It is interesting to note that none of Anne Hutchinson's biographers mention any influence that Roger Williams had in her life. Anne was certainly aware of Williams' teachings and philosphy; and indeed, she must have discussed and followed his trial with great interest. As it later developed, Anne's theology was more akin to Williams' than to either John Cotton's or John Wheelwright's.

When Anne married William Hutchinson in Alford in 1612, they had known each other since infancy, and theirs was a "love-match", one of "opposites attract". He was quiet, steadfast and sound; she was outgoing, energetic and compassionate. William brought money to the marriage, though he was of the merchant class, "in trade"; she brought "gentry", the class with coat armor. Both were intelligent, and gave to each other mutual respect and support. The Hutchinson store adjoined their home, so they were in constant communication with each other...discussing not only the household problems and the raising of 15 children (and the sorrow of loosing 3), but also his business goals and her absorption in religious contemplation.

Anne Hutchinson had two other attributes totally uncommon for women of the period: she had been well educated by her father, "a spirited English divine", who felt that his daughters as well as his sons should have equal opportunities of education (along with a thorough knowledge of the Bible); and she had been allowed to listen to and enter into the discussions that enlivened the Marbury home where visitors from all over England were entertained.

In an era when women were expected to be seen (preferably in church, at home or in the bedroom) and not heard, Anne had no qualms about talking to women and men, and did so with quiet but candid assurance. "Two contradictory views of the nature of woman were ingrained in the minds of first-generation Puritans in the New England colonies. The wife remained the good woman as long as she maintained her dutiful helpmate function within the domestic sphere and was subordinate to man. When she stepped out of that circumscribed sphere, seeking to think and act independently without the proper sanction of male authorities in the family, the church, or the state, the Puritans branded her an instrument of the devil" (ie. a witch).

In Boston, the Hutchinsons had been greeted with the deference their place in society demanded. Anne, though busy with her large family and establishing her new household (and by the following spring of 1635, pregnant with her 15th child), had found time to assist her neighbors in their sicknesses and the women in their "Childbirth Travells". There were only 3 other practitioners of "medicine" in Boston at the time: Thomas Oliver, "chirugeon"; William Dinely of Lincolnshire, "barber-surgeon"; and Mrs. Jane Hawkins, mid-wife.

Anne's skill as an herbalist, nurse and mid-wife spread throughout Boston, and she endeared herself to a large group of women. It was said that even the Indian women of the area came to her for medical assistance. Anne had the rare gift of imparting assurance and well-being to the sick while her comforting religious words alleviated fears and anxieties.

By the summer of 1635 (during which time the General Court was having problems with Roger Williams), Anne, following the example of the male members of the church, began to hold small informal weekly meetings at her home for the neighborhood women. With her amazing retentive memory, she was able to repeat almost verbatim the words of the Rev. John Cotton, whom she had long admired in Lincolnshire, and whose teachings were so in accord with her own. Anne, a thorough student of the Bible, was able to explain in the simpliest terms the words the minister had expounded. Elizabeth Wardwell and other women from Alford were probably among the first to be included in these weekly meetings.

In the months following, more and more women of all stations of life came to Anne's gathering, so that by the beginning of 1636 as many as 50 to 60 women were in attendance. Anne had taken on the role of spiritual adviser to others of her sex, and even Winthrop noted that "more turn to her than any minister". Thereafter, Anne held two weekly sessions.* However, with the return of Minister Wilson, the tenor of Anne's words changed, for she was in total disagreement with his Covenant of Works. She now interspered some of her own ideas, and the doctrines and views of Wilson and other ministers of the Colony were analyzed and critized.

*Many historians assert that the 2nd weekly meeting was formed to include men. Given the structure of the times, that of keeping women in their socially prescribed place for the maintenance of the Puritan oder, this was untrue. R.P. Bolton concurs in his "A Woman Misunderstood", quoting Anne as saying "There never was any Man with Us". The Synod of 1637 also confirms that no men were included.

In addition to the rigidity of religion in the Bay Colony, another dissatisfaction felt by the two Wardwell brothers, as well as the majority of Boston's population, was that the wealthy few received the first and best and most. This was especially true with land grants. The land shortage was a bitter point of controversy and the basis of class distinction, for the land policy was calculated to establilsh a class system on economic lines that would entrench the governing class in power.*

These land grants were vital to each colonist for they first provided timber and then cleared land. From the timber came fuel, of which there was a constant shortage, lumber for building of homes and commercial structures, and the creation of furniture and utensils. As the lands were cleared, they were used for the raising of cattle and for agricultural products, the Boston home-lots being too small and barren for such necessities. The General Court used the issuance of these grants as control measures: those settlers who conformed to the laws were granted land; those who did not conform received nothing.

Late in 1635, Thomas Wardwell became a Proprietor of the Colony by Boston's division of the marsh and meadow lands at Muddy River (later Brookline) and Rumney Marsh and Pullen Point. "The majority of the freemen 'fearing that the richer men would give the poorer sort no great proportion', took advantage of the secret ballot to elect a land commission that would presumably be more sensitive to their interest." The result was that the "chief men" were left out altogether, and Winthrop, elected by so narrow a margin, refused to serve.

At this point, Rev. Cotton, who was of the conviction that "men of eminent quality and descent should enjoy more large and honorable accommodation", persuaded the town meeting to elect another land commission; the result was the commission now included Winthrop, Coddington, Bellingham and Cotton himself. The lands were then allotted just as the "commoners" had feared. Colburn, Cotton, and Oliver, all members of the commission, appropriated for themselves territories ranging from 100 to 250 acres.

Of the 58 allotments made at Muddy River, 42 were only 20 acres or smaller. Thomas Wardwell received 20 acres, as did Richard Bulgar, John Crame and Nathaniel Heaton. Henry Elkins and Robert Reade received 10 acres, while Philemon Pormont was granted 35 acres and Isaac Grosse 50-80 acres.

*"It is estimated that in Boston from 1634 through 1637, the Selectmen and Representatives were drawn from a small group of 25 men in a population of 1200." This small group would be the "ring-leaders" in the Controversy of 1637.

"From the beginnings in 1630, the Colony authorities had set up a series of wage and price controls in consequence of supply and demand, for there was always a food, housing, and clothing shortage amid a continued shortage of skilled workmen. It tried to establish political and economic stability versus the individual merchant's and craftsman's goal to make a profit sufficient to reward his labors amid the unprecedented difficulties and requirements of a frontier society." Late in 1635, Thomas and William Wardwell were among the Boston businessmen who took matters into their own hands, setting up their own committee in an effort to satisfy both their own need for profit and the magistrates' demand for regulation. The three most prominent members of the committee were William Brenton, William Colburn and William Hutchinson.

In January/February of 1636, William Wardwell was granted "2 acres of land laid out at the Mount only for his present planting needs", and the same amount was granted to Nicholas Needham. In 1634, Boston had extended its boundaries to include the Mount Wollaston area, some 10 miles south of Boston. Among the chief grantees of land (each from 200 to 700 acres) at the time were Atherton Hough, William Coddington (who had a "great estate" with a farmhouse), and Edmund Quincy*; the latter two men's property fronted on Wollaston Bay. William Hutchinson received 300 acres at the Mount in 1636.

Exploration of the Connecticut River Valley had begun as early as 1632 by the Plymouth and Bay Colonies, and by 1635, small groups of Bay colonists were attempting settlement of the area. Sailing from Boston, the ships would follow the coastline south, then head west into Long Island Sound, and northward from the Saybrook Colony at the mouth of the Connecticut. In the spring of 1636, a great number of Dorchester residents left for the new lands, establishing Windsor. People from Watertown began establishing the site of what would be Wethersfield. But it was the exodus from New Towne in 1636 that would have the greatest impact.

In the spring of 1636, the Rev. Thomas Hooker led the first general migration by land across Massachusetts and eastern Connecticut. There were 50 persons, mostly Hooker's congregation of New Towne and their household goods, in addition to 160 cattle which they drove through "the trackless wilderness", subsiding on the milk of the cows during the two-week journey. They settled in the fields near the Dutch Fort Good Hope and the other two settlements, calling the site "Hartford". "So wholesale was the move that only 11 families were left in New Towne." This was the beginning of westward expansion across the great continent of North America.

*Quincy's great-great granddaughter, Abigail Smith married John Adams, 2nd President of the United States, and their son John Quincy Adams was the 6th President.

By the Spring of 1636, Anne and William Hutchinson were undeniably the most popular couple in Boston, and to their home paraded the highest concentration of wealth in the Colony, as well as politically active Bostonians and their wives, in addition to the most common of citizens. It is doubtful that Anne and William ever considered themselves "leaders of a movement".* The Rev. John Wheelwright would later say of his in-laws, "The genius of that family hath not much inclined to subtleties, scarce any of the Hutchinsons have been sectaries, unless indirectly".

While Anne expounded her religious philosophy, William Hutchinson, an ambitious and conscientious businessman, attempted to apply these principles of individual freedom and conscience to government and business. Boston was a teeming port and commercial oasis in an otherwise agricultural colony. All legislation regulating the economy seemed aimed at Boston alone, for at the General Court, there were 28 Representatives of the other 13 towns of the colony continually outvoting the 3 Representatives from Boston. Consequently, Boston's traders, businessmen and craftsmen, which included Thomas and William Wardwell, felt themselves cast as outsiders in their own colony, even though they provided indispensable goods and services, and paid a disproportionate share of taxes.

At the May Election of 1636, young Henry Vane was elected Governor of the Bay Colony. He now had the political clout to aid the businessmen of Boston, "for the fortunes of Boston were closely bound up with its mercantile endeavors, and any colonial policy which threatened these interest would encounter effectively concerted resistance." These same businessmen were members of the Boston Church, and Vane, as a proponent of the Covenant of Grace, now offerred the opportunity to the Boston church members to effect a change in the Church's teachings.

On May 26, 1636, the day following the election, much to the delight of the Wardwells and other Alford colonists, Rev. John and Mary Wheelwright arrived in Boston, possible aboard the "Hector". With them were their 5 children, her mother (the widow Susanna Hutchinson), and other relatives and friends. Among this latter group, there may have been a young woman named Alice, whose surname is unknown. However, there is strong evidence to suggest that she was **ALICE PYCE** (Pise) and possible sister of John Pyce (Pise) who married in 1634 at Alford, Mary Wardwell, sister of Thomas and William Wardwell. Alice Pyce "our sister Judith Quinseys maid" was admitted to the First Church of Boston on the "4th of the 7th moneth 1636" (September 4, 1636).

*The term "Hutchinsonians" was not used until 200 years later, in 1864, by the author Robert Winthrop, a lineal descendant of John Winthrop.

In 1636, William Wardwell married ALICE. The ceremony was unlike the accustomed one in England. In the Bay Colony, marriage was not considered a sacrament to be performed by a clergyman. The chief magistrate married the couple. Newlyweds signed a contract. No toast was given as they did not "drink" to the health of anyone: God alone had the power to grant health or contentment. The wedding group could break bread and take a sip or two of wine in simple amity. The ring was not given either in the pre-contract or the marriage ceremony, as it was anti-christian, a relic of popery, a "diabolitcall circle for the Devill to daunce in". The newlywed Wardwells undoubtedly lived with Elizabeth and Thomas (and young Eliakim) until William was granted a home-lot of his own.

Until Rev. John determined his future, the Wheelwright family stayed with Anne and William Hutchinson. Here they met all of Boston's populace, or so it seemed: the Hutchinson store, ably run by Will's two oldest sons attracted many customers; Anne's twice weekly women's meetings contributed a large number of women; and Will's male church meetings, his local and state government conferences, and the merchants and craftsmen seeking his advice, produced most of the males of Boston in addition to those from other towns. And now, of course, after an absence of so many years, all of the old Alford neighbors were in constant attendance on John Wheelwright.

The Wheelwrights and some others were admitted to the First Church of Boston in June; but thereafter, no new members joined the Boston Church.* "On January 8, 1637, the church rolls were closed and for a year no new members were received into the Boston Church; for there had arisen a dissension over Wilson's strictness of his teachings, and his violent and arbitrary manner, which was in marked contrast to the beliefs and ways of John Cotton, who Anne Hutchinson constantly upheld."

*including the Wheelwrights, 12 persons joined the Church from June to January.

THE CONTROVERSY

Dependent upon which book one reads, the "controversy" which was about to engulf the Bay Colony, from October of 1636 to November of 1637, was caused by (1) the Rev. John Cotton (2) Anne Marbury Hutchinson or (3) the Rev. John Wheelwright. While all three played a prominent role, it was caused by no one. The Controversy took the form of a religious dispute, but the underlying conditions by which the new Colony existed created the basis for the controversy. On the surface, the theological question which arose should have been resolved within the Boston Church. But it was not, and from this dissension, the controversy became a major conflict for power, freedom and toleration affecting the whole of the Bay Colony. Both subjects addressed the question of individual choice.

It is said that John Cotton's differences of opinion with the other ministers in the Bay Colony were at the heart of the Controversy. Cotton was not only one of the most eminent clergymen in the Colony, but also one of the most highly respected, admired and loved ministers; and as long as he stuck to his position, these differences were a serious threat to the unity of Massachusetts. His "free grace" proponents were Puritan laymen who had risked their lives to found a new society in which evangelical preaching of the Word of God, a basic insistence of Puritanism, would be unrestrained. Cotton's name and authority gave strength and respectablity to the "opinionists".

The measure of support which Cotton and Wheelwright received from their parishioners is attributable in large part to the regional origins of their adherents. Of the Lincolnshire emigrants to the New England, over half had settled in Boston. All, with few exceptions, were devout Puritans. But it was a Puritanism as preached by Cotton and Wheelwlright in the old country, that of a "Covenant of Grace". **The Lincolnshire emigrants constituted the largest single regional element in the Controversy.***

The Hutchinsons' role, or at least Anne's part, was made one of "cause célèbre by historians simply because she was a "woman" who had the audacity to speak out in a man's world. As late as 1962, she was dismissed by one author as a "hysterical menopausal neurotic". But it was her intelligent defense of her position in an era when women's minds were not recoganized that rightly makes her "the first woman of importance in American History".

Summarily dismissed by Winthrop as "a man of very mild temper and weak parts and wholly guided by his wife", all historians have overlooked the role played by William Hutchinson in the whole matter. If he had not approved of and agreed with his wife's religious philosphy, she would not have been allowed the freedom to act as she did. But he gave her his entire support, and in his own way attempted to apply her philosophy to his business and government affairs. This philosophy of individual conscience and liberty naturally appealed to the commercial men of Boston.

John Winthrop, deservedly recognized as "The Father of the Bay Colony", could have averted, or at least modified the situtation. But compromise was not part of his personality. His lack of tolerance for religious freedom, his scorn of women, and his struggle for politcal power to direct the Colony as a strictly Puritan theocracy, led to the disaster he desparately sought to avert.

*By the end of 1636, there were known to be 36 families, and possibly 9 others, from Lincolnshire living in Boston; and most all were church members.

The Rev. John Wheelwright happened to be "at the right place at the right time" and those who followed the "free grace" teachings of John Cotton and Mrs. Hutchinson came to look upon him as a champion of their cause. While Cotton and Wheelwright were kindred spirits, the essential difference lay not in their doctrines but in their personalities. "Where Wheelwright was contentious and fearlessly outspoken, Cotton was mild and tractable. It was Wheelwright's nature to separate from those who had distained and abused him; it was in Cotton nature to make peace on terms that did not compromise his essential principles."

Anne Hutchinson's active imagination and spiritual exaltation which she communicated to others by her great personal magnetism, generated enthusiam and romanticism. **Neither Cotton nor Wheelwright were ever tempted to follow her extremism as it developed, for both were "too precise and circumspect in their theology for that".**

Simply put, the majority of the members of the Boston Church under the influence of Cotton and Wheelwright believed that salvation was given through the "Covenant of Grace": this redemption (salvation) was a spiritual gift of grace given individually and personally to whomever God chose to give it...and that a persons' status in the social order had nothing to do with God's choice. This completely countered the Puritan's basic tenet that salvation depended primarily on observance of the "Covenant of Works": that outward behavior was a sign of justification and redemption.

The first recorded words of troubles within the church (and therefore the state) were noted by John Winthrop in his "Journal" on October 21, 1636: "the dangerous errors brought over by Mrs. Hutchinson could not be tolerated. There joined with her in these opinions a brother of hers, one Mr. Wheelwright, a silenced minister sometime in England". Earlier in the month, Winthrop had called a "private" meeting of the ministers of the Colony, occasioned by Anne's latest utterance that only the Revs. Cotton and Wheelwlright of all the ministers in the Colony were fit to preach. At this meeting, Wheelwright and Cotton were asked to explain their doctrine; and later at the same meeting, Mrs. Hutchinson was asked to express her opinions. There were differences, but in any theological discussion, even the ministers could not reach a firm agreement among themselves.

But Winthrop foresaw trouble, for "the colony was based on the principle that the individual was wholly subordinate to the church-state and its laws." The theocracy rested on infallible doctrine, and to question doctrine was to imply insurrection. Just one year previous, the Colony had dealt with Roger Williams, and wanted no more "dangerous opinions".

It was about this time that Anne's sister, Catharine, with her husband, Richard Scott, and their children left the Bay Colony to join Roger Williams at Providence. Scott had joined the church after their arrival in 1634, but Catherine had declined the opportunity, and had not permitted her young children to do so either.

Early in the morning of October 30, 1636, the Wardwell Families were awakened by the beating of the drum, for as yet there were no church bells to summon the community to the meetinghouse. Bundled into warm clothing, as the "yet unacustomed cold weather" was beginning, the Wardwells joined some 150 members of the Boston Church wending their way to worship. Thomas and William were somewhat tense, for their "group" (the majority of the church membership) had determined to nominate John Wheelwright as Assistant Teacher of the Boston Church, with the goal of reinforcing Cotton's teachings of "Grace", reducing Wilson's influence and perhaps forcing him into retirement.

After the long morning service by Rev. Wilson, the afternoon meeting was called to order, and Wheelwright's name placed in nomination. Winthrop immediately objected; and though facing the political forces of popular Gov. Vane and the Selectmen and Representatives of Boston and the animosity of the majority of church members, protested on the grounds that the Church already had two able ministers and that Wheelwright was not yet known to the community. Taking advantage of the church rule of unanimous vote for any church action, Winthrop successfully blocked the nomination.

It was then suggested by Winthrop that Wheelwright establish an "at-ease" church at Mount Wollaston, which was truly needed, but at the same time would keep Wheelwright at a distance from Boston. Wheelwright, though disappointed at not being a part of the prestigious Boston Church, accepted the "calling" to "the Mount".*

Winthrop was now thoroughly alarmed at the division within the Boston Church caused by "the opinionists", as the followers of the Covenant of Grace were now called, for they represented the largest single concentration of freemen within the entire Colony. In December of 1637, with all the ministers of the Colony

*Farming and developing of properties at the Mount kept their owners and their families away from Boston over long stretches of time, "and to their dismay, deprived them of adequate means of worship". In the summer, to avoid Boston's "oppresive heat" these farmhouses were used as "family retreats".

resent as well as Winthrop and other magistrates, Wheelwright and Cotton were asked to express their opinion on the subject of "direct revelation from God". Both men agreed that when they spoke of "revelations" they meant the sudden perception of new meanings and relationships in the texts of the Bible. Anne Hutchinson was also called to the meeting, and it is said, that she, sensing a trap, adroitly walked around the subject; for she, in fact, did believe in a direct and personal revelation from God But once again, agreement on shades of theological meanings had no concurrance.

In the same month, on December 13th, the General Court passed harsh legislation imposing inordinately heavy fines on businessmen accused of overcharging for imported goods; they authorized search without warrant on all incoming ships and warehouses, and the officer appointed to do so would receive a "third part of all such benefit" for his services. The Boston Representatives were appalled, and William Hutchinson resigned in protest.

At about the same time, taking further steps to secure the position of the large property owners, the Boston Selectmen passed an order that land should be granted by the town only to those newcomers "who were likely to become members of the church". At the same time it was decreed that present owners must not sell their houses or allotments to newcomers without municipal authorization. The religious controversy now began to appear openly in the field of politics.

At the beginning of 1637, the Bay Colony was divided into two hostile camps, the one centering in Boston, the other spread out around it, each constantly sniping at the other. "It was the suspicions of the farmers toward the artisans and merchants in Boston, that created economic and politcal differences which, despite the primary theological framework of the contest, explains in part why Boston adhered so enthusiastically to the 'opinionists' viewpoint as expressed by Cotton, Wheelwright and Anne Hutchinson in opposition to the rural-backed clergy." In an effort to ease these differences, the General Court ordered a "fast-day" throughout the Colony, so that the people "might mourn their dissensions".

On January 19/20, 1637, the Wardwell Families were among the church members sitting through Rev. Wilson's long morning sermon denouncing the evils of the way of dissenters. When Rev. Cotton concluded his afternoon lecture, he invited Rev. John Wheelwright to speak. It was said that as Wheelwright strode to the pulpit, Winthrop had "spies" alerted to take notes.

Wheelwright, described as "tall, sturdy frame and athletic bearing, powerfully built minister" had a "lively assertiveness, ever-ready sense of humor, placid features which belied his c. .entious disposition. Although capable of zealous attachment to a worthy cause, his wry humor permitted him to mock the stubborn fantasies of zeal and encouraged him to regain his own

sense of proportion when zeal threatened to become his master. In manner and speech, he was ordinarily gentle and retiring, and altogether he must have impressed the thoughtful observer as a man moderately and humorously suspicious of the busy world--but once in and committed to the contest, well able to sustain his part."

Facing the congregation, Wheelwright addressed the assemblage as "Bretheren and Sisters", the first ever acknowledgement that women were, in fact, members of the congregation. To Winthrop, the sermon that followed seemed inflamatory especially on a day set aside to ease dissension; and certain words and phrases, highlighted and taken out of context, would seem to confirm his worst fears. Wheelwright's eloquent words, "We must all of us prepare for battle and come out against th enemies of the Lord, and if we do not strive, those under a Covenant of Works will prevail", thrilled his listeners with the exception of a few. "This sermon threw the Massachusetts community into a state of commotion without a parallel in its history. It was, perhaps, the most momentous single sermon ever preached from the American pulpit."*

A second division of land was made at Mount Wollaston on February 19, 1637. and William Wardwell was granted "a great lot at the same place (of his planting acreage at the Mount) for three heads" (persons). John Wheelwright was granted 250 acres, and William Hutchinson an additional 300 acres. In addition to the orginal grantees (Hough, Coddington, Quincy) others now at the Mount were Nicholas Needham, William Cole and Laurence Copeland. (3 years later, the area was incorporated as "Braintree", and much later "Quincy" was granted from a part of Braintree.)

Winthrop had not been idle in the weeks following Wheelwright's Fast-Day Sermon. In consort with the two powerful magistrates, Thomas Dudley and John Endecott, he had consolidated all of the ministers of the Colony except Cotton. When the General Court opened behind closed doors in March of 1637, one of the first actions taken was to call the Rev. John Wheelwright before the Court. When he appeared, he was asked to leave his manuscript of his sermon, and then dismissed to await further orders from the Court.**

*"Three Episodes in Massachusetts History", Charles Francis Adams

**There were 43 men in the General Court at this time: 11 Magistrates elected by the freemen of the colony at large; and 32 Representatives chosen by the 14 towns.

Thomas and William Wardwell, along with Wheelwright's many friends, rallied to his defense; and overnight, a petition probably written by William Aspinswall, was signed by over 40 members of the Boston Church. The following morning it was presented to the Court. It was a dignified and conciliatory document, in effect asking the Court to leave matters of conscience for the church to deal with. It also requested the Court to conduct its trial of Wheelwright in public. The Court found this petition, "groundless and presumptuous" and returned it to the signers.

"In the 16th century, heresy began to assume the nature of a civil crime, and heretics were persecuted to prevent them from polluting the mind of the commonwealth with their errors, or to secure the state against the insidious encroachment of foreign ideologies. By the 17th century it was enough that such words should have the capacity to produce these ends, whether or not so calculated. Therefore, the General Court had the right and obligation to prevent a schism in the established state-supported church. The state (the General Court) had only to assume that the "opinionists" doctrines were dangerous to itself, and deal with them as any enemy to the state. Wheelwright, as a teacher and as a symbol, was so deeply implicated in the conduct of the Controversy that, for the moment his influence was very nearly paramount.

The next morning when Wheelwright was called to the Court (again sitting behind locked doors), the magistrates attempted to examine him inquisitorily under oath, a procedure which they had all left England to escape. Governor Vane and others protested and Wheelwright stood upon his rights as an English citizen, and refused to answer any questions. Faced with this deadlock, the Court was forced to act as a judicial rather than a inquisitorial body. The doors were opened, and all Boston thronged into the meeting-house to hear Wheelwright's trial.

Wheelwright admitted that he had meant to include in his censure all who "walked in such a way" as he had described as a Covenant of Works. If all the ministers present agreed that they so subscribed, then Wheelwright would be guilty of the actionable offence of reviling the colony clergy. The ministers were given Wheelwright's sermon and each asked to endorse it if they felt themselves condemned in his phrases.

The following morning, all the ministers had affixed their signatures except Cotton, so that the state now had grounds for declaring Wheelwright guilty of sedition and contempt. For two days in private session, the battle over the verdict went on. Governor Vane, Rev. Cotton and the Boston Representatives frantically attempting to save their friend. Finally, by a bare majority, Wheelwright was formally adjudged guilty of sedition and contempt. Wheelwright's sentencing was delayed until after the May Election, and he was allowed to return to "the Mount".

Enraged by the action of the Court, Wheelwright's friends determined upon another petition. William Aspinwall was delegated to draft a fresh appeal to the Court. The revised petition and remonstrance was circulated among Wheelwright's sympathizers in Boston and to others of the Colony. By the May Election, "The Remonstrance" as it was now called had over 87 subscribers, including Thomas and William Wardwell.

The General Court had delayed the sentencing of Wheelwright, for they needed all the support they could get from the Colony and dared not provoke the men of Boston. For in the Spring of 1637, the Bay Colony faced another threat. Since the Indian murder of John Oldham in 1636, the Pequot Indians of Connecticut had been assaulting the Englishmen along the Connecticut River. Some concerted effort would have to be made by the Bay Colony to help their old friends and neighbors, now numbering about 800 people. Had all the Indian tribes in New England joined together, the English settlers would have been totally wiped out and the settlement of New England set back fifty years. Roger Williams, the one Englishman whom the Indians loved and trusted, saved the Bay and the new settlements from annihilation by keeping the Narranganset tribes of Rhode Island from making a truce with the Pequots.

Alice and William Wardwell's first child, **MERIBAH**, was born on May 14, 1637. Along with Marie, daughter of Mary and John Wheelwright, she was baptized by the Rev. John Cotton at the First Church of Boston on June 25, 1637.

In an atmosphere of intense popular excitement and under menance of war, the May Election was held. Thomas and William Wardwell made the long treck to New Towne for the event, for Winthrop had adroitly changed the meeting site from Boston, in an attempt to reduce the power the Freemen of Boston could exhibit, for they were the largest single block of voters in the Colony.

"In those days it was actually easier for the northern townspeople from Roxbury, Watertown, and Charlestown to come to New Towne than it was for the Bostoners. New Towne and Boston were at that period separated by a broad arm of the sea, and by wide troublesome marshes, and travellers from one town to the other sometimes perished. The best way in fair weather was by boat; otherwise the jouney was made by crossing to Charlestown and then striking overland, or going many miles about over Boston Neck and through Roxbury and Watertown."

Thomas and William and the other Boston Freemen found the New Towne Common filled with a great number of men, for the other towns had been persuaded to turn out in large numbers. Governor Vane attempted to have "The Remonstrance" (the Petition supporting Wheelwright), read before the election was held. Winthrop and the non-Boston Freemen protested loudly, defeating its reading. Vane refused to preside until "The Remonstrance" was heard, so Winthrop proceeded to hold the election without him.

The result was that Winthrop was elected Governor, and Dudley, Assistant Governor. This was the same "team" that had organized and governed the Bay Colony during its first three years of existence. The "opinionists" Vane, Coddington and Hough were now voted out of the magistracy.*

Boston had deferred its election of representatives to the new General Court until the outcome of the general election was known. The next morning the Freemen of Boston, in defiance of Winthrop, elected their three defeated magistrates as their new Representatives. The General Court declared the Boston election invalid due to a technicality. A new election was at once held, and the same three were again elected, and the Court had to accept Vane, Coddington and Hough.

The General Court put off the sentencing of Wheelwright, for Boston men were needed to enlist in the Pequot War, and the Court dared not invite a local insurrection at this crisis. But they did enact an Alien Exclusion Law, which provided that no newcomer should be allowed to purchase habitation, nor any town or person to receive an immigrant or entertain him for more than three weeks without the permission of one of the standing council (ie. Winthrop, Dudley or Endecott) or of two of the magistrates. "The fines provided for doing so were ruinous."

Whether in fact, Winthrop knew that a large contingency of Alford/Lincolnshire people was expected to arrive in the Bay Colony within a month or two, is not known. But so intense was the feeling over Wheelwright's trial, the Alien Exclusion Act and the appoint of Rev. Wilson as Chaplain of the Colony's Army, that not a member of the Boston Church would be mustered for the Pequot War when volunteers were called for, even though Capt. John Underhill (an "opinionists" and Boston church member) had already been sent to hold the fort at Saybrook. The Boston church members refused to support the War at all, rejecting all pleas for money, supplies or soldiers.

"In addition to refusing to support the Pequot War, the men of Boston added their denouncment of tax rates and land allotments, and in general showed brazen disrespect for the authorities at every turn. Boston's defiance in the face of a general emergency was a manifestation so startling that it rocked New England to its precarious foundations."

*Thereafter, all meetings of the Colony were held in New Towne until 1638. Such was the fear of the opinionists viewpoint, that the college for future ministers organized in 1636, though originally planned for Boston, was permanently established in New Towne. After a generous donation of books and money from John Harvard, the college was named "Harvard" in 1638 and New Towne's name was changed to "Cambridge".

The Pequot War offensive lasted from the end of May through July, and the Connecticut tribe was totally anihilated. Nearly 1,000 of the Pequot men were slain, and the militiamen who had fought came back from the war gruesomely bearing the severed heads and hands of their Pequot victims. The wives and children of the Indian braves were sent to Boston as slaves, branded on the arm so that they could be returned by neighboring colonists if they attempted escape. On a June day at the Boston Commons (and after a prayer of salvation for the souls of the infidels by Winthrop), these captives were sold to "the highest ranking ladies of Boston who had their pick, and so on down the social order until all the Indians captives were taken as servant-slaves."

More and more Englishmen arrived in the New World in 1637, for Winthrop had carefully kept any news of "The Controversy" or of the short-lived Indian War from reaching England, where Civil War seemed eminent. In July, one of the ships coming into Boston Harbor brought many passengers from Lincolnshire, and Alford in particular: Samuel Hutchinson, Susanna (Hutchinson) and Augustine Storre, William Wentworth, Christopher Helme, Christopher Lawson, Edward Rishworth, Thomas Leavitt and Thomas Wight (all of whom, in one way or another, were Hutchinson related), and Balthazar Willix, brother-in-law of Philemon Pormont. Other arrivals included Edmund Littlefield of Hampshire and Henry Roby of Leicestershire. Expecting to be warmly welcomed when they disembarked after their long journey, they instead found themselves engulfed in the Wheelwright/Hutchinson controversy, and disallowed to stay.

With the arrival of these Lincolnshiremen, Winthrop, writing in the 3rd person and possibly unaware of just how many were Hutchinson relations, recorded in his "Journal": "here came over a brother of Mrs. Hutchinson and some other of Mr. Wheelwright's friends, whom the Governor thought not fit to allow, as others, to sit down amongst us, without some trial of them. Therefore, to save others from the danger of the law, in receiving of them he allowed them for four months". This dispensation of 4 months grace was granted as the ships had departed from England prior to the enactment of the Alien Exclusion Law of May.

In the first days of August, Alice and William Wardwell, with the infant Meribah, journeyed from " the Mount" to Boston. While Alice stayed with Elizabeth, now awaiting the birth of her 2nd child, Thomas, little Eliakim, and William joined the throngs of people who crowded Boston's wharf and shoreline. The friends and admirers of Henry Vane were asembled to bid a fond farewell to the popular young man. "It was a royal farewell, a brave attempt to cover up with cheers and salutes their grief at his departure, and their apprehension of what was coming."

"In the Great Cove, little boats, tossed excitedly up and down as the men who crowded them jumped up to wave their arms or load their fowling-pieces for volley after volley of shot. As Vane's boat drew away from the dock, the men on shore raised

their muskets and fired a series of shattering volleys, and the resounding echo was taken up by the boom of the cannons. The partisan 'opionists' crammed themselves into every available boat to accompany his ship down the harbor. As the ship in full sail, passed the fort at Castle Island, Richard Bulgar, commandant, there were five perfunctory shots of ordnance."

On September 3, 1637 (3d 7m 1634), **Martha**, the only daughter of Elizabeth and Thomas Wardwell was baptized at the First Church of Boston by the Rev. John Cotton, as was Ichabod Hutchinson, newborn son of Sarah and Edward Hutchinson II. Of this occasion it was written, "it being in the worst (time) of the controversy".

The first religious synod ever held in the New World had commenced on August 30, 1637 at New Towne. The 25 ministers from the Bay Colony, including Wheelwright and Cotton, in addition to Thomas Hooker from the Hartford Colony, the elders and laymembers of the churches, and the whole body of the magistrates attended the 9-day meeting. The proceedings were open to the public, who thronged to New Towne in spite of the geographical difficulties.

The ministers proceeded to define orthodox Puritan doctrine; and then to condemn 82 points of doctrines held by some in the Colony without formally attaching these doctrines to any persons. "But it was perfectly clear that the Synod, comfortable proceeding without the required evidence, had met to condemn Anne Hutchinson." It was resolved "that while women might meet, some few together, to pray and edify one another, the assembly as practiced at Boston where sixty or more met and one woman expounded scripture was disorderly, and without rule". A further restraint of a former right was imposed: it was now forbidden for church members to question ministers in such a way as to asperse the doctrines deliverd in their sermons.

But the great upset of the Synod was that the Rev. John Cotton, under pressure from his peers, now changed his opinions and became totally commited to Winthrop and his allies and the Covenant of Works. With the departure of Vane and the defection of Cotton, Wheelwright now stood alone at the forefront of the Controversy. He was "isolated from all effective ecclesiastical or magisterial support and stood by himself a marked man."

Four days after the Synod closed, Winthrop hastily dissolved the General Court, which had been elected until the next May, and ordered a new election. "He was going to get a General Court that would be his creature." Of the 32 representatives assembled for the November session in New Towne, only 17 had sat before, and of these, Coddington, Aspinwall and Coggeshall alone were left to represent the opinionist party.

When the General Court opened on November 2, 1637 in New Towne, Aspinwall was arraigned for signing the Wheelwright Remonstrance and found guilty of contempt of court for defending his act; he was dismissed from the Court. Coggeshall instantly said that while he had not signed the petition, he approved of it, so

that they might as well dismiss him too! "He was taken at his word, and forthwith expelled." **This was the first time it was made known that"The Remonstrance" was a document considered so inflamatory it would be used as evidence of sedition on the part of all signatories.**

Boston then had to elect two men to replace their disbarred Representatives, and chose William Colburn and John Oliver. Since the latter had signed the petition, the Court promptly dismissed him. There was no one else to elect, as **all the outstanding men in Boston had signed the petition**! Only Colburn and Coddington now sat in the Court, representing the opposition; the latter was a founder and leader of the Colony as well as a personal friend of Winthrop, who dared not attack him, though Coddington's name had headed the signers of the Remonstrance. Only his prestige saved him from instant dismissal.

The Rev. John Wheelwright was called before the Court for sentencing. The time had come for him to acknowledge his offense, or abide the sentence of the Court. "I have delivered no sedition nor contempt", Wheelwright stated; "I have delivered nothing but the truth of Christ, and as for applications which have been made of my doctrine, they have been made by others, not by me."

On November 7, 1637, John Wheelwright was declared guilty for troubling the civil peace, for his corrupt and dangerous opinions, and for his contemptuous behavior toward the magistrates. Finding that they "could not continue together without the ruine of the whole", the Court sentenced Wheelwright to be disfranchised and banished from the Bay Colony.

"That Governor Winthrop and his fellow magistrates had acted as both judges and prosecutors, and to have done so without a jury, was a shocking miscarriage of justice." Wheelwright objected strenuously, stating he would appeal to the King and refused to offer security for his quiet departure. "After being committed to the custody of the marshal to spend the night in solitary reflection, Wheelwright was sufficiently chastened and returned to the Court. Giving the assurance that he would depart quietly, he volunteered to withdraw within 14 days rather than spend the winter under house arrest."

"Wheelwright had become trapped as in a vise, his doctrines violently misunderstood and attacked on the one side and distorted beyond all recognitition on the other. Despite his divine calling he could not put down the bitterness he felt against the clergy who had so cruelly abused him. Nor was his sister Hutchinson entirely without blame for his present plight. Although she and her friends had nosily espoused the Covenant of Grace, it seem to him 'they took away the Grace of the Covenant'. Finding some likeness between his doctrines and their own, they had embraced him so closely that he could not disavow them without seeming to reject his own beliefs."

"Guided as always by his own iron whim, Wheelwright turned northward to find refuge amid the snow and ice of bleak, unfertile New Hampshire."

Now that Wheelwright had been sentenced for sedition, the Court determined that anyone who had supported him was automatically guilty of the same. Coggeshall and Aspinwall, primary leaders of the Controversy, were both now disfranchised. And then the Court turned its attention to Mrs. Hutchinson.

On November 7, 1637, Anne Hutchinson, in her 47th year, was called before the General Court to stand trial, literally, for no chair was provided for her during the long sessions which followed till near the very end, even though she was sick and/or pregnant at the time. "Her trial was the most exciting event the Colony had ever known."

The trial's outcome was a foregone conclusion. Anne's teachings were a direct challenge to the theological base and the political power structure of the Puritan order. She had become a concrete threat to the ministers and the authorities of the Colony. Anne had no counsel, nor was the trial conducted according to any established rules of procedure. "The treatment which the accused then underwent deserves the severest epithets of censure. It was no trial at all, rather a bare-faced inquisition."

Anne's own defense was brilliant: with her quick mind, she countered the questions of the ministers and magistrates; and with her amazing knowledge of the Bible, rebuted with ease all accusations thrown at her. But she had committed the cardinal sin, for she had "meddled in such things as are proper for men, whose minds are stronger". It was Anne's critical attitude towards the priesthood, undoubtedly inherited from her father, which was the main cause of her persecution. "For traducing the ministers" she was condemned, and sentenced to banishment from the Bay Colony.

The Court again turned its attention to the leading "opinionists", and for three days repression of those who had supported Wheelwright and Hutchinson continued. William Balston, Richard Bulgar, William Dinely, William Dyer, Richard Gridley, Edward Hutchinson (2), and Thomas Marshall were all disfranchised, and those holding military titles, dismissed from office. The Court struck with such ferocity, that ten of the Charlestown adherents now threw themselves on the mercy of the Court, acknowlging their error in signing "The Remonstrance". By now it was Friday of a very harrowing week, and the Court recessed.

"Having punished the principals to the utmost limit that he dared", Governor Winthrop now turned his attention to the supporters of Wheelwright and Hutchinson. Without warning, on the Monday following the sentencing of Anne Hutchinson, a "cataclysmic edict rocked the Colony": ALL those who had signed "The Remonstrance" and who refused to acknowledge their fault, were to be disarmed.

The law ordered each man to bring in his muskets, fowling pieces, swords, carbines, pistols, powder, shot and match "as they shal bee owners of, or have in their custody, upon pain of ten pounds for every default to bee made thereof". If a man attempted to buy new arms or ammunition, or to borrow another man's arms, or have same in his possession, until given leave to do so by the Court, he was faced with banishment.

It was an ignominious and harsh punishment at that time when the means of protection and defense were so essential. "These men were not only treated as naughty children, but they felt themselves emasculated by the loss of their weapons." Their rage was such that it nearly touched off the insurrection that Winthrop had thought to subdue.

Thomas and William Wardwell, along with with 56 others of Boston and 17 men from 5 other towns, were summoned to the bar of the Court. These 75 men faced the choice of acknowledging their "sinn in subscribing to the seditious libell" and withdrawing their name or "pass under the ban of the law"...disarmament and possible banishment.

Another law was passed, punishable by fine, imprisonment, disfranchisement or banishment, for any who should "defame any court, or any of its sentences". Public meetings of the dissatisfed were not tolerated, and their "most private utterances were laid hold of and repeated to the Court and stamped out as heresies". The clergy were now supreme, having converted the General Court into a mere machine for the civil enforcement of their own inquisitorial decrees. There was to be no further freedom of religious thought in the Bay Colony.

With the recognized leaders of the "opinionists" disfranchised, disarmed and marked for exile, and those who had signed "The Remonstrance", or those who had supported the "opinionist" in any way, disarmed, "The Controversy" appeared to be ended. The winter of 1637-38 found the minority completly vanquished and a system of terriorism established. "When they saw no remedy, they obeyed" Winthrop noted in his"Journal".

Thomas and William Wardwell, disarmed, chose banishement, and followed their friend and minister "into the wilderness of New Hampshire".

AFTERMATH.....

Anne Marbury-Hutchinson was placed under house-arrest in Roxbury following her trial. During the four months of her confinement she was allowed no visitors save her immediate family; but during this time she was constantly visited by the ministers of the colony in an effort "to save her soul". Unremitting in her beliefs, Anne was formally excommunicated from the Church on the "22nd of the 1st month (March) 1638". Anne and William Hutchinson and their family, along with his brother, Edward (2) and his family, removed to Rhode Island, as did other "opinionists".

In Rhode Island in June of 1638, Anne had a mis-carriage (known today as a natural menopausal abortion). It had been her 16th pregnancy. Her detractors made much of this, saying the child was mentally and physcically defective, a punishment of God. After William Hutchinson's death in 1642. Anne with 7 of her children, several sons-in-law, some grandchildren, and servants removed to Long Island. Here 17 in all were slain by Indians in 1643 save one daughter, age 10, who was some years later ransomed by the Indians. The William Hutchinson's great-great-grandson was the last royal governor of Massachusetts.

Anne Hutchinson's sister, Catharine, leaving Boston in late 1636 with her husband, Richard Scott, and their children, settled at Roger William's Providence Colony in Rhode Island. Here they were among the first Quaker converts in 1658. Later, Catharine, "an ancient woman", was imprisoned and whipped at Boston for "benevolent service" in diffusing her (Quaker) opinions, and her daughters, Mary and Patience, also were "imprisoned by equal impolicy".

Along with the Hutchinsons and the Scotts, Anne and William Hibbens had arrived in Boston in 1634. Their part in "The Controversy" is unknown: but as parishioners of the Rev. John Cotton in "old Boston", they must have given support to him in Boston. In 1640, William Hibbens was elected a Boston Representative. And in that year, Anne Hibbens was brought to a church trial; "and like Anne Hutchinson's, Anne Hibben's case involved secular issues: her dispute was with town carpenters over work that she had contracted but which, she contended, was poorly done and overcharged. The case was brought before the church on grounds that she had made false accusations and behaved contentiously. However, the trial became focused on the issue of her alleged transgression of male authority---in this case, her husband's. As in the Hutchinson trial, there was no question what decision the court would make." Anne Hibbens was excommunicated in 1640. William was again elected a Representative for Boston in 1641 and served as Assistant in 1643. Sixteen years after her trial, and two years after her husband's death, Anne Hibbens was convicted of witchcraft and executed.

Yet another Lincolnshire woman, contemporary of the aforementioned women, achieved prominence during the same period. Anne Dudley-Bradstreet (1612-1678), daughter of Governor Thomas Dudley and wife of Simon Bradstreetf, became the first poetess of note in the history of American Literature.

At the actual time of the Controversy, the adherents of the Covenant of Grace were first called "opinionists" and then "Familists". Familism preached direct communication between an individual and God, a devine love which made every human being solely responsible for his own actions; it totally rejected predestination (which robbed humans of free will) and "Original Sin". There is no question that the theology of Roger Williams and Anne Marbury-Hutchinson had a basis in these tenets.

The term "Antinomians" was not used to describe those of Boston believing in the Covenant of Grace until a decade following "The Controversy", and as such was applied as a "pejorative 16th century epithet for contemptuous of the law on which society depends". In theology, "Antinomiansim" as followed by a sect in Germany was the belief that "the moral law was not binding upon Christians who were under the law of grace".

To the 17th century Protestants the term implied licentious behavior and religious heterodoxy, and was used as a common term of abuse like "Anabaptist", "Quaker", or "Familist", to descredit a person. It is unfortunate that most historians and history books refer to this period of colonial history as "The Antinomian Controversy".

The value system of those Puritans who came to America in the 1630's was constructed on a religious base, which provided an explanation and a rule for all aspects of life----personal, business and social----and all behavior thereto. The religious dissent by the Boston church members was directed toward the modification of certain theological tenets within the prescribed sphere of their Puritan life.

These church members of Boston were not "radicals" nor was their intent one of disruption. Over 64 of the "opinionists" had arrived in the Colony before 1634; and of these, over half were the "hand-picked" colonists who had come with Winthrop's fleet of 1630. At least 20 men were entitled the courtesy of "Mr.". The majority of the "opinionist" leaders and the active supporters were of the upper socio-economic level, and quite a few were among the most affluent of the entire colony. All were the "solid citizen" who had forsaken his homeland to "find a place of his own in the New World". No one involved at the time realized the implication that "The Controversy" would produce in the history of America. For freedom for the individual conscience, initiative, worth, and responsibility was implied in the Covenant of Grace.

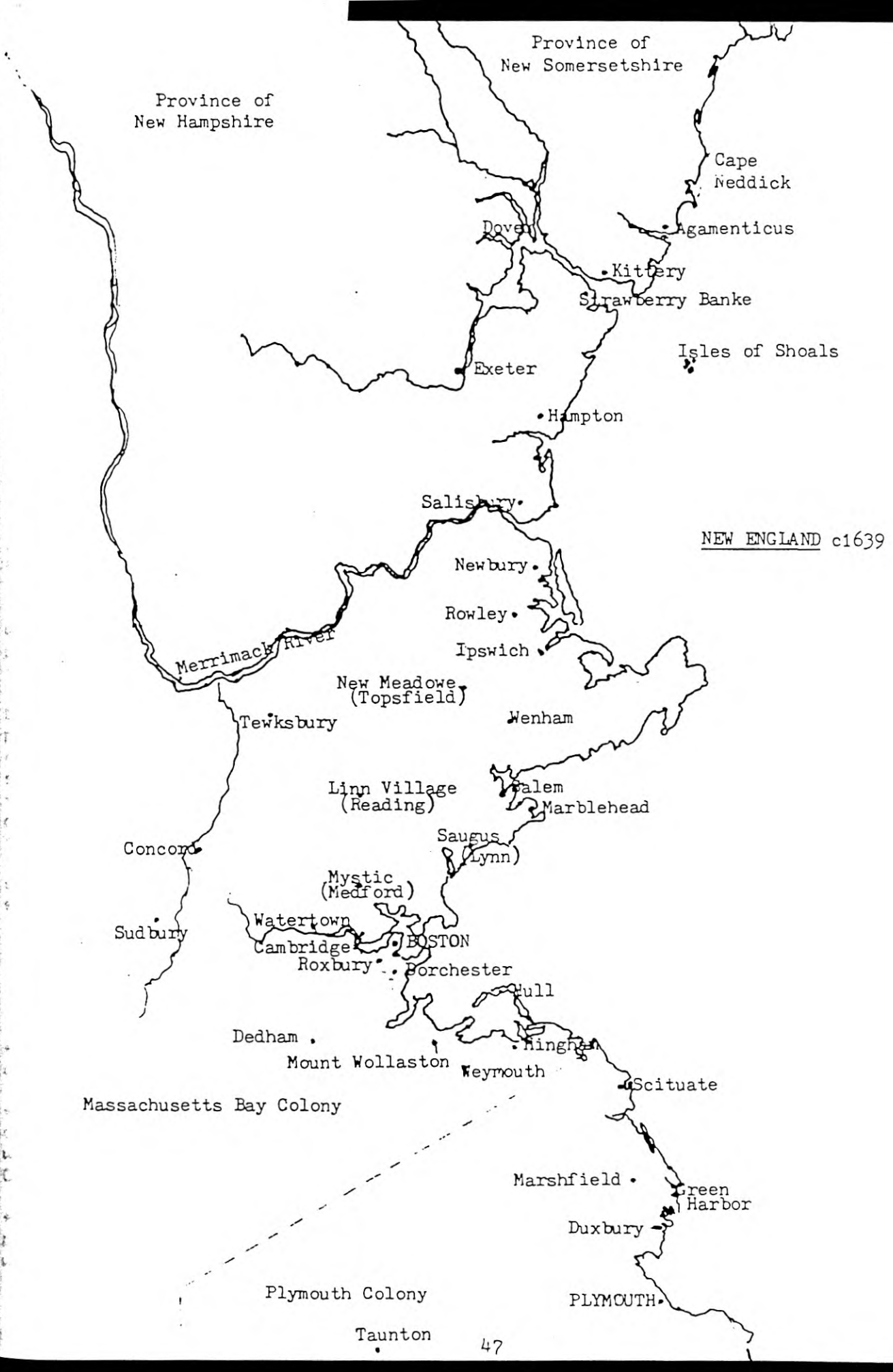
Once the "dissenters" had left, "The Puritan Way of Life" continued in the Bay Colony for nearly 20 years. Then the "Quakers" appeared on the scene and a second religious persecution began. The more eminent and affluent "opinionists" (many of them actually banished) removed to Rhode Island, and were followed by a rather large number of people. Of this latter group, it would appear to consist of many non-church members, newcomers, and in general, those who had little to lose by leaving Boston.

A great many men who had signed "The Remonstrance" or had been involved in some way, acknowledged their error, and remained in the Boston environs. They probably did so for a number of reasons including economic, unwilling to give up what they had already established, and the uncertainty of starting all over again in yet another wilderness settlement.

A very small number of "opinionists" followed Wheelwright to New Hampshire; but those who did were among the ones "nearest and dearest to him".

	Disarmed	Denied Signing	Acknowlged Error*	Known to have left Colony*
Boston	56	2	24	20
Charlestown	2	1		
Roxbury	8	1		5
Salem	5			
Newbury	3			3
Ipswich	2	1		1

*incomplete records


Province of
New Somersetshire
Province of
New Hampshire
Cape
Neddick
Agamenticus
Dover
Kittery
Strawberry Banke
Isles of Shoals
Exeter
Hampton
Salisbury
NEW ENGLAND c1639
Newbury
Rowley
Ipswich
Merrimack River
New Meadowe
(Topsfield)
Tewksbury
Wenham
Linn Village
(Reading)
Salem
Marblehead
Saugus
(Lynn)
Concord
Mystic
(Medford)
Watertown
Sudbury
Cambridge
BOSTON
Roxbury
Dorchester
Hull
Dedham
Hingham
Mount Wollaston
Weymouth
Scituate
Massachusetts Bay Colony
Marshfield
Green
Harbor
Duxbury
Plymouth Colony
PLYMOUTH
Taunton

EXETER 1638 - 1646

Late in November of 1637, the Rev. John Wheelwright left the Massachusetts Bay Colony, banished for his religious non-conformity. Many historians would have it that Wheelwright set off alone by foot, trudging through the snow and cold of the "bitterest winter on record", northward to the Piscataqua River in New Hampshire. At the time, travel by land to the Piscataqua was difficult enough in good weather, but nearly impossible in the winter. No "greenhorn" new-comer such as Wheelwright could have accomplished the feat.

In the two weeks allotted him by the Court prior to his departure, John Wheelwright put his affairs in order, and then preached a "farewell sermon" for his Mount Wollaston congregation which included Alice and William Wardwell. On the day following, Wheelwright boarded a coaster probably belonging to Dr. John Clark* to begin his second exodus. It was quite practicable to navigate a vessel of fair size northward along the coastline from Boston to the Piscataqua River and thence inward along the Piscataqua River for many miles.**

The decision to remove to the wilderness of New Hampshire was not a haphazard or ramdom choice, as judged by the meticulous planning and execution of Wheelwright's later move from Exeter to Maine. After the August departure of Henry Vane, there was little question that Wheelwright, like Roger Williams, would be banished from the Bay Colony: his Boston friends had not the politcal power against the other Representatives of the Colony as evidenced in the May Election; nor was the Rev. John Cotton's support enough in itself to help Wheelwright. The Lincolnshire friends who had arrived in July faced the same problem that confronted Wheelwright---a place to live.*** It was to these men that Wheelwright undoubtedly turned in preparation for his eventual banishment, and under his direction they were sent individually or in groups of 2 or 3 to explore possible sites for settlement outside of the Bay.

*An "opinionist" who removed to Rhode Island, becoming one of its outstanding founders.

**For the island-people of England sailing the rivers and coastline of New England was an easy accomplishment and these waterways became the highways of travel for centuries between the Colonies.

***Of the July arrivals, only Samuel Hutchinson was given permission by the General Court to remain in Boston through the winter of 1637-38.

Wheelwright and his friends could have removed to the Connecticut or Rhode Island lands. In both instances, Wheelwright would have played "second fiddle" to two outstanding ministers, Hooker and Williams: the former too orthodox and the latter too radical for Wheelwright's theology. There were lands, however, to the north where Englishmen had lived successfuly since 1615. Maine's Monhegan Island had been used by Capt. John Smith (of Alford Parish) as his base for exploration in 1614; thereafter, the area had become a commercial outpost for the fishing and trapping interests of England. Southward along Maine's coastline additional settlements could be found. Settlement along the Piscatqua River had begun in 1623, and by 1637 there were thriving outposts, though scarce population, along both sides of the River. The opportunity to form and mold his own colony, even in the harsh wilderness of the northlands, appealed to John Wheelwright.

There are no records of those who first went with Wheelwright, but it is an easy assumption that the newcomers of July 1637 were among the first: Helme, Lawson, Leavitt, Littlefield, Rishworth, Storre, Wentworth, Wight and Willix. Refuge was found at the settlements of Strawberry Banke (later Portsmouth), so named for the lush profusion of wild strawberries growing along the banks of the Piscataqua River. Wheelwright probably moved further up the river, spending the winter with Edward Hilton at Dover which the later had founded in 1623, and/or with Captain Thomas Wiggin. During the bitterly cold winter, Wheelwright and the others met and confered with the "old-timers" of the Piscataqua, men who had come to the New World for economic advantages, content with the ways of the Anglican Church.

Those in the Boston area who had signed the Remonstrance and been disarmed, including Thomas and William Wardwell, John Compton, Henry Elkins, Isaac Grosse and Richard Morris, as well as others who had supported Wheelwright, prepared to depart for New Hampshire. Ironically, they could not just "pull up stakes" and leave; rather, they had to obtain a license from the General Court to depart. A summons was issued Marth 12, 1638 to John Compton and others who "had licence to depart" out of Massachusetts, "to appear at the next court if they were not gone before". This ominous message was "not likely to have prolonged their stay in the Bay Colony".

Late in March at "the Mount", the Hutchinson sisters, Mary H. Wheelwright and Susanna H. Storre, and their elderly mother, the widow Susanna Hutchinson, said a sad farewell to Anne Marbury-Hutchinson, now not only banished but formally excommunicated from the Church. While Anne had been expecting to go to New Hampshire with the other Lincolnshire people, at the last moment word was received from William Hutchinson that Rhode Island lands had been purchased. Anne and her children departed overland for Rhode Island. The other women "took water" (went by boat) from "the Mount" for New Hampshire.

By March of 1638, Wheelwright's two brothers-in-law, Samuel Hutchinson and Augustine Storre, as well as Nicholas Needham and John Compton were in the Dover area. Through the efforts of Edward Hilton, the group was able to purchase lands adjoining the Hiltons' properties on the Squamscott River at the site of Falls of the Piscataqua. With Edward Hilton and Wheelwright's "cousin" Darby Field* acting as interpreters, deeds of land** from Wehanownowit, Sagamore of the Squamscott tribe were secured on April 3, 1638. The first deed was signed by

John Wheelwright Samuel Hutchinson Augustine Storre	Boston	Edward Colcord Darby Field John Compton Nicholas Needham	of Piscataqua of Piscataqua of Roxbury of Mt. Wollaston

Witnesses to this Deed included Laurence Copeland and William Cole, both of Mount Wollaston and James Wall of Piscataqua. A second deed, reconfirming the southern boundary, was also signed by Wheelwright, Hutchinson and Storre.

The Indian deeds embraced all the territory between the Merrimack River (or 3 miles north of it) on the south; the sea on the east; the Piscataqua patents on the eastern north, and a line one mile beyond the Oyster river on the western north; and extended from the sea 30 miles westward into the country; in all an estimated 400 to 500 square miles. The Falls of the Squamscott, around which the new settlement would be built, "are formed by the passage of an inland stream over a succession of ledges into a broad basin below, where its waters mingle with the tides from the sea. The country around was covered, for the most part, with dense forests, broken here and there by tracts of natural meadows, and by marshes bordering upon the tide-water."

In the first spring and summer of 1638, the new settlement "at the Falls of the Squamscott", later called Exeter***, faced the plight of all pioneers...lands to be cleared, trees felled from which houses were erected and fuel stored, home-lots establilshed, and crops to be planted. There was no fear of starvation, for the men of the Piscataqua who had joined the new settlement were expert fishermen and trappers.

*Field, though related to the Hutchinsons, was often referred to as an "Irishman"; with the aid of two Indian guides, he became the first white man to climb New Hampshire's White Mountains, reaching the summit of Mount Washington, "a considerable feat". c1642.

**Exhibited today at Phillips Exeter Academy, Exeter, N.H.

***The earliest English backers of the Piscataqa area had been the men of Bristol, Exeter and Plymouth, which may account for the choice of the name "Exeter" for the new settlement.

"Each person chose such a site for his dwelling as best suited his convenience, with due reference to the rights of others". The main settlement was near the Falls on the western side of the river. The Hilton brothers and Capt. Wiggin had already planted themselves on opposite sides of the Squamscott, within 3 or 4 miles of the Falls. Ralph Hall, Thomas Leavitt and Thomas Willson, said by tradition to have been at the Falls prior to Wheelwright's actual signing of the deeds, were located on the eastern side of the river.

The early settlement was said to "consist in about equal proportions of Wheelwright's parishioners and adherents from Mount Wollaston and its vicinity, and of his connections and friends lately arrived from Lincolnshire in England"...about 20 heads of families in all.* But research today shows that there were about 49 males("heads of families"):

7 of the Piscataqua (excluding the Hiltons and Wiggin)
9 of the July 1637 arrivals
33 of the Bay Colony

Excluding the Piscataqua men, **the majority of the settlers were from Lincolnshire, and about one-half of these from Alford.** Eight or more were, in some way, related to the Hutchinson-Marbury-Wentworth families. With few exceptions, the settlers of Exeter were "solid middle-class" citizens; and those from Lincolnshire, especially the Alford region, "had affections and loyalties that time, distance and adversity could not eradicate".

The first of the great earthquakes to shake New England occurred in the summer of 1638, extending from northerly Maine, southward through Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and westward to Connecticut. Depending on one's point of view, it was God's wrath descending upon the sinners and dissenters, or vindication of the people's will to express themself freely.

Some 5 miles southeast of the Falls, other Bay Colonists were creating a new settlement on the Atlantic Coast at Winnacannet. Here The Bay Colony had maintained a "bound-house" since 1635, intended as a mark of possession, rather than of limit to the Bay Colony. Re-named "Hampton", this site of land (70 square miles) came under the Wheelwright purchase, so there were the usual disputes over boundaries of the two settlements, the Bay Colony attempting to extend its jurisdiction as far as possible, especially where it concerned the recent dissenters. However, an economic and social intercourse developed between Exeter and Hampton, and later many of these original settlers would remove to each other's towns.

*"History of Exeter", C.H. Bell, 1888

The first structure built in Exeter was the "meetinghouse". According to "the Massachusetts Way", the regular or orderly step in forming a new church,was to get permission from the parent church in Boston, and it apparently matter not that a theological argument had occurred. Accordingly, in the autumn of 1638, the members of the newly gathered Exeter church petitioned the mother church at Boston, asking for the dismissal of Wheelwright therefrom, in order that he might be their minister, and of the dismissal of those now in Exeter who had been members of the Boston Church. But since Wheelwright did not join in the petition for obvious reasons, the elders of the Boston Church declined to lay the proposal before the members.

"Upon this being made known to Wheelwright, he sent his own request to the same effect, which reached the elders in Boston early in December of 1638. On the 6th day of the following January, the Boston Church granted "dismissions to our Bretheren" John Wheelwright, Richard Morris, Richard Bulgar, Philemon Pormont, Isaac Grosse, Christopher Marshall, George Bates, and Thomas and William Wardell, unto the church of Christ at the Falls of the Paschataqua, if they be rightly gathered and ordered".

Two months later, on March 3, 1639, the Boston Church dismissed to the same church, "also, Susanna Hutchinson, widow, Mary, the wife of John Wheelwright, Leonora, the wife of Richard Morris, Henry Elkins and his wife", but this time without condition, being apparently satisfied that the church of Exeter was now "rightly gathered and ordered".

A confirmatory deed was issued to Rev. Wheelwright on April 10, 1639 by the Squamscott Indians, and witnessed by John Underhill and Darby Field. In April/May 1, 1639, an indenture was signed between Capt. Thomas Wiggin, head of the Dover Patent, and the rulers of Exeter, Richard Morris, Nicholas Needham and Isaac Grosse. This was witnessed by John Wheelwright, Robert Smith and L. Morris. The new settlement now had complete assurance of its legal and ecclesiastical status.

Alice and William Wardwell's first son, **UZAL**, was born on April 7, 1639 in Exeter. The date appears as "7th day 2nd month, 1639" in the Vital Records of Boston. Even though Exeter was in the New Hampshire province, the Bay Colony apparently listed the births, marriages and deaths in their records.

In the early summer of 1639, Wheelwright drew up a form of civil government which was based on the "Mayflower Compact". After some modification, this document was signed on June/July 4, 1639 by Wheelwright and 34 other men, including Thomas and William Wardwell. William Wardwell and 13 other signers also added their "marke".* Of these signers, 19 were from Lincolnshire, 10 of the Bay Colony, and 6 of the Piscataqua.

*These markes were used particularly for livestock, which were pastured communally.

EXETER - December, 1639

Head of Household	Origin	1637	Comb
Barlow, George			S
Bates, George /w			
Blackwell, Jeremy	Lincoln*		
Bulgar, Richard /w	London	signed Pet;disarmed	S
Colcord, Edward		of Piscataqua '31	
Cole, William /w	Somerset		S
Compton, John /w		signed Pet;disarmed	
Copeland, Laurence			
Crame, John /w	Bilsby*		S
Crawley, Thomas		of Piscataqua	S
Dearborn, Godfrey /w	Hannay*		S
Elkins, Henry /w		signed Pet;disarmed	S
Field, Darby++	Boston*		S
Fish, Gabriel	Alford*		
Grosse, Isaac /w	Cornwall	signed Pet;disarmed	S
Hall, Ralph		of Piscataqua	S
Helme, Christopher+ /w	Sutton St. Mary*	arr July'37	S
Lawson, Christopher+ /w	[Alford]*	arr July'37	S
Leavitt, Thomas++	Alford*	arr July'37	S
Littlefield, Edmund /w	Hampshire	arr July'37	S
Littlefield, Francis	Hampshire		
Marshall, Christopher /w	Alford*	(father signed Pet)	
Matthews, Frances /w		of Piscataqua'31	S
Montague, Griffin			
Morris, Richard ++ /w	[Boston]*	signed Pet; disarmed	S
Mower,(Moore) William			
Needham, Nicholas /w			S
Pettit, Thomas /w	[Boston]*		S
Pormont, Philemon /w	Alford*		S
Rawbone, George /w	Huttoft*		S
Reade, Robert /w	Lincoln*		S
Rishworth, Edward++ /w	Laceby*	arr July'37	S
Roby, Henry	Leicestershire		S
Seward, Robert		[of Piscataqua]	S
Smart, John	Norfolk		
Smith, Robert			S
Stanyan, Anthony /w			
Storre, Augustine++ /w	Bilsby*	arr July'37	S
Walker, Samuel			S
Wall, James /w		of Piscataqua '34	
Walton, George		of Piscataqua c'35	
WARDWELL, THOMAS /w	Alford*	signed Pet; disarmed	S
WARDWELL, WILLIAM /w	Alford*	signed Pet; disarmed	S
Wenbourne, William /w			S
Wentworth, William	Alford*	arr July'37	S
Wheelwright, John++ /w	Bilsby*	banished	S
Wight, Thomas++	Alford*	arr July'37	S
Willix, Balthasar	Alford*	arr July'37	
Willson, Thomas /w	Bourne*		S

*Lincolnshire +Marbury-Wentworth related ++Hutchinson related

"It was nothing short of extraordinary firmness of character, the consciousness of right in their religious trials, and their confidence in their leader and pastor, that enabled the early settlers of the town to bear up under the difficulties and hardships of their position in that first year."

In December of 1639, divisions of the extensive marshlands and meadows of the Exeter tract were made. Almost 200 acres were divided among 34 Exeter men and also William Hilton, whose lands adjoined Exeter. "These allotments were granted to those involved in raising livestock or agriculture, or to those with large families needing planting ground more than their home-lot offerred; those men involved in a trade or profession in town, were not often included or given small portions of these allotments. Wheelwright, by his position, received the largest grant of 80 acres." Thomas Wardwell received 12 acres, 60 poles in the first division of the meadows and William Wardwell received 10 acres, 50 poles. In the 3rd division, William also received 120 poles of meadows "on this side of Mr. Hilton's" and 120 poles at Lamprey Rive, which has led to the speculation that William had livestock brought to Exeter and was involved in that pursuit.

Elizabeth and Thomas Wardwell's 3rd child, **Benjamin**, was born [late] in 1639 in Exeter, and baptized February 6, 1640. In the Boston Vital Records only the birth year "1639" is shown.

At the March 6, 1640 Town Meeting of Exeter, one of the new laws enacted was "that noe wines or Strong watter shal be Sould by retaile to the English but by thomas Wardle". It is assumed that Thomas not only maintained his cobler's shop within his home, but also an "ordinary". "This was, in a sense, an inn; a traveler could get a bed, a meal and food for his horse, if he had one. It offered the plainest of accommodation and the guest was expected to eat whatever he was offered, though it might be corn-meal mush, and often was. Small towns could not support an inn such as those found in large cities such as Boston, and in these villages, a householder was given tax concessions, or an actual subsidy, to maintain an ordinary. The ordinary with its bar, became the secular gathering place for the townfolks, and more often than not local issues were discussed and resolved here rather in the town meetings."

The original Combination proved to be unsatisfactory to some of the townsmen, because of its too lavish expressions of loyalty to the King, who was in their minds identified with prelacy. Therefore, the preamble to the Combination was re-written to simply acknowledge the King to be their sovereign, and themselves to be his subjects. This "Restored Combination" was signed on April 2, 1640, by the same men who had signed in the previous summer. The population of Exeter was now estimated to be around 200 or more persons, including men, women and children.

New Hampshire's population by 1640 barely exceeded 1,000 and was centered in the towns of Portsmouth, Dover, Exeter and Hampton. Each town, in reality, was an independent republic and there was no unity between these 4 settlements for mutual protection. In an effort to extend its domain, the Bay Colony offered this sort of protection and began negogiations to include all of New Hampshire under its jurisdiction. The Bay Colony authorities asserted that these settlements were in fact part of their original land grant, (when in reality the New Hampshire lands had been granted to Captain John Mason c1622); but since the Puritans now governed in England, the Bay authorities had no fear of the King's wrath in their enroachment of lands to the north.

That church membership was a prerequisite to the privilege of voting in civil affairs was a cardinal doctrine of the Bay Colony. This was now surrendered, and the citizens of the New Hampshire towns were allowed the elective franchise without reference to that qualification: a proof of the price which the Bay Puritans were ready to pay to enlarge their domain. By the end of 1640 both Portsmouth and Dover had acceded to the Bay.

By the spring of 1641 a "band of soldiers" was organized in Exeter. "Evidently, Thomas Wardwell was a man in whom his townsmen reposed confidence, for he was chosen Sergeant of the Train Band of Exeter." Mr. Richard Bulgar was appointed Lieutenant, and both positions were approved by Nicholas Needham, as "Ruler" succeeding Isaac Grosse.

There are two records of the 3rd child of Alice and William Wardwell: "Elihu, son of William Wardell, baptized December 5, 1641 at the First Church of Boston; and **Elihu**, son of William Wardell, born November, 1642".* It is probable that the first Elihu died, and within the year another son was born and named Elihu.

By June of 1641, the inhabitants of Exeter knew that their community would be taken over by the Bay Colony, whether they wished it or not. Wheelwright and others began a search for land in Maine where they could plant another colony. Wheelwright again called upon his brother-in-law, Samuel Hutchinson (who seemed to divide his time between Boston, Exeter and his brother's home in Rhode Island) and Mr. Nicholas Needham, and the three formally petitioned a grant of land from Thomas Gorges, Esquire, Deputy-Governor of the Province of Maine.

The second of the great earthquakes recorded in New England annals rumbled across the countryside in 1642. And it was in this year that Hampton conceded to the Bay Colony's terms. Exeter now stood alone unyielding.

*Boston Vital Records

In the summer of 1642, William Hutchinson died in Rhode Island, and his loss was mourned by his mother and sisters and his old Alford neighbors in Exeter. The death of his brother-in-law may have induced John Wheelwright to write a letter of reconciliation to John Winthrop in Boston. Another incentive for this letter may have been Wheelwright's impatience over the delay in the granting of the Maine lands and that he and Exeter might soon be a part of the Bay Colony.

"The letter was a thoroughly manly effort, and its terse, pointed admissions gave evidence that it was the fruit of 'an overruling conscience'. He expressed his deep contrition for the part he had taken in 'those sharp and vehement contentions', and intimated his more mature sense of the inandity of the points at issue. He confessed that, as he now saw it, he had then acted sinfully, and he humbly craved forgiveness."

"In reply a safe-conduct to Boston was sent to Wheelwright, dated September 27, 1642, and he was practically invited to go there and abase himself before the General Court. This Wheelwright declined to do, taking the ground that, however willing he might be to confess himself wrong in respect to 'justification and the evidencing thereof', yet he could not with a good conscience condemn himself for such 'capital crimes, dangerous revelations and gross errors' as were charged upon him and had caused his sufferings."

By early 1643, Exeter knew that it could no longer hold out against the Bay Colony and that Wheelwright and some of his friends would soon depart. The town invited the Rev. Thomas Rashleigh of Gloucester in the Bay Colony to be their new minister. He accepted the calling, though he remained less than a year.

On April 7, 1643, the Maine lands were formally granted to Rev. John Wheelwright and his associates. An early text states that "a large part of Exeter's inhabitants felt that they had been treated with harshness and injustice by the Bay authorities, and some of them utterly refused to submit again to her dominion, and quit the place to avoid it." Many other texts relate that "Wheelwright with his warmest supporters fled to Maine". In actual fact, only 9 known families of Exeter followed Wheelwright to Maine and the move was well-planned and executed over a two year period.

For the Wardwell brothers it was a distressing time, for Thomas determined to remain in Exeter and William elected to follow Wheelwright to Maine. For the first time in their lives the brothers went separate ways.

Exeter's population had enlarged and changed in nature since its beginnings in 1638. Of the approximately 49 "first settlers", by April of 1643,

26 remained in Exeter (10 of Lincolnshire)
9 removed to Wells (6 of Lincolnshire)
5 were of the adjacent areas
3 returned to Boston
2 went to Rhode Island
4 whereabouts unknown

In April of 1643, the male citizens of Exeter, along with some Hampton citizens whose property was closer to Exeter's than Hampton's, drew up a petition for inclusion in the Bay Colony. In "the Massachusetts' Way", the first signer was the minister, Rev. Thomas Rashleigh; then followed (in order of prominence) Lt. Richard Bulgar, Mr. William Wenborne, Sgt. Thomas Wardwell and so forth for a total of 17 signers in all. Of the 13 Exeter men subscribing (excluding the minister) all were "first settlers" and 11 had signed the Combination. The 3 Hampton men were "first settlers" of that area.

It is probable that as many as 13 of the signers took the Petition to Boston for the opening May session of the General Court. Thomas Wardwell and Christopher Lawson were among the group. While in Boston, Lawson's son was baptized at the First Church on May 4. On May 16, 1643, Elizabeth and Thomas Wardwell's last-born child, **Samuel**, was baptized at the First Church of Boston.

The General Court curtly rejected the Exeter Petition stating: "as Exeter fell within the Massachusetts patent, they took ill that the petitioners should capitulate with them". Since the question of suffrage without church membership had been resolved earlier, the petition must have demanded certain conditions as to land boundaries.

The word of the rejection was quickly relayed to Exeter. The remaining male populace wrote a second petition, dated May 12th, which was subscribed to by 18 men in addition to 4 who had signed the 1st Petition. The 2nd Petition, concerned wholly with land boundaries, was couched with many "humbly begs" and this tone presumably made it more acceptable to the General Court.

The population of Exeter at this time was estimated at about 43 "heads of household". Bell, in his "History of Exeter", contends that the difference in signatories of the 2 petitions reflects a great difference of opinion in Exeter, inferring that the 1st petition involved religious matters related to "The Controversy" of 1637. It probably did not occur to this author that the leading citizens of Exeter/Hampton would be in Boston at the time of the writing of the 2nd petition, and that the involvement of both Exeter and Hampton men would almost certainly determine that land boundary, not religion, was the subject of both petitions.

Though Exeter was involved with the petitions to the Bay Colony, other town matters confronted the populace. "The grain crop of the season of 1642 was a very scanty one, for some unknown reason, and in the spring of 1643, the poorer class of inhabitants began to suffer from scarcity of food. In May 1643 the town appointed a committee of discreet and judicious citizens, and authorized them to search the houses, and take therefrom any corn not needed by the owners, and dispose of same to such poor people as stood most in need of it, for such pay as they could make; the owners, however, to be compensated at market rates. An arbitrary measure, but one entirely justifiable under the peculiar circumstances." Thomas Wardwell along with William Wenborne, Samuel Walker and Robert Reade were appointed the committee to collect the excess corn.

The summer of 1643 was an anxious and sad time in Exeter. The friends of Anne Marbury-Hutchinson learned of her death on Long Island, where Anne, many of her children, grandchildren and servants..17 in all..were slain by Indians. The departure of the 9 Exeter families for Maine was another great sorrow.

At the September 5, 1643 Exeter Court session, William Cole, Thomas Wight and Thomas Wardwell were ordered to pay Samuel Walker, Henry Roby and Thomas Pettit "a peck of Corne for harme dune unto them by swine".

The Bay Colony formally received Exeter within the Massachusetts government on September 7, 1643 and assigned it, as well as the town of Hampton, to the newly formed county of Norfolk. Thomas Wardwell, Robert Smith and William Wenborne were appointed as magistrates to decide small causes; and Wenborne was appointed clerk of the writs (town clerk).

On the 19th day of the 3rd month (May), 1644, Exeter records show the following: "Samuell Grenfel Chosen to kepe a sufishent ordenarey and draw wine and strong waters and trad with the Indans, and Sargant Wardall hath libarties to draw of his wine that is in his hands or Samuel grenfeld to take his wine off his hands". It would appear that Thomas Wardwell had given up his ordinary, perhaps due to the more pressing duties of town government. However, though removed some distance from Boston, the eyes of the Bay Colony were never off Exeter, for the General Court "denied Samuel Grenfeld to draw wine until they had more full and satifactory information of him".

At this same May Town Meeting, it was "agreed that the trained bands minds should be knowne and if they would [undecipherable word] hands to be pocured to the Genrall Court for the Restablishing Leftenant Richard Bullgar in his formar ofis and Sargant Wardall pocure the like libarties and both to be sent to the Court". But once again the General Court at Boston stepped in and "thought it not meet that he should be their lieutenant until further information be given to this Court of said Bullgar; in the meantime he had libartie to exercise the trainband as their sergeant".

These two May records of 1644 of Exeter are most important, for previous to this time, all source books state that Thomas Wardwell left Exeter at the end of 1643, and thereafter the family's whereabouts were unknown until Thomas' death was recorded in 1646. If Thomas did leave Exeter, it was after May of 1644. The most logical place of his removal was to Hampton, where Wheelwright became minister in 1647, and Thomas' eldest son was living in 1654.

The two Wardwell families were reunited in Boston in December of 1646. William brought his family from Wells to Boston for the christening of his new infant daughter, Leah. She was baptized December 6, 1646 at the First Church of Boston.

Four days after this event, Thomas Wardwell died at the age of 43 on December 10, 1646, and it is so recorded in the Boston Vital Records: "1646 - Thomas Werdall died 10th December".

Elizabeth Woodruff-Wardwell, in her 30's and with 4 children ranging in age from 3 to 12, probably remarried shortly after her husband's death, as was the custom and need. After 1646, no record of Elizabeth nor of her daughter, Martha, has yet been found. The record of "Ancient Widow Wardell dying in Boston" is that of William Wardwell's second wife, Elizabeth Perry-Gillett-Wardwell.

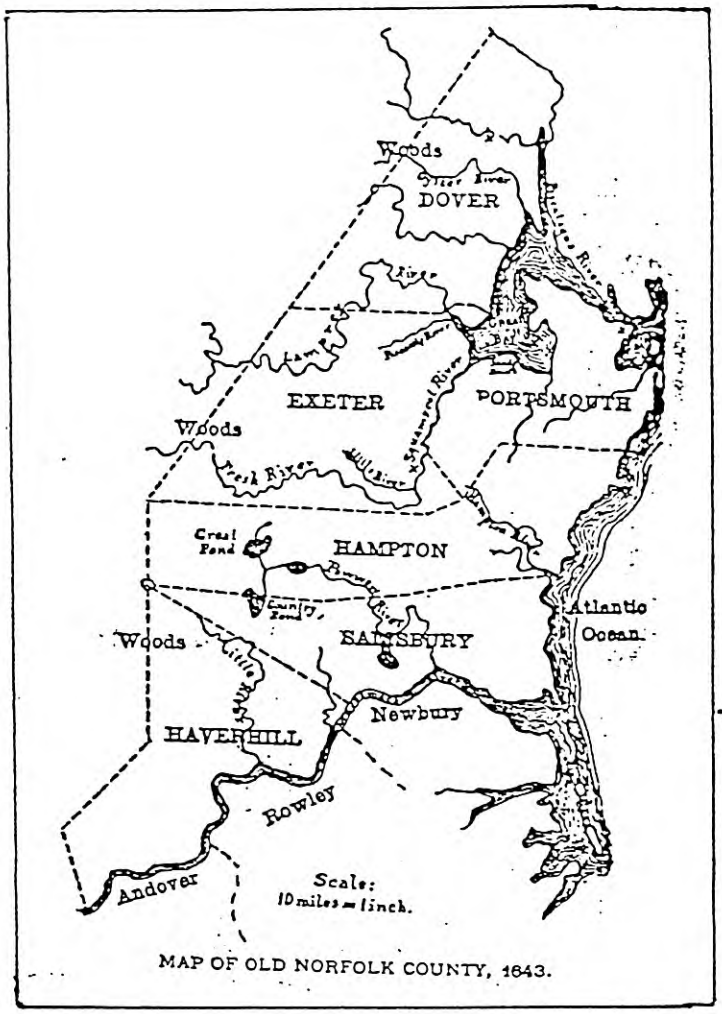
There is no question that Thomas Wardwell, the American progenitor, was a loyal friend, a free thinker, an innovator and a man of high principle. These characteristics he passed on to his children and to his descendants.

Of his three American-born sons:

Eliakim, of Hampton, became a Quaker, was persecuted and removed to East Jersey

Benjamin, of Boston and York, served in King Philip's War, but little is known of his life

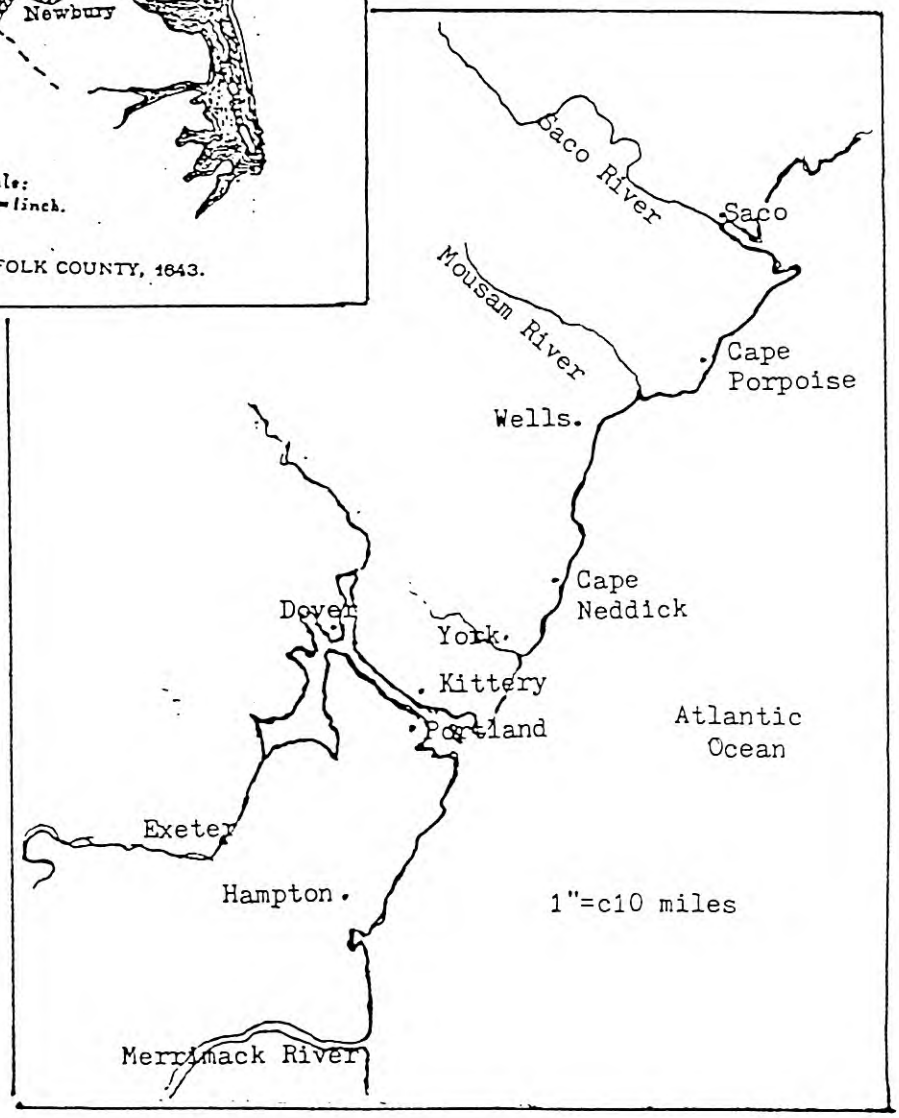
Samuel, of Andover, was erroneously hung as a witch at Salem in the year 1692



MAP OF OLD NORFOLK COUNTY, 1643.

NORTHERN NEW ENGLAND

c1643



WELLS - 1643

In the summer of 1643 **WILLIAM WARDWELL** left Exeter, New Hampshire, with his wife **ALICE** and their 3 young children. Together with other families of Exeter who were unwilling to submit to the government of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, the Wardwell Family removed to the Province of Maine. Here William would establish his 4th home in the New World since leaving England in 1633.

The other new Maine planters, all original settlers of Exeter in 1638, (six of whom were originally from the Alford parish of Lincolnshire), included:

Annis and Edmund LITTLEFIELD with 7 children
Francis Littlefield, Sr. and wife
Anne and Nicholas NEEDHAM
Susanna and George RAWBONE
Edward RISHWORTH
Susanna (Hutchinson) and Augustine STORRE
William WENTWORTH with wife and 1 or 2 children
Mary (Hutchinson) and John WHEELWRIGHT with their large family including her mother the Widow Susanna Hutchinson

The group departed Exeter by boats, sailing the 25 miles of the Piscataqua River to Strawberry Banke (now Portsmouth), and then northward along the Atlantic coast to the harbor of their new settlement. These boats were the forerunner of the Piscataqua "gundalow", "a broad, flatbottomed, square-ended vessel with a square sail of the type referred to today as a scow or barge. For more than 200 years, from colonial times through the 19th century, gundalows formed an indispensable link in a transportation network, embracing over a thousand square miles of inland waters, from the river ports to Portsmouth on the seacoast. A gundalow could traverse the 25 miles from Exeter to Portsmouth in a little over two hours. Without the Piscataqua gundalow, the development and growth of the entire basin would have been severely hampered."

Three other families from the Bay Colony joined the Exeter people: John CROSS and John SANDERS, both original settlers of Hampton; and Ezekiel KNIGHT, a widower of Braintree (formerly Mount Wollaston).

The Maine site chosen by Rev. John Wheelwright and his followers was an extensive tract of land along the Atlantic Coast between Cape Neddick and Cape Porpoise where the settlements of Agamenticus and Saco had been established c1625 as commercial ventures for the English proprietors, Capt. John Mason and Sir Ferdinando Gorges. In 1629, the two had divided their vast holdings (running from the Merrimack River northward to the St. Lawrence and Kennebec Rivers). Gorges, calling his portion "New Somersetshire"(now Maine), concentrated his colonization efforts

around Agamenticus. In 1639, Gorges was made Lord Proprietor (Governor General) of the Province of Maine.* Agamenticus, renamed "Gorgeana", was chartered as the 1st City in 1640/41.

The purchase of the land had been initiated in 1641 by Wheelwright, his brother-in-law, Mr. Samuel Hutchinson of Boston, and his old friend, Mr. Nicholas Needham (the same trio purchasing the Exeter lands in 1638) with Thomas Gorges, Deputy-Governor of the Province of Maine and a cousin of Sir Ferdinando. After two years of negogiations, the plantation, encompassing the land between the Ogunquit and Kennebunk Rivers, was granted on April 17, 1643 by Thomas Gorges.

Already in the area of the new plantation were:
John WADLEY (Wadleigh) of Saco who had been given permission in 1639 to select a homestead anywhere along the borders of the Neapskessett River by Richard Vines, then Deputy Governor. The first permanent settler on the western bank of this river was Henry BOADE, who had come with Wadley from Saco; Boade settled at the mouth of the river. John Sanders bought land between the Neapskessett and Mousam Rivers in 1643.

William COLE, Sr.** of Cape Porpoise, who was granted lands on Drake Island (actually a peninsula bounded by the sea and the Webhannet River) late in 1642. John Cross settled on or near Drake Island.

In July of 1643, a permit to allot homesteads at "Preston", as the new plantation was first called, was granted to Rev. Wheelwright, Mr. Edward Rishworth and Mr. Henry Boade. Though one of the early volumes of the town records was destroyed by fire in 1657, it is known that home lots, laid out parallel to the coastline, from the Webhannet River northward, were alloted in order to:

Edmund Littlefield, Francis Littlefield Sr. } lands on both sides of the Webhannet
Ezekiel Knight
George Rawbone***
Edward Rishworth
William Wentworth
WILLIAM WARDWELL
 - a tract for municipal purposes
John Wadley
John Gouch (of Gorgeana)

*Though the earliest and most active in the promotion of the settlement of northernmost America, neither Capt. Mason nor Sir Ferdinando Gorges ever saw their New England.

**not the same William Cole of Exeter, later of Hampton

***in Maine records his name is found as "Habone" or "Haborne"

For his family farm, Wheelwright chose land on the Ogunquit iver (whose eastern bank served as the boundary between Gorgeana and Preston), about 5 miles below the Webhannet River, at a site known as Ogunquit Neck. It is probable that Susanna (Hutchinson) and Augustine Storre and Anne and Nicholas Needham also resided on the Wheelwright farm. Within a few years, young John Barrett of Gorgeana would also live here.

At nearby Cape Porpoise, Catharine (Marbury) and Richard Scott purchased land in 1643. Whether this move from Providence was instigated before or after the tragic death of Catharine's sister, Anne (Marbury) Hutchinson is unknown. About year later they returned to Rhode Island.

The Littlefields, Wheelwright, Wentworth and others also purchassed large grants individually from Gorges, thus acquiring vast land holdings almost immediately.* In 1645, Edmund Littlefield and John Wadley acquired a land grant of 200 acres on the western bank of the Ogunquit for the construction of a sawmill. In the same year, Stephen BATSON of Cape Porpoise was granted 10 acres of marshland on the western-most end of Drake's Island, where he build a permanent house.

Within a few years, the new settlement became known as Wells, a name probably selected by Sir Ferdinando Gorges whose estates in England were near the important Cathedral town of Wells. It was the only Puritan settlement in Maine, though its enets differred from those of Boston. "The province of Maine had no connection with Massachusetts, and there was no law in force setting forth rules for the organization of religious societies, or provision for the gathering and establishing of churches. Sir Fernando Gorges was of the Anglican Church, but he made no requisite on the planters as to their religious faith." The Province of Maine was strictly a commercial venture, seeking fish, fur and ship-timber.

In the year following their settlement in Wells, Alice and William Wardwell's second daughter, **MARY**, was born. She was baptized the "14th day of the 2nd month (April), when she was about 9 days old, by the Rev. John Cotton at the First Church of Boston".** Since the Wells Church had not been gathered in "the Massachusetts Way", Alice and William apparently felt that their child had to be baptized in a sanctioned church, regardless of the disagreement they may have had with the elders of the Boston Church.

*In Massachusetts, the General Court gave free land (typically about 36 square miles) to a group of proprietors, who, in turn, divided the land amongst themselves and the inhabitants. While this free communal land policy attracted thousands of colonists, it proved unwieldy due to the ever increasing population and was discontinued in 1685.

**Boston Vital Records

In Wells, the Rev. John Wheelwright continued his correspondence with Winthrop and others of Boston. As a result, the General Court in May of 1644 placed upon its records a vote remitting Wheelwright's sentence of banishment "upon particular, solemn and serious acknowledgement, and confession by letter, of his evil carriages and of the Courts justice upon him for them". Wheelwright had made no such confession of guilt and of the justice of his evil sentence. "He could not, nor would he, avail himself of this pardon, the acceptance of which would have bound him to so humiliating a confession."

Not long after the settlement of Wells, the Widow Susanna Hutchinson, approaching her 80's, died, unaware of the impact her sons and daughters with their mates had made in the history of the new country.

Around 1646, Susanna Wheelwright, Rev. John's eldest daughter by his first marriage to Mary Storre, married her stepmother's cousin, Edward Rishworth, son of Esther (Hutchinson) and Rev. Thomas Rishworth of Laceby, Lincolnshire. Philemon Pormont, orginally of Alford, was probably among the wedding guests. (After the death of his wife in Exeter late in 1642, he had returned to Boston before coming to Wells c1646.)

Late in 1646 the William Wardwell Family journeyed by boat to Boston where they were reunited with the Thomas Wardwell Family. On the "6th day of the 10th month (December) at the First Church"* **LEAH**, Alice and William's third daughter, was baptized. The occassion turned into sorrow, as four days later, on December 10, 1646, Thomas Wardwell died at the age of 43.*

Since the remittance of Wheelwright's banishment in 1644, both the towns of Exeter and Hampton had entreated him to return as its minister. In 1647, Mary and John Wheelwright and their young children left Wells for Hampton, where Wheelwright served as minister for 8 years. It is believed that the Nicholas Needhams and the Augustine Storres also removed to Hampton at this time. After selling his house to John Barrett (who then married Mary Littlefield, Edmund's daughter), Edward Rishworth and his bride (Susanna Wheelwright) also removed to Hampton.

Thomas Wheelwright, age 23, remained in the Wells area for the rest of his life, inheriting his father's large land holdings. Around 1655, the John Wheelwrights returned to England, where they had extensive property and where his eldest son lived. They returned to New England c1662 and Wheelwright became minister at Salisbury where he served for the rest of his life. He was the oldest living minister in Massachusetts, aged above 80, at the time of his death in 1679. "Upright, ernest and efficient for good, John Wheelwright rendered invaluable service in the laying of the foundations of 3 states" and in promulgating freedom of religion in the New World.

*Boston Vital Records

William Wardwell was granted the license to operate an "ordinary" in Wells in 1649, such as his brother Thomas had done in Exeter 10 years earlier. William was a "licensed retailer" in Wells from 1649 until March of 1656/57.

William Wardwell and Philemon Pormont, both of Wells, were mentioned in the will of Isaac Grosse of Boston, dated June 5, 1659. (Grosse had been the first "ruler" of Exeter in 1639.)

No new settlement was without disagreements over land boundaries. The Vines land grant of 1639 to John Wadley conflicted with the Gorges grant of 1643 to Wheelwright. Wadley claimed the whole area, and on October 18, 1649 he securred a deed of the entire town of Wells, "then styled Preston", from Chabinock, an Indian proprietor, extending from the Ogunquit River to the Kennebunk River. William Wardwell was one of the witnesses to this deed.

By the end of 1650, the last remaining Alford friends of William Wardwell had left Wells. William Wentworth, after selling some of his property to William Cole, removed his large family to Dover; here his dynasty produced generations of civic and political leaders of importance in New England history. George Rawbone sold his property to John Littlefield and removed to Hampton. Philemon Pormont left late in 1650.

Alice and William may have had other children between 1646 and 1650 who died in infancy. Their last recorded living child was **RACHAEL**, born in the early 1650s (based on the fact that she was unmarried at the time of her father's death).

After the New Hampshire settlements had come under the Bay Colony's jurisdiction in 1643, the Bay authorities had turned their sights further northward to Maine. Here they met far greater resistance than previously experienced, due primarily to the fuedal system established by Sir Ferdinando Gorges and to the character of the settlers who had no interest in the religious doctrines of the Bay Colony. Disregarding a petition sent by the Maine settlers to Parliament in 1650, the Bay authorities relentlessly pursued their goal. Once again, a compromised was reached whereby the right of suffrage without church membership was granted begrudgingly by the Bay to all males 16 years and older if they would submit. In November of 1652, both Kittery and Gorgeana acceded to the Bay Colony.

Commissioners were sent to Maine by Boston's General Court to organize their new province. Gorgeana's name was changed to "York", and as such was the first city incorporated in Maine.* City officials were appointed, and secondary courts established. Those taking the Oath of Submission at York in November of 1652 included Mr. Thomas Wheelwright and Mr. John Gouch (presumably because their properties lay closer to York than to Wells) and Mr. Edward Rishworth.**

The commissioners wrote a letter to Wells advising the citizenry of their arrival in that town for the purpose of oath signing. (It was later alleged by those of Wells that this letter was never received.) When the commissioners arrived they met with strong opposition..."so strong, no business was accomplished and the disgruntled commissioners returned to Boston."

In July of 1653, the commissioners re-appeared in Wells, and summoned all the male inhabitants to attend a meeting at the home of Joseph Emerson (a recent arrival in Wells, said to be very "pro-Bay", and later serving as minister for a time at Wells). "So reluctant were the inhabitants to be under the yoke of the Bay Colony, that while all the citizens gathered outside, not many went inside." Only six men presented themselves and were administered the Oath of Freemen after they had signed the submission paper: John Barrett,Sr; Joseph Bolles; Joseph Emerson; John Gouch, Jr; Ezekiel Knight; and Jonathan Thynge.

"When William Wardwell was called to come in and answer his name, he refused and contemptously turned his back on the court." This turned the whole proceedings into an uproar, and the commissioners ordered him to be arrested. The commissioners adjourned to the home of Ezekiel Knight where they sat as a court. "The constable brought William before them to answer for his contempt".

"He was inquired of why he did not come in when notified to do so. His answer was that he did not refuse to do so from any disrespect toward the court, but because he wanted to get the rest of the inhabitants to come in with him." Of course all of the inhabitants had followed the commissioners and William to Knight's home, and, "they promising that he should give his attendance the next day, the court adjourned to the 5th at eight o'clock".

*After the British had taken over the New Netherland Colony in 1664, it became known as "old York" to differentiate it from "New York" (formerly New Amsterdam).

**Susanna (Wheelwright) and Edward Rishworth had returned to York in 1650. He became one of the most prominent men in the early history of Maine.

On July 5, 1653, William Wardwell and the remaining men of wells (approximately 20) signed the Oath of Submission to the Massachusetts Bay Colony and then were administered the Oath of Freemen. On this date Wells formally became a town. Its popula- was small, estimated at less than 200 including men, women and children.

It is presumed that the words and actions of William Ward- well were written by the court clerk of the day and recorded in the Boston archives. Here it was picked up by later historians for all source books include in William's biography "when he was called to come in he refused and contemptously turned his back on the court". Taken out of context, it becomes a very derogatory statement. Approximately 21 men signed the Oath on July 5th. Of the 11 original settlers (or their descendants) remaining in Wells at this time, 9 signed on the 5th. William Wardwell's behavior and beliefs represented the majority's opinion.

Nor was the resistance isolated at Wells. Most of the men of Saco, including George Barlow (formerly of Exeter), signed on July 5th, but 11 men refused to do so. At Cape Porpoise (later Kennebunkport) those signing on the 5th included Giffin Montague (formerly of Exeter) and Stephen Batson (formerly of Wells); but here 4 men totally refused to sign. Scarborough and Falmouth did not capitulate until 1658.

For many years prior to its take-over, the Bay authorities had sent missionaries to Maine in an effort "to christenize the heathens" (the Anglican settlers) of Maine. After the subjaga- tion of nearly all of Maine, "the General Court at Boston under- took to legislate very freely in regard to the religious belief and action of the people. It attempted to control the religious views of the settlers by severe enactments against freedom of opinion, and to declare the Covenant of Works the only accepted theory of worship to be tolerated. Not to conform to the authority of this credo, or to the authority of the magistrates would be considered heresy." This legislation was aimed not only at the new citizens of Maine but also at the Quakers, who were increasing in large numbers in Massachusetts.

William Wardwell must have despaired, for 15 years later it was "The Controversy" all over again. "A great many of the citizens of Wells were inflamed", and there are many records of leading citizens, both men and women, being hauled before the Court for infractions of the laws. It is recorded that Alice Wardwell was one of those so appearing before the magistrates for "absenting herself from the Sabbath worship". William was recorded as saying in reply to the inquiry whether he would give anything to the college (Harvard), "that it was no ordinance of God, and that it was contrary to his judgment".

Some time between 1654 and before 1657, Alice Wardwell died. No gravesite has been found and it is presumed that she was interred in a private cemetery in Wells.

Around 1656, William's eldest daughter, Meribah, married Francis Littlefield, Jr., son of Annis and Edmund Littlefield. "Junior" or "the younger" was always used with his name to differentiate him from his eldest brother.

While still living in England, the Littlefield's first-born son, Francis, had left home and thereafter the family had no word of him. In 1636 they had another son, and presuming their first-born son was dead, named the new infant "Francis". Edmund Littlefield, with his 16-year-old son Anthony, were among those arriving in Boston in July of 1637. Disallowed to stay, they followed Wheelwright to Exeter. In the summer of 1638, the "Bevis" arrived from England bearing Edmund's wife Annis (Agnes) and their 6 children including Francis now age 2. One can imagine the Littlefield's surprize, when in 1639, their eldest son Francis appeared in Exeter, alive and well.

"Despite his dislike of Massachusetts" (government), William Wardwell retuned to Boston permanently in 1657. He sold his Wells homestead to John Cross, Sr. It is possible that his two sons, Uzal (18) and Elihu (15), remained in Wells under the protection of their brother-in-law Littlefield. With his 3 motherless daughters, Mary (13), Leah (11), and young Rachael, William made the sea journey to Boston.

On December 5, 1657+ in Boston, William took as his second wife, the twice-widowed Elizabeth-Perry Gillett, born c1617. "She kept the old Hollis Inn". By her first husband, Arthur Perry, whom she married c1637, she had had at least 7 children.* After Perry's death in 1652, she married on December 22, 1953,+ John Gillett (Jellett), by whom she had a daughter, Hannah, born October 12, 1654.+ Elizabeth and William had entered into a pre-nuptial agreement stipulating that William would bring up her daughter Hannah in consideration of living in the widow's home.**

William and Elizabeth had a daughter, Abigail, born April 24, 1660 in Boston, but the infant died in the following year on August 23.+

*Elishua (1637;d.y.); Seth (1639); John (1642); Sarah (1644); Elizabeth (1647); Deborah (1649); and Arthur (1651)

**Gen. Reg. XII, page 275

+Boston Vital Records

William was a "licensed retailer" in Boston. While the "ordinaries" were highly regulated, it was still a profitable and acceptable business. The taverns were permitted to sell beer and cider and a few varieties of light wine; but they were forbidden to sell sack, a strong and heady drink. Owners of an inn were allowed to sell only 1 quart of beer to each customer between meals, but as much as the customer wanted at meals, be it morning, noon or night. Anyone passing more than an hour drinking in a public house during working hours was fined, as the law against idleness was severe. Taverns had to close at the curfew hour each night and also on the Sabbath and Thursday meeting days. But since almost none of the early colonists, from infants to the aged, drank water, the 'houses of public entertainment' were very lucrative investments."

The Puritans' persecution of the Quakers continued in the 1660s, and William's nephew Eliakim and his wife, Lydia Perkins, were among those singled out in Hampton in 1662. In the following year, she was publicly whipped at Ipswich. In 1664, Eliakim Wardell removed his family to the newly opened lands in East Jersey, and there founded the WARDELL branch of the family, (the second "w" was never added to the surnname).

During the decade of the 1660s, William was present at the weddings of four of his children: at Ipswich, Uzal married in 1664, Mary (Kinsman) Ringe, daughter of Robert, widow of Daniel; and Elihu married in 1665, Elizabeth Wade, daughter of Colonel Jonathan Wade; Mary married Nathaniel Rust of Ipswich, son of Henry Rust, and Leah married William Tower of Boston.

William was re-admitted to the First Church of Boston on April 7, 1667, thirty years after "The Controversy". In late April of 1670, at the age of 64, William Wardwell died in Boston.

"William's will, witnessed on April 18,1670, gave "one-halfe of my now Dwelling house in Boston" and all "movables" within, "unto my Deare wife Elizabeth Wardell"; of the "movables" (household goods) value, £ 21 to Hannah Gillett, "my wive's Daughter", when 18 or married, £ 20 to Deborah Perry (Elizabeth's daughter), and £ 25 to his own daughter Rachael; 10 shillings in silver to his daughters Leah Tower, Meribah Littlefield and Mary Rust; £ 40 in silver or equivalent to son Elihu after Elizabeth's death; and "unto my eldest sonn Uzall Wardell the other halfe of my now Dwelling house together with one halfe of the outhouse, halfe the Garden and the use of the yeardes well and oven in common betweene my loving wife and my sayde Sonn" and all the rest "of my Estate realle and personall". Uzal was named sole Executor. The will was deposed in Court April 30, 1670, and entered and recorded in "ye 35th and 36th Page of the Booke of Records, June 4, 1670.*

*"Records of the Rust Family" et al

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The thrice-widowed Elizabeth was licensed alone till 1691 to maintain "a house of publique Entertainment to retaile Beere, Cider and wine". Among the licenses renewed at the General Court in Boston were those for the years 1672, 1673 ("she and her son Seth Perry not to sell Sider for more than 2 pence a quart"), 1677 and 1678. The license of 1691 included her daughter, Deborah Perry-Mann, as the thrice-widowed Elizabeth had died.

"Widdow Wardel" was of the membership list of the First Church of Boston of January 9, 1678. "Mis. Wardell, an antiant widow dyed February 22", 1687 in Boston.*

Of William Wardwell's two American-born sons:

In adult life, Uzal and Elihu lived in Ipswich, and both served in King Philip's War (1675-76). Shortly after the War, Uzal removed to Salem, and then in 1684, took his large family to Rhode Island where he died in 1732. Elihu continued to live, and to die, in Ipswich.

*Boston Vital Records

WILLIAM WARDWELL — b. 1606, Parish of Alford, Lincolnshire, England
bp. January 4, 1607, Alford, Lincolnshire, son of John
d. April, 1670, Boston, Massachusetts Colony
(will: April 18, 1670; deposed April 30, 1670)

m. (1) [September], 1636, Boston

ALICE [PYCE]* — b. 16 , [Alford], Lincolnshire
d. by 1656, Wells, Massachusetts Bay Colony (now Maine)

m. (2) December 5, 1657, Boston°

Elizabeth ([Crow/Crowell]) Perry Gillette — b. c1618, England; widow of (1) Arthur Perry and (2) John Gillette
d. February 22, 1686/87, Boston, Massachusetts Colony

Children:

Meribah — b. May 14, 1637, Mount Wollaston, Mass. Bay Colony
bp. June 25, 1637, First Church of Boston
d. after 1710, Wells, Mass. Colony (now Maine)
m. c1656, Wells, Francis Littlefield, Jr. (bp. March 24, 1635/36, Tichfield, Hampshire, England, son of Annis (Austin) and Edmund Littlefield; d. February 6, 1674/75. Wells)

Uzal — b. 1639, Exeter, Province of New Hampshire
bp. April 7, 1639, Exeter
d. October 25, 1732, Mt. Hope (near Bristol, Mass. Col., now R.I.)
m. (1) May 3, 1664, Ipswich, Mass. Col., Mary (Kinsman) Ringe, daughter of Robert Kinsman I, and widow of Daniel Ringe I; she died September, 1677, Ipswich/Salem, after childbirth
(2) 1677-78, Ipswich/Salem, Grace (?), who d. May 9, 1741, Mount Hope

Elihu — b. 1641, Exeter, Province of New Hampshire
d. between 1700 and 1708, Ipswich, Mass. Colony
m. May 26, 1665, Ipswich, Elizabeth Wade, daughter of Colonel Jonathan Wade and his first wife

Mary — bp. April 14, 1644, 1st Church of Boston, "when about 9 days old"
d. January 16, 1720, Ipswich+, Mass. Colony
m. c1663, Ipswich, Nathaniel Rust, bp. February 2, 1639/40, Hingham, son of [Hannah] and Henry Rust; he d. December 23, 1713, Ipswich+

Leah — b. November, 1646, Wells, Province of Maine
bp. December 6, 1646, 1st Church of Boston
d.
m. c1666, Boston, William Tower², [possible son of John Tower of Hingham, Mass. Colony]; he was a butcher by trade of Boston

(continued next page)

*She may have arrived with the Rev. John Wheelwright party in May of 1636. She was admitted to the 1st Church of Boston on September 4, 1636, listed as a servant of Mrs. Edmund Quincy. Alice was the probable sister of John Pyce (Pise), who married in 1634 at Alford, Mary Wardwell, sister of William (above).

°Boston Vital Records

+Rust Genealogy

Children: (continued)

by (1)	Rachel	b. 1648-1654, Wells, Mass. Colony (now Maine) d. after April 18, 1670 (date of her father's will when she was unmarried).
by (2)	Abigail	b. April 24, 1660, Boston, Mass. Colony d. August 23, 1661, Boston, 1 year 4 months

Step-Children:

Seth Perry*	b. March 7, 1639, Boston, Mass. Bay Colony d. after 1677, [Boston] m. (1) Mehitable Eliot, daughter of Jacob Eliot I, and niece of the Rev. John Eliot of Roxbury (2) by 1665, Dorothy Powell, daughter of Abigail Bedle and Mr. Michael Powell
John Perry	b. 1642
Sarah Perry	b. 1644
Elizabeth Perry	b. 1649 d. after 1691, [Boston] m. (?) Mann
Arthur Perry II	b. 1651
Hannah Gillette	b. 1654 d. after 1670

*Seth Perry was a personal friend of and corresponded with Roger Williams. During King Philip's War (1675-76), Perry and William Tower (husband of Leah Wardwell) were couriers for the Massachusetts government.

The CHILDREN of ALICE and WILLIAM WARDWELL

MERIBAH WARDWELL (LITTLEFIELD)

Born May 14, 1637 in Boston, Massachusetts Bay Colony. She was baptized the "25th day of the 4th month" (June), 1637, as was Marie, daughter of the Rev. John Wheelwright.

Around 1656 in Wells, (Maine), Meribah married Francis Littlefield, Jr., born March 24, 1635/36 in Tichfield, Hampshire, England, son of Annis and Edmund Littlefield. Francis died February 6, 1674/75 in Wells, leaving his wife with 9 children. Meribah died after 1710 in Wells, Maine.

UZAL WARDWELL

Born 1639 in Exeter, Province of New Hampshire, and baptized April 7, 1639.

Uzal, a "housewright", may have settled in Ipswich, Massachusetts Colony, as early as 1661. Here he obtained the "Emerson House" with 6 acres of land owned by Daniel Ringe (1), who died in February 1661/62. Uzal married Ringe's widow Mary, on May 3, 1664 in Ipswich.

During King Philip's War, Uzal served under Capt. Nicholas Paige, Major Thomas Savage's command*, in the Narragansett Campaign (December, 1675). He was also credited June 24, 1676 for service under Capt. Jonathan Poole, for Major Appleton, Commander of the Army of the West.

In 1673 Uzal sold his one-half share of his father's Boston house. After the birth of twin daughters in September of 1677 in Ipswich, Mary Ringe-Wardwell died. Uzal sold his Ipswich house and lands to William Howard and removed to Salem, where he had purchased a section of the Old Giles Farm. Around this time, he married Grace ??, who bore him 8 children. In 1681, Uzal was elected a Constable of Salem.

For unknown reasons, Uzal removed his family permanently to Rhode Island in 1684. They settled on Mount Hope lands on a peninsula near the Rhode Island Colony (ie. Bristol) but his lands at that time were not a part of the Colony.+ Here Uzal died October 25, 1732, at the age of 93. His will of record at Bristol, dated 1732, mentions his wife Grace, and his 6 married daughters and 3 sons.

Uzal was the Progenitor of the Rhode Island Wardwells and of two branches of the Connecticut Wardwells. "It was Uzal who put a finish to the spelling vagaries which had marked for so many years the family. Irritated, conceivably by the abuse of his own first name, he let it be known that the name of the English hamlet 'Well' from which his father William had come to America should be imperishably preserved in the name of the family and spelled 'Wardwell'."**

*Savage was a son-in-law of Anne (Marbury) and William Hutchinson

**"The Story of Connecticut", Vol. IV, 1939

+Mount Hope lands had been granted to the Plymouth Colony by Royal Letter, 1679/80; the Plymouth Colony was absorbed by the Massachusetts Colony in 1691.

ELIHU WARDWELL

Born in November, 1642 at Exeter, Province of New Hampshire, and named for a son who had been baptized Elihu on December 5, 1641 at the First Church of Boston, but who had died shortly thereafter. Elihu died between 1700 and 1708 in Ipswich, Massachusetts Colony.

Though Elihu was a witness inWells, Maine, in 1662, he resided all of his adult life in Ipswich. Here on May 26, 1665, he married Elizabeth Wade, daughter of Colonel Jonathan Wade, one of the wealthiest men in Ipswich.

During King Philip's War, Elihu served under Capt. Nicholas Manning of Ipswich, the unit marching out to Narragansett to recruit the Army after "The Great Swamp Fight" of December 19, 1665.

Elihu, a carpenter by profession, rose to prominence in Ipswich. When the new Meeting House was built in 1699, "the committee chosen to appoint the seats and allot the pews, allot to Mr Wardwell ye 2nd pew on ye east side of ye pulpit for his wife and family. Mr Wardwell himself hath liberty to sitt in ye 6th of ye men's long seats upon consideration of his son Elihu (2) sitt in sd pew". Elihu subscribed 10 shillings toward the new bell for the Meeting House.

Elizabeth and Elihu may have had as many as 11 children, 3 or more dying in infancy. In 1728, the Massachusetts government finally made good on its promise of land grants to soldiers who had fought in the Narragansett Campaign. Elihu's heirs, then living in Topsfield, Massachusetts, claimed his portion given in Narragansett Township #3, now Amherst, New Hampshire.

MARY WARDWELL (RUST)

Born in April, 1644 and baptized the "14th day of the 2nd month (April) when she was about 9 days old, by the Rev. John Cotton at the First Church of Boston. Died January 16, 1720 at Ipswich, Massachusetts Colony.

Around 1663, Mary married Nathaniel Rust, born February 2, 1639/40 in Hingham, (Mass.), eldest son of Henry Rust. In 1690 and 1691, Nathaniel was Ipswich's Representative to the General Court at Boston. He was a "glover", and died by 1713.

Of their 10 or more children: Hannah Rust married c1685 as his 2nd wife, Capt. Daniel Ringe (2), Uzal Wardwell's step-son; and Nathaniel Rust (2) a school-master, married in 1694, Joanna Kinsman, a niece of Uzal Wardwell's wife.

In 1720, the town of Wells, Maine, laid out 206 acres at Tednick(Tatnic), a neighborhood at the head-line of South Berwick adjoining Wells, to the heirs of Mary Wardwell and Nathaniel Rust (1).

LEAH WARDWELL (TOWER)

Born in November, 1646 at (Wells, Province of Maine); baptized the "6th day of the 10th month" (December), 1646 at the First Church of Boston.

Married: c1666 at Boston, William Tower of Boston, a butcher by trade.

RACHAEL WARDWELL

Born 1648-1654 in Wells, Province of Maine. She was unmarried in 1670 at the time of her father's death and will.