

William Bradford *Of Plymouth Plantation*

BOOK ONE

from Chapter 1

[W]hen as by the travail and diligence of some godly and zealous preachers, and God's blessing on their labors, as in other places of the land, so in the North parts, many became enlightened by the word of God, and had their ignorance and sins discovered unto them, and began by his grace to reform their lives, and make conscience of their ways, the work of God was no sooner manifest in them, but presently they were both scoffed and scorned by the profane multitude, and the ministers urged with the yoke of subscription, or else must be silenced; and the poor people were so vexed with apparitors, and pursuivants, and the commissary courts, as truly their affliction was not small; which, notwithstanding, they bore sundry years with much patience, till they were occasioned (by the continuance and increase of these troubles, and other means which the Lord raised up in those days) to see further into things by the light of the word of God. How not only these base and beggarly ceremonies were unlawful, but also that the lordly and tyrannous power of the prelates ought not to be submitted unto; which thus, contrary to the freedom of the gospel, would load and burden men's consciences, and by their compulsive power make a profane mixture of persons and things in the worship of God. And that their offices and callings, courts and canons, etc. were unlawful and anti-Christian; being such as have no warrant in the word of God; but the same that were used in popery, and still retained. Of which a famous author thus writeth in his Dutch commentaries. At the coming of King James into England;

The new king (saith he) found their established the reformed religion, according to the reformed religion of king Edward VI. Retaining, or keeping still the spiritual state of the Bishops, etc. after the old manner, much varying and differing from the reformed churches in Scotland, France, and the Netherlands, Embden, Geneva, etc. whose reformation is cut, or shaped much nearer the first Christian churches, as it was used in the Apostles' times.

So many therefore of these professors as saw the evil of these things, in these parts of anti-Christian bondage, and as the Lord's free people, joined themselves (by a covenant of the Lord) into a church estate, in the fellowship of the gospel, to walk in all his ways, made known, or to be made known unto them, according to their best endeavours, whatsoever it should cost them, the Lord assisting them. And that it cost them something this ensuing history will declare.

These people became two distinct bodies or churches, and in regard of distance of place did congregate severally; for they were of sundry towns and villages, some in Nottinghamshire, some of Lincolnshire, and some of Yorkshire, where they border nearest together. In one of these churches (besides others of note) was Mr. John Smith, a man of able gifts, and a good preacher, who afterwards was chosen their pastor. But these afterwards falling into some errors in the Low Countries, there (for the most part) buried themselves, and their names.

But in this other church (which must be the subject of our discourse) besides other worthy men, was Mr. Richard Clifton, a grave and reverend preacher, who by his panes and diligence had done much good, and under God had been a means of the conversion of many. And also that famous and worthy man Mr. John Robinson, who afterwards was their pastor for many years, till the Lord took him away by death. Also Mr. William Brewster a reverent man, who afterwards was chosen an elder of the church and lived with them till old age.

But after these things they could not long continue in any peaceable condition, but were hunted and persecuted on every side, so as their former afflictions were but as flea-bitings in comparison of these which now came upon them. For some were taken and clapped up in prison, others had their houses beset and watched night and day, and hardly escaped their hands; and the most were fain to fly and leave their houses and habitations, and the means of their livelihood. Yet these and many other sharper things which afterward befell them, were no other then they looked for, and therefore were the better prepared to bear them by the assistance of God's grace and spirit. Yet seeing themselves thus molested, and that there was no hope of their continuance there, by a joint consent they resolved to go into the Low-Countries, where they heard was freedom of Religion for all men; as also how sundry from London, and other parts of the land, had been exiled and persecuted for the same cause, and were gone thither, and lived at Amsterdam, and in other places of the land. So after they had continued together about a year, and kept their meetings every Sabbath in one place or other, exercising the worship of God amongst themselves, notwithstanding all the diligence and malice of their adversaries, they seeing they could no longer continue in this condition, they resolved to get over into Holland as they could; which was in the years 1607 and 1608.; of which more at large in the next chapter.

Chapter 4

Showing the reasons and causes of their removal.

After they had lived in this city about some 11 or 12 years, (which is the more observable being the whole time of that famous truce between that state and the Spaniards,) and sundry of them were taken away by death, and many others began to be well stricken in years, the grave Mistress Experience having taught them many things, those prudent governors with sundry of the sagest members began both deeply to apprehend their present dangers, and wisely to foresee the future, and thine of timely remedy. In the agitation of their thoughts, and much discourse of things hear about, at length they began to incline to this conclusion, of removal to some other place. Not out of any newfangledness, or other such like giddy humor, by which men are oftentimes transported to their great hurt and danger, but for sundry weighty and solid reasons; some of the chief of which I will hear briefly touch. **And first, they saw and found by experience the hardness of the place and country to be such, as few in comparison would come to them, and fewer that would bide it out, and continue with them. For many that came to them, and many more that desired to be with them, could not endure that great labor and hard fare, with other inconveniences which they underwent and were contented with.** But though they loved their persons, approved their cause, and honored their sufferings, yet they left them as it were weeping, as Orpah did her mother in law Naomie, or as those Romans did Cato in Utica, who desired to be excused and borne with, though they could not all be Catos. For many, though they desired to enjoy the ordinances of God in their purity, and the liberty of the gospel with them, yet, alas, they admitted of bondage, with danger of conscience, rather than to endure these hardships; yea, some preferred and chose the prisons in England, rather than this liberty in Holland, with these afflictions. But it was thought that if a better and easier place of living could be had, it would draw many, and take away these discouragements. Yea, their pastor would often say, that many of those who both wrote and preached now against them, if they were in a place where they might have liberty and live comfortably, they would then practice as they did.

Secondly. They saw that though the people generally bore all these difficulties very cheerfully, and with a resolute courage, being in the best and strength of their years, yet old age began to steal on many of them, (and their great and continual labors, with other crosses and sorrows, hastened it before the time,) so as it was not only probably thought, but apparently seen, that within a few years more they would be in danger to scatter, by necessities pressing them, or sink under their burdens, or both. And therefore according to the divine proverb, that a wise man

seeth the plague when it cometh, and hideth himself, *Pro. 22. 3.*, so they like skillful and beaten soldiers were fearful either to be entrapped or surrounded by their enemies, so as they should neither be able to fight nor flee; and therefore thought it better to dislodge betimes to some place of better advantage and less danger, if any such could be found. Thirdly; as necessity was a taskmaster over them, so they were forced to be such, not only to their servants, but in a sort, to their dearest children; the which as it did not a little wound the tender hearts of many a loving father and mother, so it produced likewise sundry sad and sorrowful effects. For many of their children, that were of best dispositions and gracious inclinations, having learned to bear the yoke in their youth, and willing to bear part of their parents' burden, were, often times, so oppressed with their heavy labors, that though their minds were free and willing, yet their bodies bowed under the weight of the same, and became decrepit in their early youth; the vigor of nature being consumed in the very bud as it were. But that which was more lamentable, and of all sorrows most heavy to be borne, was that many of their children, by these occasions, and the great licentiousness of youth in that county, and the manifold temptations of the place, were drawn away by evil examples into extravagant and dangerous courses, getting the reins off their necks, and departing from their parents. Some became soldiers, others took upon them far voyages by sea, and other some worse courses, tending to dissoluteness and the danger of their souls, to the great grief of their parents and dishonor of God. So that they saw their posterity would be in danger to degenerate and be corrupted.

Lastly, (and which was not least,) a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way there unto, for the propagating and advancing the gospel of the kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world; yea, though they should be but even as stepping-stones unto others for the performing of so great a work.

These, and some other like reasons, moved them to undertake this resolution of their removal; the which they afterward prosecuted with so great difficulties, as by the sequel will appear.

The place they had thoughts on was some of those vast and unpeopled countries of America, which are fruitful and fit for habitation, being devoid of all civil inhabitants, where there are only salvage and brutish men, which range up and down, little otherwise than the wild beasts of the same. This proposition being made public and coming to the scanning of all, it raised many variable opinions amongst men, and caused many fears and doubts amongst themselves. Some, from their reasons and hops conceived, labored to stir up and encourage the rest to undertake and prosecute the same; others, again, out of their fears, objected against it, and sought to divert from it, alleging many things, and those neither unreasonable nor improbable; as that it was a great design, and subject to many inconceivable perils and dangers; as, besides the casualties of the seas (which none can be freed from) the length of the voyage was such, as the weak bodies of women and other persons worn out with age and travail (as many of them were) could never be able to endure. And yet if they should, the miseries of the land which they should be exposed unto, would be too hard to be borne; and likely, some or all of them together, to consume and utterly to ruinate them. For there they should be liable to famine, and nakedness, and the want, in a manner, of all things. The change of air, diet, and drinking of water, would infect their bodies with sore sickness, and grievous diseases. And also those which should escape or overcome these difficulties, should yet be in continual danger of the savage people, who are cruel, barbarous, and most treacherous, being most furious in their rage, and merciless where they overcome; not being content only to kill, and take away life, but delight to torment men in the most bloody manner that may be; flaying some alive with the shells of fishes, cutting of the members and joints of others by piecemeal, and broiling on the coals, eat the collops of their flesh in their sight whilst they live; with other cruelties horrible to be related. And surely it could not be thought but that every hearing of these things could not but move the very bowels of men to grate within them, and make the weak to quake and tremble. It was further objected, that it would require greater sums of money to furnish such a voyage, and to fit them with necessaries, then their consumed estates would amount to; and yet

they must as well look to be seconded with supplies, as presently to be transported. Also many precedents of ill success, and lamentable miseries befallen others in the like designs, were easy to be found, and not forgotten to be alleged; besides their own experience, in their former troubles and hardships in their removal into Holland, and how hard a thing it was for them to live in that strange place, though it was a neighbor country, and a civil and rich commonwealth.

It was answered, that all great and honorable actions are accompanied with great difficulties, and must be both enterprised and overcome with answerable courages. It was granted the dangers were great, but not desperate; the difficulties were many, but not invincible. For though there were many of them likely, yet they were not certain; it might be sundry of the things feared might never befall; others by provident care and the use of good means, might in a great measure be prevented; and all of them, through the help of God, by fortitude and patience, might either be borne, or overcome. True it was, that such attempts were not to be made and undertaken without good ground and reason; not rashly or lightly as many have done for curiosity or hope of gain, etc. But their condition was not ordinary; their ends were good and honorable; their calling lawful, and urgent; and therefore they might expect the blessing of God in their proceeding. Yea, though they should lose their lives in this action, yet might they have comfort in the same, and their endeavors would be honorable. They lived here but as men in exile, and in a poor condition; and as great miseries might possibly befall them in this place, for the twelve years of truce were now out, and there was nothing but beating of drums, and preparing for war, the events whereof are always uncertain. The Spaniard might prove as cruel as the savages of America, and the famine and pestilence as sore here as there, and their liberty less to look out for remedy. After many other particular things answered and alleged on both sides, it was fully concluded by the major part, to put this design in execution, and to prosecute it by the best means they could.

Chapter 7

Of their departure from Leyden, and other things thereabout, with their arrival at Southampton, were they all met together, and took in their provisions.

At length, after much travail and these debates, all things were got ready and provided. A small ship was bought, and fitted in Holland, which was intended as to serve to help to transport them, so to stay in the country and attend upon fishing and such other affairs as might be for the good and benefit of the colony when they came there. Another was hired at London, of burden about nine score; and all other things got in readiness. So being ready to depart, they had a day of solemn humiliation, their pastor taking his text from Ezra 8. 21. *And there at the river, by Ahava, I proclaimed a fast, that we might humble ourselves before our God, and seek of him a right way for us, and for our children, and for all our substance.* Upon which he spent a good part of the day very profitably, and suitable to their present occasion. The rest of the time was spent in powering out prayers to the Lord with great fervency, mixed with abundance of tears. And the time being come that they must depart, they were accompanied with most of their brethren out of the city, unto a town sundry miles of called Delfshaven, where the ship lay ready to receive them. So they left that goodly and pleasant city, which had been there resting place near twelve years; but they knew they were pilgrims, and looked not much on those things, but lift up their eyes to the heavens, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits. When they came to the place they found the ship and all things ready; and such of their friends as could not come with them followed after them, and sundry also came from Amsterdam to see them shipped and to take their leave of them. That night was spent with little sleep by the most, but with friendly entertainment and Christian discourse and other real expressions of true Christian love. The next day, the wind being fair, they went aboard, and their friends with them, where truly doleful was the sight of that sad and mournful parting; to see what sighs and sobs and prayers did sound amongst them, what tears did gush from every eye, and pithy speeches pierced each heart; that sundry of the Dutch

strangers that stood on the key as spectators, could not refrain from tears. Yet comfortable and sweet it was to see such lively and true expressions of clear and unfeigned love. But the tide (which stays for no man) calling them away that were thus loath to depart, their reverend pastor falling down on his knees, (and they all with him,) with watery cheeks commended them with most fervent prayers to the Lord and his blessing. And then with mutual embraces and many tears, they took their leaves one of another; which proved to be the last leave to many of them.

Chapter 9

Of their voyage, and how they passed the sea, and of their safe arrival at Cape Cod.

September 6. These troubles being blown over, and now all being compact together in one ship, they put to sea again with a prosperous wind, which continued diverse days together, which was some encouragement unto them; yet according to the usual manner many were afflicted with seasickness. And I may not omit hear a special work of God's providence. There was a proud and very profane young man, one of the sea-men, of a lusty, able body, which made him the more haughty; he would always be condemning the poor people in their sickness, and cursing them daily with grievous execrations, and did not let to tell them, that he hoped to help to cast half of them overboard before they came to their journey's end, and to make merry with what they had; and if he were by any gently reprov'd, he would curse and swear most bitterly. But it pleased God before they came half seas over, to smite this young man with a grievous disease, of which he died in a desperate manner, and so was himself the first that was thrown overboard. Thus his curses light on his own head; and it was an astonishment to all his fellows, for they noted it to be the just hand of God upon him.

After they had enjoyed fair winds and weather for a season, they were encountered many times with cross winds, and met with many fierce storms, with which the ship was shroudly shaken, and her upper works made very leaky; and one of the main beams in the midships was bowed and cracked, which put them in some fear that the ship could not be able to perform the voyage. So some of the chief of the company, perceiving the mariners to fear the sufficiency of the ship, as appeared by their mutterings, they entered into serious consultation with the master and other officers of the ship, to consider in time of the danger; and rather to return then to cast themselves into a desperate and inevitable peril. And truly there was great distraction and difference of opinion amongst the mariners themselves; fain would they do what could be done for their wage's sake, (being now half the seas over,) and on the other hand they were loath to hazard their lives too desperately. But in examining of all opinions, the master and others affirmed they knew the ship to be strong and firm under water; and for the buckling of the main beam, there was a great iron screw the passengers brought out of Holland, which would raise the beam into his place; the which being done, the carpenter and master affirmed that with a post put under it, set firm in the lower deck, and otherwise bound, he would make it sufficient. And as for the decks and upperworks they would caulk them as well as they could, and though with the working of the ship they would not long keep staunch, yet there would otherwise be no great danger, if they did not overpress her with sails. So they committed themselves to the will of God, and resolved to proceed. In sundry of these storms the winds were so fierce, and the seas so high, as they could not bear a knot of sail, but were forced to hull, for diverse days together. And in one of them, as they thus lay at hull, in a mighty storm, a lusty young man (called John Howland) coming upon some occasion above the gratings, was, with a seele of the ship thrown into [the] sea; but it pleased God that he caught hold of the topsail halyards, which hung overboard, and ran out at length; yet he held his hold (though he was sundry fathoms under water) till he was held up by the same rope to the brim of the water, and then with a boat hook and other means got into the ship again, and his life saved; and though he was something ill with it, yet he lived many years after, and became a profitable member both in church and commonwealth. In all this voyage there died but one of the passengers, which was William Butten, a youth, servant to Samuel Fuller, when they drew

near the coast. But to omit other things, (that I may be brief,) after long beating at sea they fell with that land which is called Cape Cod; the which being made and certainly known to be it, they were not a little joyful. After some deliberation had amongst themselves and with the master of the ship, they tacked about and resolved to stand for the southward (the wind and weather being fair) to find someplace about Hudson's River for their habitation. But after they had sailed that course about half the day, they fell amongst dangerous shoals and roaring breakers, and they were so far entangled therewith as they conceived themselves in great danger; and the wind shrinking upon them withall, they resolved to bear up again for the Cape, and thought themselves happy to get out of those dangers before night overtook them, as by God's providence they did. And the next day they got into the Cape Harbor where they rid in safety. A word or too by the way of this cape; it was thus first named by Captain Gosnole and his company, Anno. 1602, and after by Captain Smith was called Cape James; but it retains the former name amongst seamen. Also that point which first showed those dangerous shoals unto them, they called Point Care, and Tucker's Terror; but the French and Dutch to this day call it Malabar, by reason of those perilous shoals, and the losses they have suffered there.

Being thus arrived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees and blessed the God of heaven, who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from all the perils and miseries thereof, again to set their feet on the firm and stable earth, their proper element. And no marvel if they were thus joyful, seeing wise Seneca was so affected with sailing a few miles on the coast of his own Italy; as he affirmed, that he had rather remain twenty years on his way by land, then pass by sea to any place in a short time; so tedious and dreadful was the same unto him.

But hear I cannot but stay and make a pause, and stand half amassed at this poor peoples present condition; and so I think will the reader too, when he well considers the same. Being thus passed the vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation (as may be remembered by that which went before), they had now no friends to welcome them, nor inns to entertain or refresh their weather-beaten bodies, no houses or much less towns to repair to, to seek for succor. It is recorded in scripture as a mercy to the apostle and his shipwrecked company, that the barbarians shewed them no small kindness in refreshing them, but these savage barbarians, when they met with them (as after will appear) were readier to fill their sides full of arrows then otherwise. And for the season it was winter, and they that know the winters of that country know them to be sharp and violent, and subject to cruel and fierce storms, dangerous to travel to known places, much more to search an unknown coast. Besides, what could they see but a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts and wild men? and what multitudes there might be of them they knew not. Neither could they, as it were, go up to the top of Pisgah, to view from this wilderness a more goodly country to feed their hopes; for which way soever they turned their eyes (save upward to the heavens) they could have little solace or content in respect of any outward objects. For summer being done, all things stand upon them with a weather-beaten face; and the whole country, full of woods and thickets, represented a wild and savage hue. If they looked behind them, there was the mighty ocean which they had passed, and was now as a main bar and gulf to separate them from all the civil parts of the world. If it be said they had a ship to succor them, it is true; but what heard they daily from the master and company? but that with speed they should look out a place with their scallop, where they would be at some near distance; for the season was such as he would not stir from thence till a safe harbor was discovered by them where they would be, and he might go without danger; and that victuals consumed apace, but he must and would keep sufficient for themselves and their return. Yea, it was muttered by some, that if they got not a place in time, they would turn them and their goods ashore and leave them. Let it also be considered what weak hopes of supply and succor they left behind them, that might bear up their minds in this sad condition and trials they were under; and they could not but be very small. It is true, indeed, the affections and love of their brethren at Leyden was cordial and entire towards them, but they had little power to help them, or themselves; and how the case stood

between them and the merchants at their coming away, hath already been declared. What could now sustain them but the spirit of God and his grace? May not and ought not the children of these fathers rightly say: *Our fathers were Englishmen which came over this great [ocean, and were ready to perish in this wilderness; but they cried unto the Lord, and he heard their voice, and looked on their adversity, etc. Let them therefore praise the Lord, because he is good, and his mercies endure forever. Yea, let them which have been redeemed of the Lord, shew how he hath delivered them from the hand of the oppressor. When they wandered in the desert wilderness out of the way, and found no city to dwell in, both hungry, and thirsty, their soul was overwhelmed in them. Let them confess before the Lord his loving kindness, and his wonderful works before the sons of men.*

Chapter 10

Showing how they sought out a place of habitation, and what befell them therabout.

Being thus arrived at Cape Cod the 11th of November, and necessity calling them to look out a place for habitation, (as well as the master's and mariners' importunity,) they having brought a large shallop with them out of England, stowed in quarters in the ship, they now got her out and set their carpenters to work to trim her up; but being much bruised and shattered in the ship with foul weather, they saw she would be long in mending. Whereupon a few of them tendered themselves to go by land and discover those nearest places, whilst the shallop was in mending, and the rather because as they went into that harbor there seemed to be an opening some two or three leagues off, which the master judged to be a river. It was conceived there might be some danger in the attempt, yet seeing them resolute, they were permitted to go, being sixteen of them well armed, under the conduct of Captain Standish, having such instructions given them as was thought meet. They set forth the fifteenth of November: and when they had marched about the space of a mile by the seaside, they espied five or six persons with a dog coming towards them, who were savages; but they fled from them, and ran up into the woods, and the English followed them, partly to see if they could speak with them, and partly to discover if there might not be more of them lying in ambush. But the Indians seeing themselves thus followed, they again forsook the woods, and ran away on the sands as hard as they could, so as they could not come near them, but followed them by the track of their feet sundry miles, and saw that they had come the same way. So, night coming on, they made their rendezvous and set out their sentinels, and rested in quiet *that night*, and the next morning followed their track till they had headed a great creek, and so left the sands, and turned another way into the woods. But they still followed them by guess, hoping to find their dwellings; but they soon lost both them and themselves, falling into such thickets as were ready to tear their clothes and armor in pieces, but were most distressed for want of drink. But at length they found water and refreshed themselves, being the first New-England water they drunk of, and was now in their great thirst as pleasant unto them as wine or bear had been in for-times. Afterwards they directed their course to come to the other shore, for they knew it was a neck of land they were to cross over, and so at length got to the sea-side, and marched to this supposed river, and by the way found a pond of clear fresh water, and shortly after a good quantity of clear ground where the Indians had formerly set corn, and some of their graves. And proceeding further they saw new-stubble where corn had been set the same year, also they found where lately a house had been, where some planks and a great kettle was remaining, and heaps of sand newly paddled with their hands, which they, digging up, found in them diverse fair Indian baskets filled with corn, and some in ears, fair and good, of diverse colors, which seemed to them a very goodly sight, (having never seen any such before). This was near the place of that supposed river they came to seek; unto which they went and found it to open itself into two arms with a high cliff of sand in the entrance, but more like to be creeks of salt water than any fresh, for ought they saw; and that there was good harborage for their shallop; leaving it further to be discovered by

their shallop when she was ready. So their time limited them being expired, they returned to the ship, lest they should be in fear of their safety; and took with them part of the corn, and buried up the rest, and so like the men from Eshchol carried with them of the fruits of the land, and showed their brethren; of which, and their return, they were marvelously glad, and their hearts encouraged.

After this, the shallop being got ready, they set out again for the better discovery of this place, and the master of the ship desired to go himself, so there went some thirty men, but found it to be no harbor for ships but only for boats; there was also found two of their houses covered with mats, and sundry of their implements in them, but the people were run away and could not be seen; also there was found more of their corn, and of their beans of various colors. The corn and beans they brought away, purposing to give them full satisfaction when they should meet with any of them (as about some six months afterward they did, to their good content). And here is to be noted a special providence of God, and a great mercy to this poor people, that hear they got seed to plant them corn the next year, or else they might have starved, for they had none, nor any likelihood to get any till the season had been past (as the sequel did manifest). Neither is it likely they had had this, if the first voyage had not been made, for the ground was now all covered with snow, and hard frozen. But the Lord is never wanting unto his in their greatest needs; let his holy name have all the praise.

The month of November being spent in these affairs, and much foul weather falling in, the sixth of *December* they sent out their shallop again with ten of their principal men, and some seamen, upon further discovery, intending to circulate that deep bay of Cape Cod. The weather was very cold, and it froze so hard as the spray of the sea lighting on their coats, they were as if they had been glassed; yet *that night* betimes they got down into the bottom of the bay, and as they drew near the shore they saw some 10. or 12. Indians very busy about something. They landed about a league or 2. from them, and had much ado to put a shore anywhere, it lay so full of flats. Being landed, it grew late, and they made themselves a barricade with logs and boughs as well as they could in the time, and set out their sentinel and betook them to rest, and saw the smoke of the fire the savages made that night. When *morning* was come they divided their company, some to coast along the shore in the boat, and the rest marched through the woods to see the land, if any fit place might be for their dwelling. They came also to the place where they saw the Indians the night before, and found they had been cutting up a great fish like a grampus, being some 2. inches thick of fat like a hog, some pieces whereof they had left by the way; and the shallop found 2. more of these fishes dead on the sands, a thing usual after storms in that place, by reason of the great flats of sand that ltheof. So they ranged up and doune all thatday, but found no people, nor any place they liked. When the sunne grue low, they hasted out of the woods to meete with their shallop, to whom they made signes to come to them into a *creeke* hardby, the which they did at highwater; of which they were very glad, for they had not seen each other all thatday, since the morning. So they made them a barricado (as usually they did every night) with loggs, staks, and thike pine bowes, the height of a man, leaving it open to leeward, partly to shelter them from the could and wind (making their fire in the middle, and lying round aboute it), and partly to defend them from any sudden assaults of the savags, if they should surround them. So being very weary, they betooke them to rest. But aboute *midnight*, [51] they heard a hideous and great crie, and their sentinell caled, "Arme, arme"; so they bestired them and stood to their armes, and shote of a cupple of moskets, and then the noys ceased. They concluded it was a companie of wolves, or such like willd beasts; for one of thesea men tould them he had often heard shuch a noyse in New-found land. So they rested till about 5. of the clock in the *morning*; for the tide, and ther purposs to goe from thence, made them be stiring betimes. So [103] after praier they prepared for breakfast, and it being day dawning, it was thought best to be carring things doune to the boate. But some said it was not best to carrie the armes doune, others said they would be the readier, for they had laped them up in their coats from the dew. But some 3. or 4. would not cary theirs till they wente themselves, yet as it fell out, the water being not high enough, they layed them doune on the banke side,

and came up to breakfast. But presently, all on the sudain, they heard a great and strange crie, which they knew to be the same voyces they heard in the night, though they varied their notes, and one of their company being abroad came running in, and cried, "Men, Indians, Indians"; and with all, their arrows came flying amongst them. Their men ran with all speed to recover their armes, as by the good providence of God they did. In the mean time, of those that were there ready, two muskets were discharged at them, and two more stood ready in the entrance of their rendezvous, but were commanded not to shoot till they could take full aim at them; and the other two charged againe with all speed, for there were only four had armes there, and defended the barricado which was first assaulted. The crie of the Indians was dreadful, especially when they saw their men run out of their rendezvous towards the shallop, to recover their armes, the Indians wheeling about upon them. But some running out with coats of mail on, and cutlasses [104] in their hands, they soon got their armes, and let fly amongst them, and quickly stopped their violence. Yet there was a lustie man, and no less valiant, stood behind a tree within halfe a musket shot, and let his arrows flie at them. He was seen shoot three arrows, which were all avoyded. He stood three shot of a musket, till one taking full aim at him, and made the bark or splinters of the tree fly about his ears, after which he gave an extraordinary shriek, and away they wente all of them. They left some to keep the shallop, and followed them aboute a quarter of a mille, and shouted once or twice, and shot of two or three peeces, and so returned. This they did, that they might conceive that they were not [52] affraid of them or any way discouraged. Thus it pleased God to vanquish their enemies, and give them deliverance; and by his speciall providence so to dispose that not any one of them were either hurt, or hit, though their arrows came close by them, and on every side them, and sundry of their coats, which hung up in the barricado, were shot throw and throw. Afterwards they gave God sollamne thanks and praise for their deliverance, and gathered up a bundle of their arrows, and sente them into England afterward by their ship, and called that place the first encounter. From hence they departed, and coasted all along, but discerned no place likly for harbor; and therefore hasted to a place that their pilot, (one Mr. Coppin who had [105] been in the country before) did assure them was a good harbor, which he had been in, and they might fetch it before night; of which they were glad, for it began to be foule weather. After some houres sailing, it began to snow and raine, and about the middle of the afternoone, the wind increased, and the sea became very rough, and they broake their rudder, and it was as much as two men could doe to steere her with a couple of oares. But their pilot bad them be of good cheere, for he saw the harbor; but the storme increasing, and night drawing on, they bore what saile they could to gett in, while they could see. But herewith they broake their mast in three peeces, and their saill fell over bord, in a very grown sea, so as they had like to have been cast away; yet by Gods mercie they recovered them selves, and having the flood with them, struck into the harbor. But when it came too, the pilot was deceived in the place, and said, the Lord be mercifull unto them, for his eyes never saw that place before; and he and the mates would have run her ashore, in a cove full of breakers, before the wind. But a lusty seaman which steered, bad those which rowed, if they were men, about with her, or else they were all cast away; the which they did with speed. So he bid them be of good cheere and row lustly, for there was a faire sound before them, and he doubted not but they should find one place or other where they might ride in saftie. And though it was *very darke*, [106] and rained sore, yet in the end they gott under the lee of a smalle island, and remained there all that night in saftie. But they knew not this to be an island till morning, but were divided in their minds; some would keepe their boate for fear they might be amongst the Indians; others were so weake and could, they could not endure, but got a shore, and with much adoe got fire, (all things being so wett,) and therest were glad to come to them; for after midnight the wind shifted to the [53] north-west, and it froze hard. But though this had been a day and night of much trouble and danger unto them, yet God gave them a *morning* of comforte and refreshing (as usually he doth to his children), for the next day was a faire sunshin day, and they found themselves to be on an island secure from the Indians, where

they might drie their stufe, fixe their peeces, and rest them selves, and gave God thanks for his mercies, in their manifould deliverances. And this being the *last day of the weeke*, they prepared ther to keepe the *Sabbath*. On *Munday* they sounded the harbor, and founde it fitt for shipping; and marched into the land, and found diverse cornfeilds, and litle runing brooks, a place (as they supposed) fitt for situation; at least it was the best they could find, and the season, and their presente necessitie, made them glad to accepte of it. So they returned to their shipp againe with this news to therest of their people, which did much comforte their harts.[107]

On the 15. of *Desem^r*: they wayed anchor to goe to the place they had discovered, and came within 2. leagues of it, but were faine to bear up againe; but the 16. *day* the winde came faire, and they arrived safe in this harbor. And after wards tooke better view of the place, and resolved wher to pitch their dwelling; and the 25. *day* begane to erecte the first house for comone use to receive them and their goods.

BOOK 2

The rest of this History (if God give me life, and opportunitie) I shall, for brevitie sake, handle by way of *annalls*, noteing only the heads of principall things, and passages as they fell in order of time, and may seeme to be profitable to know, or to make use of. And this may be as the 2. Booke.

The remainder of An^o: 1620.

I shall a litle returne backe and begine with a combination made by them before they came ashore, being the first foundation of their govermente in this place; occasioned partly by the discontented and mutinous speeches that some of the strangers amongst them had let fall from them in the ship—That when they came a shore they would use their owne libertie; for none had power to comānd them, the patente they had being for Virginia, and not for New-england, which belonged to an other Government, with which the Virginia Company had nothing to doe. And partly that such an [54] acte by them done (this their condition considered) might be as firme as any patent, and in some respects more sure.

The forme was as followeth.[110]

In the name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwriten, the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britaine, France, and Ireland king, defender of the faith, and c., haveing undertaken, for the glorie of God, and advancemente of the Christian faith, and honour of our king and countrie, a voyage to plant the first colonie in the Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly and mutuallie in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine our selves together into a civill body politick, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by vertue hereof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just and equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete and convenient for the generall good of the Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witnes wherof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cap-Codd the 11. of November, in the year of the raigne of our soveraigne lord, King James, of England, France, and Ireland the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fiftie fourth. An^o: Dom. 1620.

After this they chose, or rather confirmed, M^r. John Carver (a man godly and well approved amongst them) their Governour for that year. And after they had provided a place for their goods, or comone store, (which were long in unlading for want of boats, foulnes of winter weather, and sicknes of diverce,) and begune some small cottages for their habitation, as time would admitte, they mette and consulted of lawes and orders, both for their civill and military Governemente, as the necessitie of their condition did require, still adding therunto as urgent occasion in severall times, and as cases did require.[111]

In these hard and difficult beginnings they found some discontents and murmurings arise amongst some, and mutinous speeches and carriage in other; but they were soon quelled and overcome by the wisdom, patience, and just and equal carriage of things by the Gov^r and better part, w^{ch} clave faithfully together in the maine. But that which was most sad and lamentable was, that in 2. or 3. months time halfe of their company dyed, especially in Jan: and February, being the depth of winter, and wanting houses and other comforts; being infected with the scurvie and [55] other diseases, which this long voyage and their incomodate condition had brought upon them; so as they dyed some times 2. or 3. of a day, in the foresaid time; that of 100. and odd persons, scarce 50. remained. And of these in the time of most distress, there was but 6. or 7. sound persons, who, to their great commendations be it spoken, spared no pains, night nor day, but with abundance of toyle and hazard of their owne health, fetched them woode, made them fires, dressed them meat, made their beads, washed their loathsome cloaths, clothed and unclothed them; in a word, did all the homely and necessarie offices for them w^{ch} dainty and queasie stomacks cannot endure to hear named; and all this willingly and cheerfully, without any grudging in the least, shewing herein their true love unto their friends and bretheren. A rare example and worthy to [112] be remembered. Two of these 7. were Mr. William Brewster, the reverend Elder, and Myles Standish, the Captein and military commander, unto whom my selfe, and many others, were much beholden in our low and sicke condition. And yet the Lord so upheld these persons, as in this generall calamity they were not at all infected either with sickness, or lamnes. And what I have said of these, I may say of many others who dyed in this generall visitation, and others yet living, that whilst they had health, yea, or any strength continuing, they were not wanting to any that had need of them. And I doubt not but their recompence is with the Lord.

But I may not hear pass by an other remarkable passage not to be forgotten. As this calamitie fell amongst the passengers that were to be left here to plant, and were hasted a shore and made to drinke water, that these sea-men might have the more bear, and one in his sickness desiring but a small can of beere, it was answered, that if he were their owne father he should have none; the disease began to fall amongst them also, so as almost halfe of their company dyed before they went away, and many of their officers and lustiest men, as the boatson, gunner, 3. quarter-masters, the cooke, and others. At w^{ch} them^r. was something stricken and sent to the sick shore and tould y^e Gov^r he should send for beer for [113] them that had need of it, though he drunke water homeward bound. But now amongst his company [56] there was far another kind of carriage in this miserie then amongst the passengers; for they that before had been boone companions in drinking and joyllity in the time of their health and welfare, began now to desert one another in this calamitie, saying they would hazard their lives for them, they should be infected by coming to help them in their cabins, and so, after they came to the by it, would doe litle or nothing for them, but if they dyed let them dye. But such of the passengers as were yet aboard shewed them what mercy they could, w^{ch} made some of their hearts relent, as the boatson (and some others), who was a proud yonge man, and would often curse and scoffe at the passengers; but when he grew weak, they had compassion on him and helped him; then he confessed he did not deserve it at their hands, he had abused them in word and deed. O! saith he, you, I now see, shew your love like Christians indeed one to another, but we let one another like the and the like doggs. Another lay cursing his wife, saying if it had not ben for her he had never come this unlucky viage, and another cursing his fellows, saying he had done this and that, for some of them, he had spent so much, and so much, amongst them, and they were now weary of him, and did not help him, having need. Another gave his companion all he had, if he died, to help [114] him in his weakness; he went and got a litle spise and made him a mess of meat once or twice, and because he dyed not so soon as he expected, he went amongst his fellows, and swore the rogue would couse him, he would see him choaked before he made him any more meate; and yet the pore fellow dyed before morning.

All this while the Indians came skulking about them, and would sometimes show themselves aloofe off, but when any approached near them, they would run away. And once they stole away their tools where they had been at worke, and were gone to dinner. But about the 16. of *March*

a certaine Indian came bouldly amongst them, and spoke to them in broken English, which they could well understand, but marvelled at it. At length they understood by discourse with him, that he was not of these parts, but belonged to theeastrene parts, wher some English-ships came to fish, with whom he was acquainted, and could name sundrie of them by their names, amongst whom he had gott his language. He became profitable to them [57] in acquainting them with many things concerning thestate of thecuntry in theeast-parts wher he lived, which was afterwards profitable unto them; as also of thepeople hear, of their names, number, and strength; of their situation and distance from this place, and who was cheefe amongst them. His name was *Samaset*; he tould them also of another Indian whos name was [115]*Squanto*, a native of this place, who had been in England and could speake better English then him selfe. Being, after some time of entertainente and gifts, dismiss, a while after he came againe, and 5. more with him, and they brought againe all thetooles that were stolen away before, and made way for thecoming of their great Sachem, called *Massasoyt*; who, about 4. or 5. days after, came with the cheefe of his freinds and other attendance, with the aforesaid *Squanto*. With whom, after frendly entertainment, and some gifts given him, they made a peace with him (which hath now continued this 24. years) in these terms.

1. That neither he nor any of his, should injurie or doe hurte to any of their peopl.
2. That if any of his did any hurte to any of theirs, he should send theoffender, that they might punish him.
3. That if any thing were taken away from any of theirs, he should cause it to be restored; and they should doe thelike to his.
4. If any did unjustly warr against him, they would aide him; if any did warr against them, he should aide them.
5. He should send to his neighbours confederats, to certifie them of this, that they might not wrong them, but might be likewise comprised in theconditions of peace.
6. That when ther men came to them, they should leave their bows and arrows behind them.[116]

After these things he returned to his place caled *Sowams*, some 40. mile from this place, but *Squanto* continued with them, and was their interpreter, and was a spetiall instrument sent of God for their good beyond their expectation. He directed them how to set their corne, wher to take fish, and to procure other comodities, and was also their pilott to bring them to unknowne places for their profit, and never left them till he dyed. He was a *native [58] of this place*, and scarce any left alive besids him selfe. He was caried away with diverce others by one *Hunt*, a m^r. of a ship, who thought to sell them for slaves in Spaine; but he got away for England, and was entertained by a marchante in London, and imployed to New-foundland and other parts, and lastly brought hither into these parts by one M^r. *Dermer*, a gentle-man imployed by Sr. Ferdinando Gorges and others, for discovery, and other designes in these parts. Of whom I shall say some thing, because it is mentioned in a booke set forth An^o: 1622. by the Presidente and Counsell for New-England, that he made thepeace betweene thesalvages of these parts and theEnglish; of which this plantation, as it is intimated, had thebenefite. But what a peace it was, may appeare by what befell him and his men.

This M^r. Dermer was hear the same year that these [117]people came, as apears by a relation written by him, and given me by a friend, bearing date June 30. An^o: 1620. And they came in Novemb^r: following, so ther was but 4. months differance. In which relation to his honored freind, he hath these passages of this very place.

I will first begin (saith he) wth that place from whence *Squanto*, or *Tisquantem*, was taken away; w^{ch} in Cap: *Smiths mape* is called *Plimoth*: and I would that *Plimoth* had thelike comodities. I would that the first plantation might here be seated, if there come to the number of 50. persons, or upward. Otherwise at *Charlton*, because there the savages are less to be feared. The *Pocanawkits*, which live to the west of *Plimoth*, bear an inveterate malice to the English, and are of more strength than all the savages from thence to *Penobscote*. Their desire of revenge was occasioned by an English man, who having many of them on board, made a great slaughter with their murderers and small shot, when as (they say) they offered no injury on their parts. Whether they were English or no, it may be doubted; yet they believe they were, for the French have so possessed them; for which cause *Squanto* cannot deny but they would have killed me when I was at *Namasket*, had he not entreated hard for me. The soil of the borders of [59] this great bay, may be compared to most of the plantations which I have seen in Virginia. The land is of diverse sorts; for *Patuxite* is a hardy but strong soil, *Nawsel and Saughtughtett* are for the most part a blackish and deep mould, much like that where groweth the best Tobacco in Virginia. In the bottom of that great bay is store of Codd and basse, or mullett, andc.

But above all he commends *Pacanawkite* for the richest soil, and much open ground fit for English grain, andc.

Massachusetts is about 9. leagues from *Plimoth*, and situate in the midst betweene both, is full of islands and peninsules very fertile for the most part.

With sundrie such relations which I forbear to transcribe, being now better knowne than they were to him.

He was taken prisoner by the Indians at *Manamoiak* (a place not far from hence, now well knowne). He gave them what they demanded for his liberty, but when they had got what they desired, they kept him still and intended to kill his men; but he was freed by seizing on some of them, and kept them bound till they gave him a cannons load of corne. Of which, see Purch: lib. 9. fol. 1778. But this was An^o: 1619.

After the writing of the former relation he came to the Ile of *Capawack* (which lies south of this place in the way to Virginia), and the foresaid *Squanto* wth him, when he going a shore amongst the Indians to trade, as he used to doe, was betrayed and assaulted by them, and *all his men slaine, but one that kept the boat*; but him selfe got aboard very sore wounded, and they had cut off his head upon the cuddy of his boat, had not the man rescued him with a sword. And so they got away, and made shift to gett into Virginia, where he dyed; whether of his wounds or the diseases of the country, or both together, is uncertaine. [60] By all which it may appeare how far these people were [119] from peace, and with what danger this plantation was begun, save as the powerfull hand of the Lord did protect them. These things were partly the reason why they kept aloofe and were so long before they came to the English. An other reason (as after them selves made knowⁿ) was how aboute 3. *years before*, a French-ship was cast away at *Cap-Codd*, but the men got ashore, and saved their lives, and much of their victuals, and other goods; but after the Indians heard of it, they gathered together from these parts, and never left watching and dogging them till they got advantage, and *kild them all but 3. or 4.* which they kept, and sent from one Sachem to another, to make sporte with, and used them worse then slaves; (of which the foresaid M^r. Dermer redeemed 2. of them;) and they conceived this ship was now come to revenge it.

Also, (as after was made knowne,) before they came to the English to make freindship, they

gott all the *Powachs* of thecuntrie, for 3. days together, in a horid and divellish maner to curse and execrate them with their cunjurations, which asembly and service they held in a darke and dismale swampe.

But to returne. The spring now approaching, it pleased God the mortalitie begane to cease amongst them, and the sick and lame recovered apace, which put as it were new life into them; though they had [120]borne their sadd affliction with much patience and contentednes, as I thinke any people could doe. But it was the Lord which upheld them, and had beforehand prepared them; many having long borne theyoake, yea from their youth. Many other smaler maters I omite, sundrie of them having been allready published in a Journall made by one of the company; and some other passages of jurneys and relations allredy published, to which I referr those that are willing to know them more perticulerly. And being now come to the 25. of March I shall begine theyear 1621.

[61] *Anno. 1621.*

From Chapter XII

They begane now to gather in the small harvest they had, and to fitte up their houses and dwellings against winter, being all well recovered in health and strenght, and had all things in good plenty; for as some were thus imployed in affairs abroad, others were excersised in fishing, aboute codd, and bass, and other fish, of which y^{ey} tooke good store, of which every family had their portion. All the somer ther was no wante. And now begane to come in store of foule, as winter aproached, of which this place did abound when they came first (but afterward decreased by degrees). And besids water foule, ther was great store of wild Turkeys, of which they tooke many, besids venison, andc. Besids they had aboute a peck a meale a weeke to a person, or now since harvest, Indean corne to that proportion. Which made many afterwards write so largely of their plenty hear to their freinds in England, which were not fained, but true reports.

From Chapter XIX Anno 1628

Aboute some 3. or 4. years before this time, ther came over one Captaine Wolastone, (a man of pretie parts,) and with him 3. or 4. more of some eminencie, who brought with them a great many servants, with provissions and other implments for to begine a plantation; and pitched them selves in a place within the Massachusets, which they called, after their Captains [284]name, Mount-Wollaston. Amongst whom was one M^r. Morton, who, it should seeme, had some small adventure (of his owne or other mens) amongst them; but had litle respecte [159] amongst them, and was sleghted by the meanest servants. Haveing continued ther some time, and not finding things to answer their expectations, nor profite to arise as they looked for, Captaine Wollaston takes a great part of the sarvants, and transports them to Virginia, wher he puts them of at good rates, selling their time to other men; and writs back to one M^r. Rassdall, one of his cheefe partners, and accounted their marchant, to bring another parte of them to Verginia likewise, intending to put them of ther as he had done therest. And he, wth the consente of the said Rasdall, appoynted one Fitcher to be his Livetenante, and governe theremaines of the plantation, till he or Rasdall returned to take further order theraboute. But this Morton abovesaid, haveing more craft then honestie, (who had been a kind of petie-fogger, of Furnefells Inne,) in the others absence, watches an oppertunitie, (commons being but hard amongst them,) and gott some strong drinck and other junkats, and made them a feast; and after they were merie, he begane to tell them, he would give them good counsell. You see (saith he) that many of your fellows are carried to Virginia; and if you stay till this Rasdall returne, you will also be carried away and sould for slaves with therest. Therefore I would [285]advise you to thruste out this Levetenant Fitcher; and I, having a

sought too by their messengers and [290]letters, and waying both their reasons, and the comone danger, were willing to afford them their help; though them selves had least cause of fear or hurte. So, to be short, they first resolved joyntly to write to him, and in a freindly and neigborly way to admonish him to forbear these courses, and sent a messenger with their letters to bring his answer. But he was so highe as he scorned all advise, and asked who had to doe with him; he had and would trade peeces with theIndeans in dispite of all, with many other scurillous termes full of disdain. They sente to him a second time, and bad him be better advised, and more temperate in his termes, for thecountrie could not beare theinjure he did; it was against their comone saftie, and against y^eking's proclamation. He answerd in high terms as before, and that thekings proclamation was no law; demanding what penaltie was upon it. It was answered, more then he could [162] bear, his majesties displeasure. But insolently he persisted, and said theking was dead and his displeasure with him, and many thelike things; and threatened withall that if any came to molest him, let them looke to them selves, for he would prepare for them. Upon which they saw ther was no way but to take him by force; and having so farr proceeded, now to give over would make him farr more hautie and insolente. So they mutually resolved to proceed, and obtained of theGov^r of Plimoth to send [291]Captaine Standish, and some other aide with him, to take Morton by force. The which accordingly was done; but they found him to stand stifly in his defence, having made fast his dors, armed his consorts, set diverse dishes of powder and bullets ready on thetable; and if they had not been over armed with drinke, more hurt might have been done. They somaned him to yeeld, but he kept his house, and they could gett nothing but scofes and scorns from him; but at length, fearing they would doe some violence to thehouse, he and some of his crue came out, but not to yeeld, but to shoote; but they were so steeld with drinke as their peeces were to heavie for them; him selfe with a carbine (over charged and allmost halfe fild with powder and shote, as was after found) had thought to have shot Captaine Standish; but he stept to him, and put by his peece, and tooke him. Neither was ther any hurte done to any of either side, save thatone was so drunke thathe rane his owne nose upon thepointe of a sword thatone held before him as he entred thehouse; but he lost but a litle of his hott blood. Morton they brought away to Plimoth, wher he was kepte, till a ship went from theIle of Shols for England, with which he was sente to theCounsell of New-England; and letters writen to give them information of his course and cariage; and also one was sent at their comone charge to informe their Ho^{rs} more perticularly, and to prosecute against him. But he foold of themessenger, after he was gone [292]from hence, and though he wente for England, yet nothing was done to him, not so much as rebukte, for ought was heard; but returned thenexte year. Some of theworst of thecompany were disperst, and some of themore modest kepte thehouse till he should be heard from. But I have been too long aboute so un-worthy a person, and bad a cause.

From Chapter XXIII Anno 1632

Also thepeople of theplantation begane to grow in their owtward estats, by reason of theflowing of many people into thecuntrie, espetially into theBay of theMassachusets; by which means corne and catle rose to a great prise, by w^{ch} many were much inriched, and comodities grue plentifull; and yet in other regards this benefite turned to their hurte, and this accession of strength to their weaknes. For now as their stocks increased, and the[362]inrece vendible, ther was no longer any holding them together, but now they must of necessitie goe to their great lots; they could not other wise keep their katle; and having oxen growne, they must have land for plowing and tillage. And no man now thought he could live, except he had catle and a great deale of ground to keep them; all striving to increase their stocks. By which means they were scatered all over thebay,

quickly, and the towne, in which they lived compactly till now, was left very thine, and in a short time almost desolate. And if this had been all, it had been less, though too much; but the church must also be divided, and those that had lived so long together in Christian and comfortable fellowship must now part and suffer many divisions. First, those that lived on their lots on the other side of the bay (called Duxberie) they could not long bring their wives and children to the publick worship and church meetings here, but with such burthen, as, growing to some competent number, they sued to be dismissed and become a body of themselves; and so they were dismissed (about this time), though very unwillingly. But to touch this sad matter, and handle things together that fell out afterward. To prevent any further scattering from this place, and weakening of the same, it was thought best to give out some good farms to speciall persons, that would promise to live at Plimoth, and likely to be helpfull to the church or commonwealth, and so they sold lands to [363] Plimoth as farms for the same; and then they might keep their cattle and tillage by some servants, and retain their dwellings here. And so some speciall lands were granted at a place generally, called Greens Harbor, where no allotments had been in the former division, a place very well meadowed, and fitt to keep and rear cattle, good store. But alas! this remedy proved worse than the disease; for within a few years those that had thus got footing then rent themselves away, partly by force, and partly wearing them with importunity and pleas of necessity, so as they must either suffer them to goe, or live in continual opposition and contention. And others still, as they conceived themselves straitened, or to want accomodation, break away under one pretence or other, thinking their own conceived necessity, and the example of others, a warrant sufficient for them. And this, I fear, will be the ruine of New-England, at least of the churches of God there, and will provoke the Lords displeasure against them.

From Chaper XXV Anno 1634

This year (in the forepart of the same) they sent forth a barke to trade at the Dutch-Plantation; and they mette there with on Captaine Stone, that had lived in Christophers, one of the West-Ende Ilands, and now had been some time in Virginia, and came from thence into these parts. He kept company with the Dutch Governour, and, I know not in what drunken fitt, he got leave of the Governour to cease on their barke, when they were ready to come away, and had done their markett, having the value of 500^{li}. worth of goods aboard her; having no occasion at all, or any colour of ground for such a thing, but having made the Governour drunck, so as he could scarce speake a right word; and when he urged him hear aboute, he answered him, *Als 't u beleeft*. So he gat aboard, (the cheefe of their men and marchant being ashore,) and with some of his own men, made the rest of theirs weigh anchor, sett sayle, and carry her away towards Virginia. But diverse of the Dutch sea-men, which had bene often at Plimoth, and kindly entertained there, said one to another, Shall we suffer our freinds to be thus abused, [386] and have their goods carried away, before our faces, whilst our Governour is drunke? They vowed they would never suffer it; and so got a vessell or 2. and pursued him, and brought him in againe, and delivered them their barke and goods againe.

Afterwards Stone came into the Massachusets, and they sent and commensed suite against him for this facte; but by mediation of freinds it was taken up, and the suite lett fall. And in the company of some other gentle-men Stone came afterwards to Plimoth, and had freindly and civill entertainments amongst them, with the rest; but revenge boyled within his brest, (though cancelled,) for some conceived he had a purpose (at one time) to have staped the Governour, and put his hand to his dagger for that end, but by Gods providence and the vigilance of some was prevented. He afterward returned to Virginia, in a pinasse, with one Captaine Norton and some others; and, I know not for what occasion, they would needs goe up Coonigtecutt River; and how they carried themselves I know not, but the Indians knockt him in the head, as he lay in his cabine, and had thrown the covering over his face (whether out of fear or desperation is uncertaine); this

was his end. They likewise killed all therest, but Captaine Norton defended him selfe a long time against them all in thecooke-roome, till by accidente the gunpowder tooke fire, which (for readynes) he had sett in an open thing before him, which did [387]so burne, and scald him, and blind his eyes, as he could make no longer resistance, but was slaine also by them, though they much comended his vallour. And having killed themen, they made a pray of what they had, and chafered away some of their things to theDutch that lived their. But it was not longe before a quarell fell betweene the Dutch and them, and they would have cutt of their bark; but they slue thecheef sachem wth theshott of a murderer.

I am now to relate some strang and remarkable passages. Ther was a company of people lived in thecountry, up above in theriver of Conigtecute, a great way from their trading house ther, and were enimise to those Indeans which lived aboute them, and of whom they stood in some fear (bing a stout people). About a thousand of them had inclosed them selves in a forte, which they had strongly palissadoed about. 3. or 4. Dutch men went up in thebegining of winter to live with them, to gett their trade, and prevente them for bringing it to theEnglish, or to fall into amitie with them; but at spring to bring all downe to their place. But their enterprise failed, for it pleased God to visite these Indeans with a great sicknes, and such a mortalitie that of a 1000. above 900. and a halfe of them dyed, and many of them did rott above ground for want of buriall, and theDutch men [388]allmost starved before they could gett away, for ise and snow. But about Feb: they got with much difficultie to their trading house; whom they kindly releevd, being allmost spent with hunger and could. Being thus refreshed by them diverce days, they got to their owne place, and theDutch were very thankfull for this kindnes.

This spring, also, those Indeans that lived aboute their trading house there fell sick of the small poxe, and dyed most miserably; for a sorer disease cannot befall them; they fear it more then the plague; for usuaily they that have this disease have them in abundance, and for wante of bedding and lining and other helps, they fall into a lamentable condition, as they ltheon their hard matts, thepoxe breaking and mattering, and runing one into another, their skin cleaving (by reason therof) to the matts they ltheon; when they turne them, a whole side will flea of at once, [204] (as it were,) and they will be all of a gore blood, most fearfull to behold; and then being very sore, what with could and other distempers, they dthelike rotten sheep. The condition of this people was so lamentable, and they fell downe so generally of this diseas, as they were (in theend) not able to help on another; no, not to make a fire, nor to fetch a litle water to drinke, nor any to burie the dead; but would strivie as long as they could, and when they could procure no other means to make fire, they [389]would burne the woden trayes and dishes they ate their meate in, and their very bowes and arrowes; and some would crawl out on all foure to gett a litle water, and some times dtheby the way, and not be able to gett in againe. But those of theEnglish house, (though at first they were afraid of theinfection,) yet seeing their woefull and sadd condition, and hearing their pitifull cries and lamentations, they had compastion of them, and dayly fetched them wood and water, and made them fires, gott them victualls whilst they lived, and buried them when they dyed. For very few of them escaped, notwithstanding they did what they could for them, to the hazard of them selvs. The cheefe Sachem him selfe now dyed, and allmost all his freinds and kinred. But by the marvelous goodnes and providens of God not one of theEnglish was so much as sicke, or in the least measure tainted with this disease, though they dayly did these offices for them for many weeks together. And this mercie which they shewed them was kindly taken, and thankfully acknowledged of all theIndeans that knew or heard of the same; and their m^{rs} here did much comend and reward them for the same.

From Chapter XXVII Anno. 1636

In theyear 1634, the Pequents (a stoute and warlike people), who had made warrs with sundry of [416]their neighbours, and puft up with many victories, grue now at varience with theNarigansets, a great people bordering upon them. These Narigansets held correspondance and termes of freindship with theEnglish of theMassachusetts. Now y^ePequents, being conscious of theguilte of Captain-Stones death, whom they knew to be an-English man, as also those thatwere with him, and being fallen out with y^eDutch, least they should have over many enemies at once, sought to make freindship with theEnglish of theMassachusetts; and for thatend sent both messengers and gifts unto them, as appears by some letters sent from theGov^r hither.

Dear and worthy Sr: andc. To let you know somewhat of our affairs, you may understand that thePequents have sent some of theirs to us, to desire our freindship, and offered much wampam and beaver, andc. The first messengers were dismissed without answer; with thenext we had diverce dayes conferance, and taking theadvise of some of our ministers, and seeking the Lord in it, we concluded a peace and freindship with them, upon these conditions: that they should deliver up to us those men who were guilty of Stones death, andc. And if we desired to plant in Conightecute, they should give up their right to us, and so we would send to trade with them as our freinds (which was thecheefe thing we aimed at, being now in warr with theDutch and therest of their neighbours). To this they readily agreed; and that we should meadiate a peace betweene them and the Narigansets; for which end they were contente we should give the Narigansets parte of thatpresente, they would bestow on us [417](for they stood [219] so much on their honour, as they would not be seen to give any thing of them selves). As for Captein Stone, they tould us ther were but 2. left of those who had any hand in his death; and that they killed him in a just quarell, for (say they) he surprised 2. of our men, and bound them, to make them by force to shew him theway up theriver;and he with 2. other coming on shore, 9. Indeans watched him, and when they were a sleepe in thenight, they kiled them, to deliver their owne men; and some of them going afterwards to thepinass, it was suddainly blowne up. We are now preparing to send a pinass unto them, andc.

In an other of his, dated the12. of thefirst month, he hath this.

Our pinass is latly returned from thePequents; they put of but litle comoditie, and found them a very false people, so as they mean to have no more to doe with them. I have diverce other things to write unto you, andc.

Yours ever assured,
Jo: Winthrop.
Boston, 12. of the1. month, 1634.

After these things, and, as I take, this year, John Oldom, (of whom much is spoken before,) being now an inhabitant of theMassachusetts, went wth a small vessell, and slenderly mand, a trading into these south parts, and upon a quarell betweene him and theIndeans was cutt of by them (as hath been before noted) at an iland called by

y^eIndeans Munisses, but since by [418]theEnglish Block Iland. This, with theformer about the death of Stone, and the baffoyling of thePequents with theEnglish of y^eMassachusetts, moved them to set out some to take revenge, and require satisfaction for these wrongs; but it was done so superfitially, and without their acquainting of those of Conightecute and other neighbours with thesame, as they did litle good. But their neighbours had more hurt done, for some of themurderers of Oldome fled to y^ePequents, and though the English went to thePequents, and had some parley with them, yet they did but delude them, and theEnglish returned without doing any thing to purpose, being frustrate of their oppertunitie by theothers deceite. After theEnglish were returned, the Pequents tooke their time and oppertunitie to cut of some of y^eEnglish as they passed in boats, and went on fouling, and assaulted them thenext spring at their habytations, as will appear in its place. I doe but touch these things, because I make no question they wall be more fully and distinctly handled by them selves, who had more exacte knowledg of them, and whom they did more properly concerne.

From Chapter XXVIII anno 1637

In the fore part of this year, the Pequots fell openly upon the English at Connecticut, in the lower parts of the river, and slew sundry of them, (as they were at work in their fields,) both men and women, to the great terror of the rest; and went away in great pride and triumph, with many high threats. They also assaulted a fort at the river's mouth, though strong and well defended; and though they did not their prevail, yet it struck them with much fear and astonishment to see their bold attempts in the face of danger; which made them in all places to stand upon their guard, and to prepare for resistance, and earnestly to solicit their friends and confederates in the Bay of Massachusetts to send them speedy aide, for they looked for more forcible assaults. M^r. Vane, being then Gov^r, write from their General Courte to them hear, to join with them in this war; to which they were cordially willing, but took opportunity to write to them about some former things, as well as present, considerable hereabout....

In the meantime, the Pequots, especially in the winter before, sought to make peace with the Narragansetts, and used very pernicious arguments to move them thereunto: as that the English were strangers and began to overspread their country, and would deprive them thereof in time, if they were suffered to grow and increase; and if the Narragansetts did assist the English to subdue them, they did but make way for their own overthrow, for if they were rooted out, the English would soon take occasion to subjugate them; and if they would harken to them, they should not need to fear the strength of the English; for they would not come to open battle with them, but fire their houses, kill their cattle, and lie in ambush for them as they went abroad upon their occasions; and all this they might easily doe without any or little danger to themselves. The which course being held, they well saw the English could not long subsist, but they would either be starved with hunger, or be forced to forsake the country; with many the like things; insomuch that the Narragansetts were once wavering, and were half minded to have made peace with them, and joined against the English. But again when they considered, how much wrong they had received from the Pequots, and what an opportunity they now had by the help of the English to right themselves, revenge was so sweet unto them, as it prevailed above all the rest; so as they resolved to join with the English against them, and did. The Court here agreed forthwith to send 50. men at their own charge; and with as much speed as possible they could, got them armed, and had made them ready under sufficient leaders, and provided a bark to carry them provisions and tend upon them for all occasions; but when they were ready to march (with a supply from the Bay) they had word to stay, for the enemy was as good as vanquished, and there would be no need.

I shall not take upon me exactly to describe their proceedings in these things, because I expect it will be fully done by themselves, who best know the carriage and circumstances of things; I shall therefore but touch them in general. From Connecticut (who were most sensible of the hurt sustained, and the present danger), they set out a party of men, and another party met them from the Bay, at the Narragansetts, who were to join with them. The Narragansetts were earnest to be gone before the English were well rested and refreshed, especially some of them which came last. It should seem their desire was to come upon the enemy suddenly, and undiscovered. There was a bark of this place, newly put in there, which was come from Connecticut, who did encourage them to lay hold of the Indians forwardness, and to shew as great forwardness as they, for it would encourage them, and expedition might prove to their great advantage. So they went on, and so ordered their march, as the Indians brought them to a forte of the enemies (in which most of their chief men were) before day. They approached the same with great silence, and surrounded it both with English and Indians, that they might not break out; and so assaulted them with great courage, shooting amongst them, and entered the fort with all speed; and those that first entered found sharp resistance from the enemy, who both shot at and grappled with them; others ran into their houses, and brought out fire, and set them on fire, which soon took in their matts, and, standing close together, with the wind, all was quickly on a flame, and thereby more were burnt to death than was otherwise slain; it burnt their bowstrings, and made them unserviceable. Those that scaped the fire were slain with the sword; some hewed to pieces, others run throw with their rapiers, so as they were quickly dispatched, and very few escaped. It was conceived they thus destroyed about 400. at this time. It was a fearful sight to see them thus frying in the fire, and the streams of blood quenching the same, and horrible was the stink and scent thereof; but the victory seemed a sweet sacrifice, and they gave the prays thereof to God, who had wrought so wonderfully for them, thus to enclose their enemies in their hands, and give them so speedy a victory over so proud and insulting an enemy. The Narragansett Indians, all this while, stood round about, but aloof from all danger, and left the whole execution to the English, except it were the stopping of any that broke away, insulting over their enemies in this their ruin and misery, when they saw them dancing in the flames, calling them by a word in their own language, signifying, O brave Pequots! which they used familiarly among themselves in their own prayers, in songs of triumph after their victories. After this service was thus happily accomplished, they marched to the water side, where they met with some of their vessels, by which they had refreshing with victuals and other necessaries. But in their march the rest of the Pequots drew into a body, and accosted them, thinking to have some advantage against them by reason of a neck of land; but when they saw the English prepare for them, they kept aloof, so as they neither did hurt, nor could receive any. After their refreshing and repair together for further counsel and directions, they resolved to pursue their victory, and follow the war against the rest, but the Narragansett Indians most of them forsook them, and such of them as they had with them for guides, or otherwise, they found them very cold and backward in the business, ether out of envy, or that they saw the English would make more profit of the victory then they were willing they should, or else deprive them of such advantage as themselves desired by having them become tributaries unto them, or the like....

That I may make an end of this matter: this Sassacus (the Pequots chief sachem) being fled to the Mohawks, they cut of his head, with some other of the chiefs of them, whether to satisfy the English, or rather the Narragansetts, (who, as I have since heard, hired them to do it,) or for their own advantage, I well know not; but thus this war took end. The rest of the Pequots were wholly driven from their place, and some of them submitted themselves to the Narragansetts, and lived under them; others of them betook themselves to the Mohegans, under Uncas, their sachem, with the approbation of the English of Connecticut, under whose protection Uncas lived, and he and his men had been faithful to them in this war, and done them

very good service. But this did so vex the Narragansetts, that they had not the whole sway over them, as they have never ceased plotting and contriving how to bring them under, and because they cannot attain their ends, because of the English who have protected them, they have sought to raise a general conspiracy against the English.

from Chapter 32 (1642)

There was a youth whose name was Thomas Granger; he was servant to an honest man of Duxbury, being about 16 or 17 years of age. (His father and mother lived at the same time at Situate.) He was this year detected of buggery (and indicted for the same) with a mare, a cow, two goats, five sheep, two calves, and a turkey. Horrible it is to mention, but the truth of the history requires it. He was first discovered by one that accidentally saw his lewd practice towards the mare. (I forbear particulars.) Being upon it examined and committed, in the end he not only confessed the fact with that beast at that time, but sundry times before, and at several times with all the rest of the forenamed in his indictment; and this his free-confession was not only in private to the magistrates, (though at first he strived to deny it,) but to sundry, both ministers and others, and afterwards, upon his indictment, to the whole court and jury; and confirmed it at his execution. And whereas some of the sheep could not so well be known by his description of them, others with them were brought before him, and he declared which were they, and which were not. And accordingly he was cast by the jury, and condemned, and after executed about the eighth of September, 1642. A very sad spectacle it was; for first the mare, and then the cow, and the rest of the lesser cattle, were killed before his face, according to the law, *Levit: 20. 15.* and then he himself was executed. The cattle were all cast into a great and large pit that was digged of purpose for them, and no use made of any part of them.

Upon the examination of this person, and also of a former that had made some sodomitical attempts upon another, it being demanded of them how they came first to the knowledge and practice of such wickedness, the one confessed he had long used it in old England; and this youth last spoken of said he was taught it by another that had heard of such things from some in England when he was there, and they kept cattle together. By which it appears how one wicked person may infect many; and what care all ought to have what servants they bring into their families.

But it may be demanded how came it to pass that so many wicked persons and profane people should so quickly come over into this land, and mix themselves amongst them? seeing it was religious men that began the work, and they came for religion's sake. I confess this may be marveled at, at least in time to come, when the reasons thereof should not be known; and the more because here was so many hardships and wants met withal. I shall therefore endeavor to give some answer hereunto. And first, according to that in the gospel, it is ever to be remembered that where the Lord begins to sow good seed, there the envious man will endeavor to sow tares. 2. Men being to come over into a wilderness, in which much labor and service was to be done about building and planting, andc., such as wanted help in that respect, when they could not have such as they would, were glad to take such as they could; and so, many untoward servants, sundry of them proved, that were thus brought over, both men and women kind: who, when their times were expired, became families of themselves, which gave increase hereunto. 3. Another and a main reason hereof was, that men, finding so many godly disposed persons willing to come into these parts, some began to make a trade of it, to transport passengers and their goods, and hired ships for that end; and then, to make up their freight and advance their profit, cared not who the persons were, so they had money to pay them. And by this means the country became pestered with many unworthy persons, who, being come over, crept into one place or other. 4. Again, the Lord's blessing usually following his people, as well in outward as spiritual things, (though afflictions be mixed withal,) do make many to adhere to the people of God, as many followed Christ, for the loaves sake, John 6. 26. and a mixed multitude came into the wilderness with the

people of God out of Egypt of old, Exod. 12. 38; so also there were sent by their friends some under hope that they would be made better; others that they might be eased of such burthens, and they kept from shame at home that would necessarily follow their dissolute courses. And thus, by one means or other, in 20 years' time, it is a question whether the greater part be not grown the worsser.

from Chapter 34(1644)

Mr. Edward Winslow was chosen Governor this year.

Many having left this place (as is before noted) by reason of the straightness and barrenness of the same, and their finding of better accommodations elsewhere, more suitable to their ends and minds; and sundry others still upon every occasion desiring their dismissions, the church began seriously to think whether it were not better jointly to remove to some other place, then to be thus weakened, and as it were insensibly dissolved. Many meetings and much consultation was held hereabout, and diverse were men's minds and opinions. Some were still for staying together in this place, alleging men might here live, if they would be content with their condition; and yet it was not for want or necessity so much that they removed, as for the enriching of themselves. Others were resolute upon removal, and so signified that here they could not stay; but if the church did not remove, they must; insomuch as many were swayed, rather than their should be a dissolution, to condescend to a removal, if a fit place could be found, that might more conveniently and comfortable receive the whole, with such accession of others as might come to them, for their better strength and subsistence; and some such like cautions and limitations. So as, with the aforesaid provisos, the greater part consented to a removal to a place called Nauset, which had been superficially viewed and the good will of the purchasers (to whom it belonged) obtained, with some addition thereto from the Court. But now they began to see their error, that they had given away already the best and most commodious places to others, and now wanted themselves; for this place was about 50. miles from hence, and at an outside of the country, remote from all society; also, that it would prove so straight, as it would not be competent to receive the whole body, much less be capable of any addition or increase; so as (at least in a short time) they should be worse there then they are now here. The which, with sundry other like considerations and inconveniences, made them change their resolutions; but such as were before resolved upon removal took advantage of this agreement, and went on notwithstanding, neither could the rest hinder them, they having made some beginning. And thus was this poor church left, like an ancient mother, grown old, and forsaken of her children, (though not in their affections,) yet in regard of their bodily presence and personal helpfulness. Her ancient members being most of them worn away by death; and these of later time being like children translated into other families, and she like a widow left only to trust in God. Thus she that had made many rich became herself poore.