

New England's Memorial:
Or,
A BRIEF RELATION
OF THE
MOST MEMORABLE AND REMARKABLE PASSAGES
OF THE
PROVIDENCE OF GOD,
MANIFESTED TO THE
PLANTERS OF NEW ENGLAND IN AMERICA:
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE
TO THE
FIRST COLONY THEREOF,
CALLED
NEW PLYMOUTH.

AS ALSO A NOMINATION OF DIVERS OF THE MOST EMINENT
INSTRUMENTS DECEASED, BOTH OF CHURCH AND
COMMONWEALTH, IMPROVED IN THE FIRST BEGINNING
AND AFTER PROGRESS OF SUNDRY OF THE
RESPECTIVE JURISDICTIONS IN THOSE PARTS;
IN REFERENCE UNTO SUNDRY EXEMPLARY
PASSAGES OF THEIR LIVES,
AND THE TIME OF THEIR
DEATH.

Published for the use and benefit of present and future generations,
BY NATHANIEL MORTON,
SECRETARY TO THE COURT, FOR THE JURISDICTION OF NEW PLYMOUTH.

Deut. xxxii. 10.—He found him in a desert land, in the waste howling wilderness he led him about; he instructed him, he kept him as the apple of his eye.

Jer. ii. 2,3.—I remember thee, the kindness of thy youth, the love of thine espousals, when thou wentest after me in the wilderness, in the land that was not sown, etc.

Deut. viii. 2,16.—And thou shalt remember all the way which the Lord thy God led thee this forty years in the wilderness, etc.

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1669.

TO THE
RIGHT WORSHIPFUL, THOMAS PRENCE, ESQ.,
GOVERNOR OF THE JURISDICTION OF NEW PLYMOUTH;
WITH
THE WORSHIPFUL, THE MAGISTRATES,
HIS ASSISTANTS IN THE SAID GOVERNMENT:

N.M. wisheth Peace and Prosperity in this life, and Eternal Happiness in that which is to come.

Right Worshipful,

The consideration of the weight of duty that lieth upon us, to commemorate to future generations the memorable passages of God's providence to us and our predecessors in the beginning of this plantation, hath wrought in me a restlessness of spirit, and earnest desire, that something might be achieved in that behalf, more (or at least otherwise) than as yet hath been done. Many discouragements I have met with, both from within and without myself; but reflecting upon the ends I have proposed to myself in setting out in this work, it hath afforded me some support, viz. the glory of God, and the good of present and future generations. Being also induced hereunto by the consideration that yourselves (especially some of you) are fully acquainted with many of the particulars, both concerning persons and things, inserted in the following narrative, and can, on your own knowledge, assert them for truth. Were it so, that any other had traveled in this kind in such a way as might have conduced to a brief and satisfactory intelligence in particulars relating to the premises, I would have spared this labor, and have satisfied myself in perusal of their works, rather than to have set pen to paper about the same; but having never seen nor heard of any, especially respecting this our plantation of New Plymouth, which God hath honored to be the first in this land, I have made bold to present your Worships with, and to publish to the world, something of the very first beginnings of the great actions of God in New England, begun at New Plymouth, wherein, the greatest part of my intelligence hath been borrowed from my much honored uncle, Mr. William Bradford, and such manuscripts as he left in his study, from the year 1620 unto 1646; whom had God continued in this world some longer time, and given him rest from his other more important affairs, we might probably have had these things from an abler pen, and better digested, than now you may expect. Certain diurnals of the honored Mr. Edward Winslow have also afforded me good light and help: and what from them both, and otherwise I have obtained, that I judged suitable for the following discourse, I have with care and faithfulness related; and have therein more solicitously followed the truth of things (many of which I can also assert on my own knowledge) than I have studied quaintness in expressions.

I should gladly have spoken more particularly of the neighboring united colonies, whose ends and aims in their transplanting of themselves and families, were the same with ours, viz. the glory of God, the propagation of the gospel, and enlargement of His Majesty's dominions; but for want of intelligence, and that I may not prevent a better pen, I shall only make mention of some of their worthies that we have been most acquainted with.

I shall not insist upon the clime nor soil of the country, its commodities, or discommodities; nor at large on the natives, or their customs and manners, all of which have been already declared by Capt. Smith, Mr. Higginson, Mr. Williams, Mr. Wood, and others. What it is, and what my aims at God's glory, and my good affection to the place and people of whom I treat, may make it, I present your Worships with, humbly craving your favorable aspect, and good acceptance of my poor endeavors; and that myself and it may find protection and

shelter under the wings of your pious patronage, to defend us against such critical and censorious eyes and tongues, as may either carp at my expressions, or misconstrue my intentions. The ample experience I have had of your undeserved favor and respect to me, in my many years service of the public, and my observation in that time, that you have desired something of this nature might be done, hath encouraged me hereunto. Your good acceptance whereof, shall ever oblige me to answerable returning of gratitude, and administer to me further cause of thankfulness, that God hath given me an habitation under your just and prudent administrations; and wish for a succession of such as may be skilful to lead our Israel in this their peregrination; and when God shall take you hence, to receive the crown of your labors and travels. So prayeth,

Your Worship's humble servant,

NATHANIEL MORTON.

TO THE
CHRISTIAN READER.

GRACE AND PEACE BE MULTIPLIED; WITH PROFIT BY THIS FOLLOWING NARRATION.

Gentle Reader,

I have for some length of time looked upon it as a duty incumbent, especially on the immediate successors of those that have had so large experience of those many memorable and signal demonstrations of God's goodness, viz. the first beginners of this plantation in New England, to commit to writing his gracious dispensations on that behalf; having so many inducements thereunto, not only otherwise, but so plentifully in the sacred Scriptures, that so, what we have seen, and what our fathers have told us, we may not hide from our children, showing to the generations to come the praises of the Lord. Psal. 78:3,4. That especially the seed of Abraham his servant, and the children of Jacob his chosen, may remember his marvelous works (Psal. 105:5, 6) in the beginning and progress of the planting of New England, his wonders, and the judgments of his mouth; how that God brought a vine into this wilderness; that he cast out the heathen and planted it; that he made room for it, and caused it to take deep root, and it filled the land; so that it hath sent forth its boughs to the sea and its branches to the river. Psal. 80:8,9. And not only so, but also that He hath guided his people by his strength to his holy habitation, and planted them in the mountain of his inheritance, (Exod. 15:13,) in respect of precious gospel enjoyments. So that we may not only look back to former experiences of God's goodness to our predecessors, (though many years before,) and so have our faith strengthened in the mercies of God for our times; that so the church being one numerical body, might not only even for the time he spake with us in our forefathers, (Hos. 12:4,) by many gracious manifestations of his glorious attributes, wisdom, goodness, and truth, improved for their good, but also rejoice in present enjoyments of both outward and spiritual mercies, as fruits of their prayers, tears, travels, and labors; that as especially God may have the glory of all, unto whom it is most due; so also some rays of glory may reach the names of those blessed saints that were the main instruments of the beginning of this happy enterprise.

So then, gentle Reader, thou mayest take notice, that the main ends of publishing this small history, is, that God may have his due praise, his servants, the instruments, have their names embalmed, and the present and future ages may have the fruit and benefit of God's great work, in the relation of the first planting of New England. Which ends, if attained, will be great cause of rejoicing to the publisher thereof, if God give him life and opportunity to take notice thereof.

The method I have observed, is (as I could) in some measure answerable to the ends aforementioned, in inserting some acknowledgment of God's goodness, faithfulness, and truth upon special occasions, with allusion to the Scriptures; and also taking notice of some special instruments, and such main and special particulars as were perspicuously remarkable, in way of commendation in them, so far as my intelligence would reach; and especially in a faithful commemorating, and declaration of God's wonderful works for, by, and to his people, in preparing a place for them by driving out the heathen before them; bringing them through a sea of troubles; preserving, and protecting them from, and in those dangers that attended them in their low estate, when they were strangers in the land; and making this howling wilderness a chamber of rest, safety, and pleasantness, whilst the storms of his displeasure have not only tossed, but endangered the overwhelming of great states and kingdoms, and hath now made it to

us a fruitful land, sowed it with the seed of man and beast; but especially in giving us so long a peace, together with the gospel of peace, and so great a freedom in our civil and religious enjoyments; and also in giving us hopes that we may be instruments in his hands, not only of enlarging of our prince's dominions, but to enlarge the kingdom of the Lord Jesus, in the conversion of the poor blind natives.

And now, courteous Reader, that I may not hold thee too long in the porch, I only crave of thee to read this following discourse with a single eye, and with the same ends as I had in penning it. Let not the smallness of our beginnings, nor weakness of instruments, make the thing seem little, or the work despicable; but on the contrary, let the greater praise be rendered unto God, who hath effected great things by small means. Let not the harshness of my style, prejudice thy taste or appetite to the dish I present thee with. Accept it as freely as I give it. Carp not at what thou dost not approve, but use it as a remembrance of the Lord's goodness, to engage to true thankfulness and obedience; so may it be a help to thee in thy journey through the wilderness of this world, to that eternal rest which is only to be found in the heavenly Canaan, which is the earnest desire of

Thy Christian friend,
Nathaniel Morton.

NEW ENGLAND'S MEMORIAL:

OR

A BRIEF RELATION OF THE MOST REMARKABLE PASSAGES OF THE
PROVIDENCE OF GOD, MANIFESTED TO THE PLANTERS
OF NEW ENGLAND, IN AMERICA.

AND FIRST, OF THE BEGINNING OF THE FIRST PLANTATION IN N. E.,

CALLED

NEW PLYMOUTH.

It is the usual manner of the dispensation of the majesty of heaven, to work wonderfully by weak means for the effectuating of great things, to the intent that he may have the more glory to himself. Many instances hereof might be produced, both out of the sacred Scriptures, and common experience; and amongst many others of this kind, the late happy and memorable enterprise of the planting of that part of America called New England, deserveth to be commemorized to future posterity.

In the year 1602, divers godly Christians of our English nation, in the north of England, being studious of reformation, and therefore not only witnessing against human inventions, and additions in the worship of God, but minding most the positive and practical part of divine institutions, they entered into covenant to walk with God, and one with another, in the enjoyment of the ordinances of God, according to the primitive pattern in the word of God. But finding by experience they could not peaceably enjoy their own liberty in their native country, without offence to others that were differently minded, they took up thoughts of removing themselves and their families into the Netherlands, which accordingly they endeavored to accomplish, but met with great hindrance; yet after some time, the good hand of God removing obstructions, they obtained their desires; arriving in Holland, they settled themselves in the city of Leiden, in the year 1610, and there they continued divers years in a comfortable condition, enjoying much sweet society and spiritual comfort in the ways of God, living peaceably amongst themselves, and being courteously entertained and lovingly respected by the Dutch, amongst whom they were strangers, having for their pastor Mr. John Robinson, a man of a learned, polished, and modest spirit, pious and studying of the truth, largely accomplished with suitable gifts and qualifications to be a shepherd over this flock of Christ; having also a fellow helper with him in the eldership, Mr. William Brewster, a man of approved piety, gravity, and integrity, very eminently furnished with gifts suitable to such an office.

But notwithstanding their amiable and comfortable carrying on (as hath been said) although the church of Christ on earth in Holy Writ is sometimes called heaven; yet there is always, in their most perfect state here in this lower world, very much wanting as to absolute and perfect happiness, which is only reserved for the time and place of the full enjoyment of celestial glory; for, although this church was at peace, and in rest at this time, yet they took up thoughts of removing themselves into America, with common consent. The proposition of removing thither being set on foot, and prosecuted by the elders upon just and weighty grounds; for although they did quietly and sweetly enjoy their church liberties under the States, yet they foresaw that

Holland would be no place for their church and posterity to continue in comfortably, at least in that measure that they hoped to find abroad; and that for these reasons following, which I shall recite as received from themselves.

First. Because themselves were of a different language from the Dutch where they lived, and were settled in their way, insomuch that in ten years time, whilst their church sojourned amongst them, they could not bring them to reform the neglect of observation of the Lord's day as a Sabbath, or any other thong amiss among them.

Secondly. Because their countrymen, who came over to join with them, by reason of the hardness of the country, soon spent their estates, and were then forced either to return back to England, or to live very meanly.

Thirdly. That many of their children, through the extreme necessity that was upon them, although of the best dispositions and graciously inclined, and willing to bear part of their parents' burdens, were oftentimes so oppressed with their heavy labors, that although their spirits were free and willing, yet their bodies bowed under the weight of the same, and became decrepit in their early youth, and the vigor of nature consumed in the very bud. And that which was very lamentable, and of all sorrows most heavy to be borne, was that many by these occasions and the great licentiousness of youth in that country, and the manifold temptations of the place, were drawn away by evil examples into extravagant and dangerous courses, getting the reins on 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 destruction of their souls, to the great grief of their parents, and the dishonor of God; and that the place being of great licentiousness and liberty to children, they could not educate them, nor could they give them due correction without reproof or reproach from their neighbors.

Fourthly. That their posterity would in few generations become Dutch, and so lose their interest in the English nation; they being desirous rather to enlarge His Majesty's dominions, and to live under their natural prince.

Fifthly and lastly. And which was not the least, a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto for the propagating and advancement of the gospel of the kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world, yea, although they should be but as stepping-stones unto others for the performance of so great a work.¹

These and such like were the true reasons of their removal, and not as some of their adversaries did, upon the rumor thereof, cast out slanders against them; as if the state were weary of them, and had rather driven them out, (as heathen histories have feigned of Moses and the Israelites when they went out of Egypt,) than that it was their own free choice and motion.

I will therefore mention a particular or two, to evince the contrary.

And first. Although some of them were low in their estates, yet the Dutch observing that they were diligent, faithful, and careful of their engagements, had great respect to them, and strove for their custom.

Again, secondly, the magistrates of the city of Leiden where they lived, about the time of their coming away, in the public place of justice, gave this commendable testimony of them, in reproof of the Walloons, who were of the French church in the city: These English (said they) have lived now amongst us ten years, and yet we never had any suit or accusation against them, or any of them, but your strifes and quarrels are continual.

¹ This hath been graciously answered since, by moving the hearts of many of his servants to be very instrumental in this work with some good success, and hopes of further blessing in that respect. (Morton).

The reasons of their removal above named being debated first in private, and thought weighty, were afterwards propounded in public; and after solemn days of humiliation observed both in public and private, it was agreed, that part of the church should go before their brethren into America, to prepare for the rest; and if in case the major part of the church did choose to go over with the first, then the pastor to go along with them; but if the major part stayed, that he was then to stay with them.

They having employed sundry agents to treat with several merchants in England, who adventured some considerable sums in a way of valuation to such as went personally on in the voyage; the articles of agreement about the premises being fully concluded with the said merchants, and sundry difficulties and obstructions removed, having also obtained letters patent for the northern parts of Virginia, of King James of famous memory, all things were got ready and provided, a small ship was bought and fitted out in Holland, of about sixty tons, called the *Speedwell*, as to serve to transport some of them over, so also 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 thither. Another ship was hired at London, of burden about nine score, called the *Mayflower*, and all other things got in readiness; so being prepared to depart, they had a solemn day of humiliation, the pastor teaching a part of the day very profitably, and suitably to the present occasion.² The rest of the time was spent in pouring out of prayers unto 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 called Delftshaven, where the ship lay ready to receive them, so they left that goodly and pleasant city, which had been their resting-place above eleven years; but they knew that they were pilgrims and strangers here below, and looked not much on these things, but lifted up their eyes to heaven, their dearest country, where God hath prepared for them a city, Heb. 11:16, and therein 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 came from Amsterdam to see them shipped, and to take their leave of them. One night was spent with little sleep with 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 on board, and their friends with them, where truly doleful was the sight of that sad and mournful parting, to hear what sighs and sobs, and prayers did sound amongst them; what tears did gush from every eye, and pithy speeches pierced each others' 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 dear 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 unto the Lord and his blessing; and then with mutual embraces, and many tears, they took their leave one of another, which proved to be the last leave to many of them. Thus hoisting sail with a prosperous gale of wind, they came in a short time to Southampton, where they found the bigger ship come from London, being ready with all the rest of their company, meeting each other with a joyful welcome and mutual congratulation.

At their parting, their pastor, Mr. John Robinson, wrote a letter to the whole company, which I thought meet here to insert, being so fruitful in itself, and suitable to their occasions.

² The text of Scripture was Ezra 8:21. (Morton).

LOVING CHRISTIAN FRIENDS,

I do heartily, and in the Lord salute you, as being those with whom I am present in my best affections, and most earnest longing after you, though I be constrained for awhile to be bodily absent from you: I say constrained; God knowing how willingly, and much rather than otherwise, I would have borne my part with you in this first brunt, were I not by strong necessity held back for the present. Make account of me in the mean time as a man divided in myself, with great pain, and as (natural bonds set aside) having my better part with you. And although I doubt not but in your godly wisdoms you both foresee and resolve upon that which concerneth your present state and condition, both severally and jointly; yet have I thought it but my duty to add some further spur of provocation to them that run well already, if not because you need it, yet because I owe it in love and duty. And first, as we are daily to renew our repentance with our God, especially for our sins known, and generally for our unknown trespasses; so doth the Lord call us in a singular manner, upon occasions of such difficulty and danger as lieth upon you, to both a narrow search and careful reformation of your ways in his sight, lest he calling to remembrance our sins forgotten by us, or unrepented of, take advantage against us, and in judgment leave us for the same, to be swallowed up in one danger or other. Whereas, on the contrary, sin being taken away by earnest repentance, and the pardon thereof from the Lord sealed up to a man's conscience by his spirit, great shall be his security and peace in all dangers, sweet his comforts in all distresses, with happy deliverance from all evil, whether in life or death. Now next after this heavenly peace with God and our own consciences, we are carefully to provide for peace with all men, what in us lieth, especially with our associates; and for that watchfulness must be had, that we neither at all in ourselves do give, no, nor easily take offence being given by others. Woe be to the world for offences, for although it be necessary, considering the malice of Satan and man's corruption, that offences come, yet woe unto the man, or woman either, by whom the offence cometh, saith Christ, Math. 18:7, and if offences in the unseasonable use of things, in themselves indifferent, be more to be feared than death itself, as the apostle teacheth, 1 Cor. 11:15, how much more in things simply evil, in which neither the honor of God, nor love of man is thought worthy to be regarded? Neither yet is it sufficient that we keep ourselves by the grace of God from giving of offence, except withal we be armed against the taking of them when they are given by others; for how imperfect and lame is the work of grace in that person, who wants charity to cover a multitude of offences? As the Scripture speaks. Neither are you to be exhorted to this grace, only upon the common grounds of Christianity, which are, that persons ready to take offence, either want charity to cover offences, or wisdom duly to weigh human frailties; or lastly, are gross though close hypocrites, as Christ our Lord teacheth, Math. 7:1-3, as indeed, in my own experience, few or none have been found which sooner give offence, than such as easily take it; neither have they ever proved sound and profitable members in societies, who have nourished this touchy humor. But besides these, there are divers motives provoking you above others to great care and conscience this way; as first, there are many of you strangers as to the persons, so to the infirmities one of another, and so stand in need of more watchfulness this way, lest when such things fall out in men and women as you suspected not, you be inordinately affected with them, which doth require at your hands much wisdom and charity for the covering and preventing of incident offences that way. And lastly, your intended course of civil community will minister continual occasion of offence, and will be as fuel for that fire, except you diligently quench it with brotherly forbearance. And if taking offence causelessly or easily at men's doings, be so carefully to be avoided, how much more heed is to be taken that we take not

offence at God himself? Which yet we certainly do, so oft as we do murmur at his providence in our crosses, or bear impatiently such afflictions as wherewith he pleaseth to visit us. Store up therefore patience against the evil day; without which, we take offence at the Lord himself in his holy and just works. A further thing there is carefully to be provided for, namely, that with your common employments, you join common affections truly bent upon the general good, avoiding, as a deadly plague of your both common and special comforts, all retiredness of mind for proper advantage, and all singularly affected every manner of way. Let every man repress in himself, and the whole body in each person, as so many rebels against the common good, all private respects of men's selves, not sorting with the general convenience. And as men are careful not to have a new house shaken with any violence, before it be well settled, and the parts firmly knit; so be you, I beseech you, brethren, much more careful that the house of God (which you are, and are to be) be not shaken with unnecessary novelties, or other oppositions at the first settling thereof.

Lastly, whereas you are to become a body politic, using amongst yourselves civil government, and are not furnished with persons of special eminency above the rest, to be chosen by you into office of government; let your wisdom and godliness appear not only in choosing such persons as do entirely love, and will promote the common good; but also in yielding unto them all due honor and obedience in their lawful administrations, not beholding in them the ordinariness of their persons, but God's ordinance for your good; not being like the foolish multitude, who more honor the gay coat, than either the virtuous mind of the man, or the glorious ordinance of God. But you know better things, and that the image of the Lord's power and authority, which the magistrate beareth, is honorable, in how mean persons soever; and this duty you may the more willingly, and ought the more conscionably to perform, because you are (at least for the present) to have them for your ordinary governors, which yourselves shall make choice of for that work.

Sundry other things of importance I could put you in mind of, and of those before mentioned in more words; but I will not so far wrong your godly minds, as to think you heedless of these things, there being also divers amongst you so well able to admonish both themselves and others of what concerneth them. These few things, therefore, and the same in few words, I do earnestly commend to your care and conscience, joining therewith my daily incessant prayers unto the Lord, that he who hath made the heavens and the earth and sea, and all rivers of waters, and whose providence is over all his works, especially over all his dear children for good, would so guide and guard you in your ways as inwardly by his spirit, so outwardly by the hand of his power, as that you, and we also for and with you may have after matter of praising is name all the days of your and our lives. Fare you well in him in whom you trust, and in whom I rest.

An unfeigned well willer to your happy success in this hopeful voyage.

John Robinson

Upon the receipt of this letter, the company were called together; and it was publicly read amongst them, which had good acceptance with all, and after fruit with many.

Of the troubles that befell the first planters upon the coast of England, and in their voyage in coming over into New England, and their arrival at Cape Cod, alias Cape James.

All things being got ready, and every business dispatched, they ordered and distributed their company for either ship (as they conceived for the best) and chose a governor, and two or three assistants for each ship, to order the people by the way, and to see to the disposing of the provision, and such like affairs; all which was not only with the liking of the masters of the ships, but according to their desires; which being done, they set sail from Southampton the fifth of August, 1620. But alas, the best enterprises meet oftentimes with many discouragements; for they had not sailed far, before Mr. Reynolds, the master of the lesser ship, complained that he found his ship so leaky, he durst not put further to sea; on which they were forced to put in at Dartmouth, Mr. Jones, the master of the biggest ship, likewise putting in there with him, and the said lesser ship was searched and mended, and judged sufficient for the voyage, by the workmen that mended her; on which both the said ships put to sea the second time, but they had not sailed above an hundred leagues, ere the said Reynolds again complained of his ship being so leaky, as that he feared he should founder in the sea, if he held on; and then both ships bore up again, and went in at Plymouth; but being there searched again, no great matter appeared, but it was judged to be the general weakness of the ship. But the true reason of the retarding and delaying of matters was not as yet discerned; the one of them respecting the ship (as afterwards was found), was, that she was over-masted, which, when she came to her trim, in that respect she did well; and made divers profitable and successful voyages. But secondly, and more especially by the deceit of the master and his company, who were hired to stay a whole year in the country; but now fancying dislike, and fearing want of victuals, they plotted this stratagem to free themselves, as afterwards was known, and by some of them confessed; for they apprehended that the greater ship being of force, and in whom most provisions were bestowed, that she would retain enough for herself, whatsoever became of them and the passengers. But so strong was self-love and deceit in this man, as he forgot all duty and former kindness, and dealt thus falsely with them. These things thus falling out, it was resolved by the whole company to dismiss the lesser ship and part of the company with her, and that the other part of the company should proceed in the bigger ship; which when they had ordered matters thereunto, they made another sad parting, the one ship, namely, the lesser, going back for London, and the other, namely, the *Mayflower*, Mr. Jones being master, proceeding on the intended voyage.

These troubles being blown over, and now all being compact together in one ship, they put to sea again with a prosperous wind; but after they had enjoyed fair winds for a season, they met with many contrary winds and fierce storms, with which their ship was shrewdly shaken, and her upper works made very leaky, and one of the main beams of the midships was bowed and cracked, which put them to some fear that she would not be able to perform the voyage; on which the principal of the seamen and passengers had serious consultation what to do, whether to return, or hold on. But the ship proving strong under water, by a screw the said beam was brought into his place again; which being done, and well secured by the carpenter, they resolved to hold on their voyage, and so after many boisterous storms in which they could bear no sail, but were forced to lie at hull many days together; after long beating at sea, they fell in with the land called Cape Cod,³ the which being made, and certainly known to be it, they were not a little joyful. After some little deliberation had amongst themselves with the master of the ship, they tacked about to stand to the southward, to find some place about Hudson's river, (according to their first intentions,) for their habitations: but they had not sailed that course above half a day,

³ Cape Cod, so called at the first by Capt. Gosnold and his company, Anno 1602, because they took much of that fish there; and afterwards called Cape James, by Capt. Smith. The point of the cape is called Point Care, and Tucker's Terror; and by the French and Dutch, Mallabar, by reason of the perilous shoals. (Morton).

before they fell amongst perilous shoals and breakers, and they were so far entangled therewith, as they conceived themselves in great danger; and the wind shrinking upon them withal, they resolved to bear up again for the cape aforesaid: the next day, by God's providence, they got into the cape harbor. Thus they arrived at Cape Cod, alias Cape James, in November, 1620, and being 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 many perils and miseries.

Nevertheless, it is to be observed, that their putting into this place was partly by reason of a storm by which they were forced in, but more especially by the fraudulency and contrivance of the aforesaid Mr. Jones, the master of the ship; for their intention, as before noted, and his engagement, was to Hudson's river; but some of the Dutch having notice of their intentions, and having thoughts about the same time of erecting a plantation there likewise, they fraudulently hired the said Jones, by delays, while they were in England, and now under pretence of the danger of the shoals, etc., to disappoint them in their going thither.⁴ But God outshoots Satan oftentimes in his own bow; for had they gone to Hudson's river, as before expressed, it had proved very dangerous to them; for although it is a place far more commodious, and the soil more fertile, yet then abounding with a multitude of pernicious savages, whereby they would have been in great peril of their lives, and so the work of transplanting the gospel into these parts much endangered to have been hindered and retarded; but God so disposed, that the place where they afterwards settled was much depopulated by a great mortality amongst the natives, which fell out about two years before their arrival, whereby he made way for the carrying on of his good purpose in promulgating of his gospel as aforesaid.

But before we pass on, let the reader, with me, make a pause, and seriously consider this poor people's present condition, the more to be raised up to admiration of God's goodness towards them in their preservation; for being now passed the vast ocean, and a sea of troubles before in their preparation, they had now no friends to welcome them, no inns to entertain or refresh them, no houses, much less towns, to repair unto to seek for succor. The barbarians that Paul the apostle fell amongst in his shipwreck, at the isle Melita, showed him no small kindness, Acts 28, but these savage barbarians, when they met with them (as after will appear), were readier to fill their sides full of arrows, than otherwise; and, for the season it was winter, and they that know the winters of the country, know them to be sharp and violent, subject to cruel and fierce storms, dangerous to travel to known places, much more to search unknown coasts. Besides, what could they see but a hideous and desolate wilderness, full of wild beasts and wild men? And what multitudes of them there were, they then 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 heaven), they could have little solace or content in respect of any outward object, for summer being ended, all things stand in appearance 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. The master of the ship and his company pressing with speed to look a place for a settlement at some near distance, for the season was such that he would not stir from thence until a safe harbor was discovered by them with their boat; yea, it was sometimes threatened, that if they would not get a place in time, that they and their goods should be turned on shore, and that the ship would leave them; the master expressing himself, that provisions spent apace, and that he would keep sufficient for himself and his company for their return.. It is

⁴ Of this plot between the Dutch and Mr. Jones, I have had late certain intelligence. (Morton).

true indeed, that the love and affections of their brethren they left behind them in Holland were cordial and entire towards them, but they had little power to help them or themselves; what could now sustain them but the spirit of God and his grace? Ought not, and may 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. Let them therefore praise the Lord, because he is good, and his mercy endureth forever; yea, let them who have been the redeemed of the Lord, show 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 therefore confess before the Lord his loving-kindness, and his wonderful works before the children of men, Psal. 107:1, 2, 4, 5, 8.

Of the first planters, their combination, by entering into a body politic together; with their proceedings in discovery of a place for their settlement and habitation.

Being thus fraudulently dealt with (as you have heard), and brought so far to the northward, the season being sharp, and no hopes of their obtaining their intended port; and thereby their patent being made void and useless, as to another place: being at Cape Cod upon the eleventh day of November, 1620, it was thought meet for their more orderly carrying on of their affairs, and accordingly by mutual consent they entered into a solemn combination, as a body politic, to submit to such government and governors, laws and ordinances, as should by a general consent, from time to time, be made choice of, and assented unto. The contents whereof followeth.⁵

In the name of God, amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the faith, etc. Having undertaken for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and the honor of our King and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia; do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof, do enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and officers, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony; unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names, at Cape Cod, the eleventh of November, in the reign of our sovereign Lord King James, of England, France, and Ireland, the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth, Anno Dom. 1620

John Carver,	Edward Tilley,	Degory Priest,
William Bradford,	John Tilley,	Thomas Williams,
Edward Winslow,	Francis Cooke,	Gilbert Winslow,
William Brewster,	Thomas Rogers,	Edmund Margesson,
Isaac Allerton,	Thomas Tinker,	Peter Brown,
Myles Standish,	John Rigsdale,	Richard Britteridge,

⁵ This was the first foundation of the government of New Plymouth. (Morton).

John Alden,	Edward Fuller,	George Soule,
Samuel Fuller,	John Turner,	Richard Clarke,
Christopher Martin,	Francis Eaton,	Richard Gardinar,
William Mullins,	James Chilton,	John Allerton,
William White,	John Crackston,	Thomas English,
Richard Warren,	John Billington,	Edward Doty,
John Howland,	Moses Fletcher,	Edward Leister. ⁶
Stephen Hopkins,	John Goodman,	

After this they chose Mr. John Carver, a man godly and well approved amongst them, to be their governor for that year.

Necessity now calling them to look out a place for habitation, as well as the master's and mariners' importunity urging them thereunto; while their carpenter was trimming up of their boat, sixteen of their men tendered themselves to go by land and discover those nearest places, which was accepted; and they being well armed, were sent forth on the sixteenth of November, 1620, and having marched about a mile by the seaside, they espied five Indians, who ran away from them, and they followed them all that day sundry miles, but could not come to speech with them; so night coming on, they betook themselves to their rendezvous, and set out their sentinels, and rested in quiet that night; and the next morning they followed the Indians' tracks, but could not find them nor their dwellings, but at length lighted on a good quantity of clear ground near to a pond of fresh water, where formerly the Indians had planted Indian corn, at which place they saw sundry of their graves; and proceeding further they found new stubble where Indian corn had been planted the same year; also they found where lately an house had been, where some planks and a great kettle was remaining, and heaps of sand newly paddled with their hands, which they digged up and found in them divers fair Indian baskets filled with corn, some whereof was in ears, fair and good, of divers colors, which seemed to them a very goodly sight, having seen none before, of which rarities they took some to carry to their friends on shipboard, like as the Israelites' spies brought from Eshcol some of the good fruits of the land; but finding little that might make for their encouragement as to situation, they returned, being gladly received by the rest of their company

After this, their shallop being ready, they set out the second time for a more full discovery of this place, especially a place that seemed to be an opening as they went into the said harbor some two or three leagues off, which the master judged to be a river; about thirty of them went out on this second discovery, the master of the ship going with them; but upon the more exact discovery thereof, they found it to be no harbor for ships, but only for boats. There they also found two of their houses covered with mats, and sundry of their implements in them; but the people ran away and could not be seen. Also there they found more of their corn and 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.⁷ And here is to be noted, a special and a great mercy to this people, that here they got them seed to plant them corn the next year, or otherwise they might have starved, for they had none, nor any likelihood to get any until the season had been past, (as the sequel did manifest,) neither is it likely that they had had this, if the first discovery had not been made, for the ground was now all covered with snow, and hard frozen; but the Lord

⁶ This is the earliest published list of the signers of the "Mayflower Compact."

⁷ About six months after they gave them full satisfaction to their content. (Morton).

is never wanting unto those that are his, in their greatest needs. Let his holy name have all the praise.

Having thus discovered this place, it was controverted amongst them what to do, touching their abode and settling there. Some thought it best for many reasons to abide there.

1st. Because of the convenience of the harbor for boats, though not for ships.

2d. There was good corn ground ready to their hands, as was seen by experience in the goodly corn it yielded, which again would agree with the ground, and be natural seed for the same.

3d. Cape Cod was like to be a place for good fishing, for they daily saw great whales of the best kind for oil.

4th. The place was likely to be healthful, secure, and defensible.

5th, and lastly. The especial reason was, that now the heart of the winter and unseasonable weather was come upon them, so as they could not go upon coasting and discovery without danger of losing both men and boat, upon which they would follow the overthrow of all, especially considering what variable winds and sudden storms do there arise; also cold and wet lodging had so tainted their people, as scarce any of them were free from vehement coughs, as if they should continue long, it would endanger the lives of many, and breed diseases and infection amongst them. Again, that as yet they had some provisions, but they would quickly be spent, and then they should have nothing to comfort them in their labor and toil that they were like to undergo. At the first it was also conceived, whilst they had competent victuals, that the ship would stay, but when that grew low, they would be gone, and let them shift for themselves.

Others again urged to go to Agawam, alias Angawam, a place about twenty leagues off to the northward, which they had heard to be an excellent harbor for ships, better ground and better fishing.

Secondly. For anything they knew there might be hard by us a better seat, and it would be a great hindrance to seat where they should remove again.

But to omit many reasons and replies concerning this matter, it was in the end concluded to make some discovery within the bay, but in no case so far as Angawam. Besides, Robert Coppin, their pilot, made relation of a great navigable river and good harbor in the other headland of the bay, almost right over against Cape Cod, being in a right line not much above eight leagues distant, in which he had once been, and beyond that place they that were to go on discovery, were enjoined not to go.⁸

The month of November being spent on these affairs, and having much foul weather; on the 6th of December they concluded to send out their shallop again on a third discovery. The names of those that went on this discovery, were Mr. John Carver, Mr. William Bradford, Mr. Edward Winslow, Capt. Myles Standish, Mr. John Howland, Mr. Richard Warren, Mr. Stephen Hopkins, Mr. Edward Tilley, Mr. John Tilley, Mr. Clark, Mr. Coppin, John Allerton, Thomas English, Edward Doty, with the master gunner of the ship, and three of the common seamen; these set sail on Wednesday the sixth of December, 1620, intending to circulate the deep bay of Cape Cod, the weather being very cold, so as the spray of the sea lighting on their coats, they were as if they had been glazed, notwithstanding that night they got down into the bottom of the bay, and as they drew near the shore they saw some ten or twelve Indians, and landed about a

⁸ About this time Mrs. Susanna White was delivered of a son, who was named Peregrine; he was the first of the English that was born in New England, and still surviveth, and is the Lieutenant of the military company of Marshfield. (Morton).

league off them, (but with some difficulty, by reason of the shoals in that place,) where they tarried that night.

In the morning they divided their company to coast along, some on shore and some in the boat, where they saw the Indians had been the day before cutting up a fish like a grampus; and so they ranged up and down all that day; but found no people, nor any place they liked, as fit for their settlement; and that night they on shore met with their boat at a certain creek where they make them a barricade of boughs and logs, for their lodging that night, and, being weary, betook themselves to rest.⁹ The next morning, about five o'clock, (seeking guidance and protection from God by prayer,) and refreshing themselves, in way of preparation, to persist on their intended expedition, some of them carried their arms down to the boat, having laid them up in their coats from the moisture of the weather; but others said they would not carry theirs until they went themselves. But presently all on a sudden, about the dawning of the day, they heard a great and strange cry, and one of their company being on board, came hastily in, and cried, Indians! Indians! and withal, their arrows came flying amongst them; on which all their men ran with speed to recover their arms; as by God's good providence they did. In the mean time some of those that were ready, discharged two muskets at them, and two more stood ready at the entrance of their rendezvous, but were commanded not to shoot until they could take full aim at them; and the other two charged again with all speed, for there were only four that had arms there, and defended the barricade which was first assaulted. The cry of the Indians was dreadful, especially when they saw their men run out of their rendezvous towards the shallop, to recover their arms; the Indians wheeling about upon them; but some running out with coats of mail, and cuttle-axes in their hands, they soon recovered their arms, and discharged amongst them, and soon stayed their violence. Notwithstanding there was a lusty man, and no less valiant, stood behind a tree within half a musket shot, and let his arrows fly amongst them; he was seen to shoot three arrows, which were all avoided, and stood three shot of musket, until one taking full aim at him, made the bark or splinters of the tree fly about his ears; after which he gave an extraordinary shriek, and away they went all of them; and so leaving some to keep the shallop, they followed them about a quarter of a mile, that they might conceive that they were not afraid of them, or any way discouraged.¹⁰

Thus it pleased God to vanquish their enemies, and to give them deliverance, and by his special providence so to dispose, that not any one of them was either hurt or hit, though their arrows came close by them; and sundry of their coats, which hung up in the barricade, were shot through and through. For which salvation and deliverance they rendered solemn thanksgiving unto the Lord.

From hence they departed, and coasted all along, but discerned no place likely for harbor, and therefore hasted to the place the pilot (as aforesaid) told them of, who assured them that there was a good harbor, and they might fetch it before night; of which they were glad, for it began to be foul weather.

After some hours sailing it began to snow and rain, and about the middle of the afternoon the wind increased, and the sea became very rough, and they broke their rudder, and it was as much as two men could do to steer the boat with a couple of oars; but the pilot bid them be of good cheer, for he saw the harbor; but the storm increasing, and night drawing on, they bore what sail they could to get in while they could see, but herewith they brake their mast in three pieces, and their sail fell overboard in a very grown sea, so as they had like to have been cast

⁹ This is thought to be a place called Namskaket. (Morton).

¹⁰ This place, on this occasion, was called the First Encounter. (Morton).

away; yet by God's mercy they recovered themselves, and having the flood with them, struck into the harbor. But when it came to, the pilot was deceived, and said, Lord be merciful to us, my eyes never saw this place before: and he and the master's mate would have run the boat ashore in a cove full of breakers before the wind,¹¹ but a lusty seaman, who steered, bid them that rowed, if they were men, about with her, else they were all cast away, the which they did with all speed; so he bid them be of good cheer, and row hard, for there was a fair sound before them, and he doubted not but they should find one place or other where they might ride in safety. And although it was very dark, and rained sore, yet in the end they got under the lee of a small island, and remained there all night in safety.¹² But they knew not this to be an island until the next morning, but were much divided in their minds, some would keep the boat, doubting they might be amongst the Indians, others were so wet and cold they could not endure, but got on shore, and with much difficulty got fire, and so the whole were refreshed, and rested in safety that night. The next day rendering thanks to God for his great deliverance of them, and his continued merciful good providence towards them; and finding this to be an island, it being the last day of the week, they resolved to keep the Sabbath there.

On the second day of the week following, they sounded the harbor, and found it fit for shipping, and marched into the land, and found divers cornfields, and little running brooks, a place (as they supposed) fit for situation, at least it was the best that they could find, and the season and their present necessity made them glad to accept of it. So they returned to their ship with this news to the rest of their people, which did much comfort their hearts.

On the fifteenth of December they weighed anchor, to go to the place they had discovered, and arrived the sixteenth day in the harbor they had formerly discovered, and afterward took better view of the place, and resolved where to pitch their dwellings; and on the five and twentieth day of December began to erect the first house for common use, to receive them and their goods. And after they had provided a place for their goods and common store (which was long in unloading for want of boats, and by reason of foulness of the winter weather, and sickness of divers) they began to build some small cottages for habitation, as time would admit; and also consulted of laws and orders both for their civil and military government, as the necessity of their present condition did require. But that which was sad and lamentable, in two or three months' time half their company died, especially in January and February, being the depth of winter, wanting houses and other comforts, being infected with the scurvy and other diseases, which this long voyage and their inaccommodate condition had brought upon them, so as there died, sometimes two, sometimes three, on a day, in the aforesaid time, that of one hundred and odd persons, scarce fifty remained. Amongst others in the time forenamed, died Mr. William Mullins, a man pious and well deserving, endowed also with a considerable outward estate; and had it been the will of God that he had survived, might have proved an useful instrument in his place, with several others who deceased in this great and common affliction, whom I might take notice of to the like effect. Of those that did survive in this time of distress and calamity that was upon them, there was sometimes but six or seven sound persons, who (to their great commendation be it spoken) spared no pains night nor day to be helpful to the rest, not shunning to do very mean services to help the weak and impotent. In which sickness the seamen shared also deeply, and many died, to about the one half of them before they went away. Thus being but few, and very weak, this was an opportunity for the savages to have made a prey of them, who

¹¹ This way between the place called the Gurnet's Nose and Sagaquab by the mouth of Plymouth harbor. (Morton).

¹² This was afterwards called Clark's Island, because Mr. Clark, the Master's mate, first stepped on shore thereon. (Morton).

were wont to be most cruel and treacherous people in all these parts, even like lions; but to them they were as lambs, God striking, a dread in their hearts, so that they received no harm from them. The Lord also so disposed, as aforesaid, much to waste them by a great mortality, together with which were their own civil dissensions, and bloody wars, so as the twentieth person was scarce left alive when these people arrived, there remaining sad spectacles of that mortality in the place where they seated, by many bones and skulls of the dead lying above ground; whereby it appeared that the living of them were not able to bury their dead. Some of the ancient Indians, that are surviving at the writing hereof, do affirm, that about some two or three years before the first English arrived here, they saw a blazing star, or comet¹³ which was a forerunner of this sad mortality, for soon after it came upon them in extremity. Thus God made way for his people, by removing the heathen, and planting them in the land; yet we hope in mercy to some of the posterity of these blind savages, by being a means, at least stepping-stones, for others to come and preach the gospel among them; of which afterwards in its more proper place. But to return.

The Indians, after their arrival, would show themselves afar off, but when they endeavored to come near them they would run away. But about the sixteenth of March, 1621, a certain Indian called Samoset, came boldly among them and spoke to them in broken English, which yet they could well understand, at which they marveled; but at length they understood that he belonged to the eastern parts of the country, and had acquaintance with sundry of the English fishermen, and could name sundry of them, from whom he learned his language. He became very profitable to them, in acquainting them with many things concerning the state of the country in the eastern parts, as also of the people here; of their names, number, and strength, of their situation and distance from this place, and who was chief amongst them. He told them also of another Indian called Squanto, alias Tisquantum, one of this place, who had been in England, and could speak better English than himself: and after courteous entertainment of him he was dismissed. Afterwards he came again with some other natives, and told them of the coming of the great Sachem, named Massasoit, who (about four or five days after) came, with the chief of his friends and other attendants, with the aforesaid Squanto, with whom (after friendly entertainment and some gifts given him) they made a league of peace with him, which continued with him and his successors to the time of the writing hereof. The terms and conditions of the said league are as followeth;¹⁴

I. That neither he nor any of his, should injure or do hurt to any of their people.

II. That if any of his did any hurt to any of theirs, he should send the offender that they might punish him.

III. That if anything were taken away from any of theirs, he should cause it to be restored, and they should do the like to his.

IV. That if any did unjustly war against him, they would aid him; and if any did war against them, he should aid them.

V. That he should send to his neighbor confederates, to inform them of this, that they might not wrong them, but might be likewise comprised in these conditions of peace.

VI. That when his men came to them upon any occasion, they should leave their arms (which were then bows and arrows) behind them.

VII. Lastly. That so doing their sovereign Lord King James would esteem him as his friend and ally.

¹³ This seemeth to be the same that was seen about that time in Europe. (Morton).

¹⁴ Of this see more in the year 1639. (Morton).

All which he liked well, and withal at the same time acknowledged himself content to become the subject of our sovereign Lord the King aforesaid, his heirs and successors; and gave unto them all the lands adjacent, to them and their heirs forever.

After these things he returned to his place called Sowams, about forty miles distant from Plymouth, but Squanto continued with them, and was their interpreter, and proved a special instrument sent of God for their good, beyond expectation; he directed them in planting their corn, where to take their fish, and to procure their commodities; and also was their pilot to bring them to unknown places for their profit, and never left them until his death. He was a native of this place where Plymouth is, and scarce any left besides himself. He was carried away (with divers others) by one named Hunt, a master of a ship, who thought to sell them for slaves in Spain, but he got away for England, and was entertained by a merchant in London,¹⁵ and employed to Newfoundland and other parts; and at last brought hither into these parts by one Mr. Dermer, a gentleman employed by Sir Ferdinando Gorges and others, for discovery and other designs in these parts; of whom I shall say something, because it is mentioned in a book set forth, anno 1622, by the president and council for New England, that he made the peace between the savages of those parts and the English, of which this plantation (as it is intimated) had the benefit: and what a peace it was may appear from what befell him and his men.

This Mr. Dermer was here the same year that these people came, as appears by a relation written by him, bearing date June 30, anno 1620, and they arrived in the country in the month of November following, so that there was but four months difference. In which relation to his honored friend, he hath these passages of this very place where New Plymouth is; “I will first begin (saith he) with that place from whence Squanto, or Tisquantum, was taken away, which in Captain Smith’s map is called Plymouth,¹⁶ and I would that Plymouth had the like commodities. I would that the first plantation might here be seated, if there come to the number of fifty persons, or upwards; otherwise at Charlton, because there the savages are less to be feared. The Pokanokets, which live to the west of Plymouth, bear an inveterate malignity to the English, and are of more strength than all the savages from thence to Penobscot. Their desire of revenge was occasioned by an Englishman, who having many of them on board, made great slaughter of them 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 Nemasket, had not he entreated hard for me. The soil of the borders of this great bay may be compared to most of the plantations which I have seen in Virginia. The land is of divers sorts; for Patuxet is an heavy but strong soil; Nauset and Satucket are for the most part a blackish and deep mould, much like that where groweth the best tobacco in Virginia. In the bottom of the bay is great store of cod, bass, or mullet, etc. And above all he commends Pokanoket “for the richest soil, and much open ground, likely and fit for English grain, Massachusetts is about nine leagues from Plymouth, and situate in the midst. Between both is many islands and peninsulas, very fertile for the most part.” With sundry such relations which I forbear to transcribe, being now better known than they were to him.

This gentleman was taken prisoner by the Indians at Manamoyick, (a place not far from Plymouth, now well known,) he gave them what they demanded for his liberty; but when they

¹⁵ This merchant’s name was Mr. Slaney. (Morton).

¹⁶ This name of Plymouth was so called not only for the reason here named, but also because Plymouth in O.E. was the last town they left in their native country; and for that they received many kindnesses from some Christians there. (Morton).

had got what they desired, they kept him still, and endeavored to kill some of his men, but he was freed by seizing on some of them, and kept them bound till they gave him a canoe load of corn: of which see Purch. lib. 9, fol. 1778. But this was anno 1619.

After the writing of the former relation, he came to the Isle Capewak, which lieth south from this place, in the way to Virginia, and the aforesaid Squanto with him; where he going on shore amongst the Indians to trade as he used to do, was assaulted and betrayed by them, and all his men slain, but one that kept the boat; but himself got on board very sore wounded, and they had cut off his head upon the cuddy of the boat, had not his man rescued him with a sword, and so they got him away, and made shift to get into Virginia, where he died, whether of his wounds, or the diseases of the country, or both, is uncertain. By all which it may appear how far this people were from peace, and with what danger this plantation was begun, save as the powerful hand of the Lord did protect them.

These things were partly the reasons why the Indians kept aloof, as aforesaid, and that it was so long ere they could come to speech with any of them. Another reason (as afterwards themselves made known) was, how that about three years before these first planters arrived, a certain French ship was cast away at Cape Cod, but the men got on shore, and saved their lives, and much of their victuals and other goods; but afterwards the Indians heard of it, and gathered together from these parts, and never left watching and dogging them until they got advantage, and killed them all but three or four, which they kept and sent from one Sachem to another to make sport with them, and used them worse than slaves; and they conceived this ship was now come to revenge it. Two of the said French so used were redeemed by the aforesaid Mr. Dermer, the other died amongst the Indians; and as the Indians have reported, one of them lived amongst them until he was able to discourse with them, and told them, that God was angry with them for their wickedness, and would destroy them, and give their country to another people, that should not live like beasts as they did, but should be clothed, etc. But they derided him and said, that they were so many that God could not kill them. His answer was, that though they were never so many, God had many ways to destroy them that they knew not.¹⁷ Shortly after his death came the plague, a disease they never heard of before, and mightily swept them away, and left them as dung upon the earth (as you have heard). Not long after came the English to New Plymouth, and then several of the Indians began to mind the Frenchman's words, thinking him to be more than an ordinary man. And as the first part of his speech had proved true, they began to be apprehensive of the latter, namely, the loss of their country. This relation the first planters at Plymouth, after they came to be acquainted with them, several of them heard from divers of their ancient and gravest Indians, and have often seen the place where the French were surprised and taken; which place beareth the name of Frenchman's Point with many to this day. This relation, for the verity thereof, being also very observable, was thought meet to be here inserted, and let me add a word hereunto; that it is very observable likewise, that God hath very evidently made way for the English, by sweeping away the natives by some great mortalities; as first, by the plague here in Plymouth jurisdiction; secondly by the smallpox in the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, a very considerable people a little before the English came into the country; as also at Connecticut, very full of Indians a little before the English went into those parts; and then the Pequots by the sword of the English (as will appear in its place) and the country now mostly possessed by the English. I might also mention several places in the jurisdiction of New Plymouth, peopled with considerable companies of proper able men, since the first planters

¹⁷ A memorable passage of God's punishing of the heathen for their notorious blasphemy, and other sins. (Morton).

thereof came over, even in our sight, before they were in a capacity to improve any of their land, that have by the same hand of Providence been cut off, and so their land even cleared for them, and now so replenished with their posterity, that places are too strait for them. By little and little (saith God of old to his people) will I drive them out from before thee, till thou be increased, and inherit the land, Exod. 23:28-30.

But before I pass on, let the reader take notice of a very remarkable particular, which was made known to the planters at Plymouth, some short space after their arrival, that the Indians, before they came to the English to make friendship with them, they got all the Powahs in the country, who, for three days together, in a horrid and devilish manner did curse and execrate them with their conjurations; which assembly and service they held in a dark and dismal swamp.¹⁸ But to return.

The spring being now come, it pleased God that the mortality which had taken away so many of the first planters at Plymouth ceased, and the sick and lame recovered apace, which was, as it were, new life put into them; they having borne this affliction with much patience, being upheld by the Lord. And thus we are come unto the twenty-fifth of March, 1621.

1621

This year several of the Indian Sachems (besides Massasoit, before named) came into the government of New Plymouth, and acknowledged themselves to be loyal subjects of our sovereign Lord King James, and subscribed unto a writing to that purpose with their own hands; the tenor of which said writing followeth, with their names annexed thereunto. It being conceived, by some that are judicious, that it may be of use in succeeding times, I thought meet here to insert it.

September 13, Anno Dom. 1621.

Know all men by these presents, that we, whose names are underwritten, do acknowledge ourselves to be the royal subjects of King James, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, etc. In witness whereof, and as a testimonial of the same, we have subscribed our names or marks, as followeth:

Ohquamehud,	Nattawahunt,	Quadequina,
Cawnacome,	Caunbatant,	Huttmoiden,
Obbatinnua,	Cheekatawback,	Apannow.

Now followeth several passages of the providence of God to, and the further progress of, the first planters at Plymouth, appertaining to the year 1621.

They now began to hasten the ship away, which tarried so long by reason of the necessity and danger that lay on them, because so many died both of themselves and the ship's company likewise; by which they became so few, as the master durst not put to sea until those that lived recovered of their sickness and the winter over.

The spring of this year they planted their first corn in New England, being instructed in the manner thereof by the forenamed Squanto; they likewise sowed some English grain with

¹⁸ Behold how Satan labored to hinder the gospel from coming into New England. (Morton).

little success, by reason partly of the badness of the seed, and lateness of the season, or some other defect not then discerned.

In the month of April, in this year, their governor, Mr. John Carver, fell sick, and within a few days after died, whose death was much lamented, and caused great heaviness amongst them, and there was indeed great cause. He was buried in the best manner they could, with as much solemnity as they were in a capacity to perform, with the discharge of some volleys of shot of all that bare arms. This worthy gentleman was one of singular piety, and rare for humility, as appeared by his great condescendency, when as this poor people were in great sickness and weakness, he shunned not to do very mean services for them, yea the meanest of them. He bare a share likewise of their labor in his own person, accordingly as their extreme necessity required; who being one also of a considerable estate, spent the main part of it in this enterprise, and from first to last approved himself not only as their agent in the first transacting of things, but also all along to the period of his life, to be a pious, faithful, and very beneficial instrument, and now is reaping the fruit of his labor with the Lord.

His wife, who was also a gracious woman, lived not six weeks after him; she being overcome with excessive grief for the loss of so gracious an husband, likewise died.

In some short distance of time after this, Mr. William Bradford was chosen Governor of Plymouth in his stead, being not as yet well recovered of his weakness, having been at the point of death, and Mr. Isaac Allerton likewise was chosen to be his assistant.

The second of July in this year they sent Mr. Edward Winslow and Mr. Stephen Hopkins, unto the great Sachem Massasoit aforesaid, with a gratuity, to congratulate with him and to view his country, and likewise to take notice of what strength of men he had, etc., having Squanto for their guide, who found his place to be about forty miles from New Plymouth, his people few in comparison of what they had been, by reason of the mortality amongst the Indians forementioned. These brought word, upon their return, of the Narragansetts, a people that lived on the other side of that great bay, which are a people strong and many in number, living compact together, and had not at all been touched with the wasting plague before specified. They also brought a full intelligence in reference unto the particulars they were sent about, and so returned in safety.

Thus their peace being well established with the natives about them, which was much furthered by an Indian named Hobomok, who came to live amongst the English, he being a proper lusty young man, and one that was in account amongst the Indians in those parts for his valor, continued faithful and constant to the English until his death. He, with the said Squanto, being sent amongst the Indians about business for the English, were surprised by an Indian Sachem named Corbitant, who was no friend to the English; he met with him at Nemasket, and began to quarrel with him, and offered to stab Hobomok, who, being a strong man, soon cleared himself of him; and with speed came and gave intelligence to the Governor of Plymouth, saying he feared that Squanto was slain, for they were both threatened, and for no other cause, but that they were friends to the English, and serviceable to them. On which it was thought meet to vindicate their messengers, and not to suffer them to be thus wronged, and it was concluded to send some men to Nemasket well armed, and to fall upon them; whereupon fourteen men being well prepared, were sent, under the conduct of Capt. Myles Standish, who, when they came thither, beset the house, and the said captain entered into the same to look for the said Corbitant, but he was fled, and so they missed of him; but understood that Squanto was alive; so they withheld and did no hurt, save three of the natives, pressing out of the house when it was beset,

were sorely wounded; which they brought home to their town with them, and were dressed by their surgeon and cured.

After this they had many congratulations from divers Sachems, and much firmer peace, yea those of the isle of Capewak sent to make friendship with them, and this Corbitant himself used the mediation of Massasoit to make his peace, but was shy to come near them a long time after.

After this, on the eighteenth of September, they sent out their boat to the Massachusetts with ten men, and Squanto for their interpreter, to discover and view that bay, and to trade with the natives; and found kind entertainment with them, who expressed themselves to be much afraid of the Tarrantines, a people in the eastern part of New England, which used to come in harvest time and take away their corn, and many times kill some of their people; who after they had accomplished their business, returned in safety, and made report of the place, wishing they had been there seated. But the Lord, who assigns to all men the bounds of their habitations, had appointed it for another end and use.

And thus they found the Lord to be with them in all their ways, and to bless their outgoings and incomings; for which let his holy name have the praise forever.

Being now well recovered in respect of health (as hath been said), they began to fit up their buildings against winter, and received in their first harvest, and had great plenty of fowl and fish, to their great refreshing.

About the ninth of November came in a small ship, to them unexpected,¹⁹ in which came Mr. Robert Cushman, who was both a godly man, and an active and faithful agent, and useful instrument in the common interest of this first design; and there came with him in that ship thirty-five persons, to remain and live in the plantation; which did not a little rejoice the first planters. And these when they came on shore, and found all well, and saw plenty of provisions beyond their expectation, were also satisfied and no less glad; for coming in at Cape Cod, before they came to Plymouth, and seeing nothing there but a barren place, they then began to think what should become of them, if the people were dead, or cut off by the Indians; and began to consult upon some passages, which some of the seamen had cast out, to take the sails from the yards, lest the ship should get away and leave them; but the master hearing thereof, gave them good words, and told them, if anything but well should have befallen the people at Plymouth, he hoped he had provisions enough to carry them to Virginia, and whilst he had any, they should have their part, which gave them good satisfaction.

This ship stayed at Plymouth not above fourteen days, and returned; and soon after her departure, the people called the Narragansetts, aforesaid, sent messengers unto the plantation, with a bundle of arrows, tied together with a snake's skin, which their interpreter Squanto told them was a threatening, and a challenge; upon which the governor of Plymouth sent them a rough answer, namely, that if they loved war rather than peace, they might begin when they would, they had done them no wrong, neither did they fear them, nor should they find them unprovided; and by another messenger sent the snake's skin back again, with bullets in it, but they would not receive it, but sent it back again. It is probable the reason of this their message to the English was their own ambition, who, since the death of so many Indians, thought to domineer and lord it over the rest, and conceived the English would be a bar in the way, and saw that Massasoit took shelter already under their wings. But this made the English more carefully

¹⁹ This ship was called the *Fortune*, in which came no provisions, which was one cause of a great famine that befell the plantation of New Plymouth soon after. (Morton).

to look to themselves, so they agreed to close their dwellings with a good strong pale, and made flankers in convenient places, with gates to shut, which were every night locked, and a watch kept, and when need required, there was also warding in the daytime; and the company was, by the governor and captain's advice, divided into four squadrons, and every one had their quarter appointed them, unto which they were to repair; and if there should be any cry of fire, a company was appointed for a guard with muskets, whilst others quenched the fire; the same to prevent Indian treachery. And herewith I shall end the passages of this year.

1622.

At the spring of this year, the English having certified the Indians of the Massachusetts, that they would come again unto them, they accordingly prepared to go thither; but upon some rumors which they heard from Hobomok their friend forenamed, who feared that the Massachusetts were joined with the Narragansetts, and might betray them if they were not careful; and intimated also his jealousies of Squanto, by what he gathered from some private whisperings between him and other Indians, that he was not really cordial to the English in what he pretended, made them cautious. Notwithstanding, they sent out their boat, with ten of their principal men, about the beginning of April, and both Squanto and Hobomok with them, in regard of the jealousy between them; but they had not been gone long, ere that an Indian belonging to Squanto's family came running, seeming to be in great fear, and told them that many of the Narragansetts, with Corbitant, (and he thought Massasoit,) was coming against them; at which they betook themselves to their arms, and supposing that the boat was not yet out of call, they caused a piece of ordnance to be discharged, to call them in again; but this proved otherwise, for no Indians came. After this they went to the Massachusetts, and had good trade, and returned in safety, God be praised.

But by the former passages and things of like nature, they began to see that Squanto sought his own ends, and played his own game, by putting the Indians in fear, and drawing gifts from them to enrich himself; making them believe he could stir up war against them when he would, and make peace for them when he would; yea, he made them believe that the English kept the plague buried in the ground;²⁰ and could send it amongst whom they would, which did much terrify the Indians; and made them more depend on him and seek more to him than to their great sachem Massasoit; which procured him envy, and had like to have cost him his life; for after the discovery of these practices, the said Massasoit sought it both privately and openly; which caused him to stick close to the English, and never after durst go from them until his death. They also made good use of the emulation that grew between Hobomok and him, which made them both carry more squarely; and the governor seemed to countenance the one, and their captain the other; by which they had the better intelligence, and made them both the more diligent.

About the latter end of May they espied a vessel at sea, which at the first they thought to be a Frenchman, but it proved one that belonged to Mr. Thomas Weston, a merchant; which came from a ship which he and another had sent out on fishing to a place called Damariscove, in the eastern parts of New England. This boat brought seven men, and some letters, but no provisions to them, of which they were in continual expectation from England, which expectations were frustrated in that behalf; for they never had any supply to any purpose after

²⁰ This was said to be a barrel of gunpowder buried in the ground. (Morton).

this time, but what the Lord helped them to raise by their industry among themselves; for all that came afterwards was too short for the passengers that came with it.

After this the same year, the above-named Mr. Thomas Weston, who had formerly been one of the merchant adventurers to the plantation of New Plymouth (but had now broken off and deserted the general concerns thereof) sent over two ships, the one named the *Sparrow*, the other the *Charity*, on his own particular interest; in the one of them came sixty lusty men, who were to be put on shore at Plymouth, for the ship was to go with other passengers to Virginia; these were courteously entertained (with the seven men forenamed, belonging to the said Weston), at Plymouth aforesaid, until the ship returned from Virginia, which was the most part of that summer; many of them being sick, and all of them destitute of habitation, and unacquainted with this new beginning; at the ship's return from Virginia, by the direction of the said Mr. Weston, their master, or such as he had set over them, they removed into the Massachusetts Bay, he having got a patent for some part there, yet they left all their sick folks at Plymouth, until they were settled and fitted for housing to receive them. These were an unruly company, and no good government over them, and by disorder fell into many wants as afterwards will appear.

But before I pass on, I may not omit the mentioning of a courteous letter that came in the vessel above named, in which the above said seven men came, being directed to the governor of Plymouth, with respect unto the whole plantation, from a captain of a ship at the eastward, who came thither on a fishing voyage; the which for the ingenuity of the man, and his courtesy therein expressed, may not unfitly be here inserted, being inscribed as followeth:

To all his good friends in Plymouth,

Friends, countrymen, and neighbors, I salute you, and wish you all health and happiness in the Lord. I make bold with these few lines to trouble you, because unless I were inhuman, I can do no less. Bad news doth spread itself too far, yet I will so far inform, that myself with many good friends in the south colony of Virginia have received such a blow, that four hundred persons large will not make good our losses. Therefore I do entreat you, although not knowing you, that the old rule which I learned when I went to school, may be sufficient, that is, "Happy is he who other men's harms do make to beware." And now again and again, wishing all those that willingly would serve the Lord, all health and happiness in this world, and everlasting peace in the world to come.

I rest yours,
John Hudston.

In the same vessel the governor returned a thankful answer, as was meet, and sent a boat of their own with them, which was piloted by them; in which Mr. Edward Winslow was sent to procure what provisions he could of the ship, who was kindly received by the aforesaid gentleman, who not only spared what he could, but wrote to others to do the like; by which means the plantation had a good quantity of provisions.²¹

This summer they built a fort with good timber, both strong and comely, which was of good defense, made with a fat roof and battlements; on which fort their ordnance was mounted, and where they kept constant watch, especially in time of danger. It served them also for a meetinghouse, and was fitted accordingly for that use. It was a great work for them to do in their

²¹ Although this was not much amongst them all, yet it was a very seasonable blessing and supply, they being now in a low condition for want of food. (Morton).

weakness, and times of want; but the danger of the time required it; there being continual rumors of the Indians, and fears of their rising against them, especially the Narragansetts; and also the hearing of that great and sad massacre in Virginia above named.

Now the welcome harvest approached, in the which all had some refreshment, but it arose but to a little in comparison of a whole year's supply; partly by reason they were not yet well acquainted with the manner of the husbandry of the Indian corn (having no other), and also their many other employments; but chiefly their weakness for want of food, so as to appearance, famine was like to ensue, if not some way prevented. Markets there was none to go unto, but only the Indians; but they had no trading stuff. But behold now another providence of God; a ship came into the harbor, one Capt. Jones being chief in her, set out by some merchants to discover all the harbors between Cape Cod and Virginia, and to trade along the coast. This ship had store of English beads (which were then good trade), and some knives, but would sell none but at dear rates, and also a good quantity together; yet they were glad of the occasion, and fain to buy at any rate: they were fain to give after the rate of cent. per cent., if not more, and yet pay away coat beaver at three shillings per pound. By this means they were fitted again to trade for beaver and other things, and so procured what corn they could.

But here let me take liberty to make a little digression. There was in the ship sent by Mr. Weston forenamed (in which his men came) a gentleman named Mr. John Pory, he had been secretary in Virginia, and was now going home passenger in this ship. After his departure he wrote a letter to the governor of Plymouth, in the postscript whereof he hath these expressions following:

“To yourself and Mr. Brewster I must humbly acknowledge myself many ways indebted, whose books I would have you think very well bestowed, who esteems them such jewels. My haste would not suffer me to remember, much less to beg Mr. Ainsworth's elaborate work on the five books of Moses; both his and Mr. Robinson's do highly commend the authors, as being most conversant in the Scriptures of all others; and what good who knows it may please God to work by them through my hands, though most unworthy, who find such high content in them. God have you all in his keeping.

Your unfeigned and firm friend,
August 28, 1622.”

John Pory.

These things I here insert, partly for the honor's sake of the author's memory, which this gentleman doth so ingeniously acknowledge, and also the credit and good that he procured unto the plantation of Plymouth after his return, and that amongst those of no mean rank. But to return.

Mr. Weston's people forenamed, who were now seated in the bay of the Massachusetts, at a place called by the Indians Wessagussett,²² and by disorder (as it seemed) had made havoc of their provision; they began now to conceive that want would come upon them; and hearing that their neighbors at Plymouth had bought trading stuff, as aforesaid, and intended to trade for corn, they wrote to the governor, and desired that they might join with them, and they would employ their small ship in this service; and also requested to lend or sell them so much of their trading stuff as their part might come to; which was agreed unto on equal terms; so they went out in the expedition, with an intention to go about Cape Cod to the southward, but meeting with cross winds, and other crosses, went in at Manamoyick, where the aforesaid Squanto, being their guide

²² Now by the English called Weymouth. (Morton).

and interpreter, fell sick, and within a few days died. A little before his death, he desired the governor of Plymouth (who then was there) to pray for him, that he might go to the Englishman's God in heaven; and bequeathed divers of his things to sundry of his English friends, as remembrances of his love; of whom they had a great loss.

Here they got a considerable quantity of corn, and so returned. After these things, John Saunders, who was left chief over Mr. Weston's men at Wessagussett, in the month of February, sent a messenger, showing the great waists they were fallen into, and would have borrowed corn of the Indians, but they would lend him none; and desired advice whether he might take it from them by force to succor his men, until return from the eastward, whither he was now going. But the governor and the rest dissuaded him by all means from it, for it might so exasperate the Indians, as might endanger their safety, and all of them might smart for it; for they had already heard how they had wronged the Indians, by stealing their corn, etc., so as the natives were much incensed against them; yea, so base were some of their own company, as they went and told the Indians, that their governor was purposed to come and take their corn by force, which, with other things, made them enter into a conspiracy against the English. And herewith I end the relation of the most remarkable passages of God's providence towards the first planters, which fell out in this year.

1623.

Mr. Weston's people forenamed, notwithstanding all helps they could procure for supply of provisions, fell into great extremity; which was occasioned by their excessive expense while they had it, or could get it; and after they came into want, many sold away their clothes and bed coverings; others were so base as they become servants to the Indians, and would cut them wood, and fetch them water for a cap full of corn; others fell to stealing, both night and day, from the Indians, of which they grievously complained. In the end they came to that misery that some starved and died with hunger; and one, in gathering of shellfish, was so weak, as he stuck fast in the mud, and was found dead in the place; and most of them left their dwellings, and were scattered up and down in the woods by the water-side, where they could find groundnuts and clams, here six and there ten, by which their carriages they became contemned and scorned of the Indians, insomuch as they began greatly to insult over them in a most insolent manner, so as if they had set on such victuals as they had gotten to dress it, when it was ready the Indians would come and eat it up; and when night came, when as possibly some of them had a sorry blanket, or such like, to lap themselves in, the Indians would take it, and let the other lie all night in the cold, so as their condition was very lamentable; and in the end they were fain to hang one of their company, whom they could not reclaim from stealing, to give the Indians content.

Whilst things went on in this manner with them, the governor and people of Plymouth had notice that the sachem Massasoit, their friend, was sick, and near unto death, and they sent to visit him, and sent him some comfortable things, which gave him content, and was a means of his recovery; upon which occasion he discovered the conspiracy of these Indians, how they were resolved to cut off Mr. Weston's company, for the continual injuries they had done them, and would now take opportunity of their weakness, and do it; and for that end had conspired with other Indians their neighbors thereabout. And thinking the people here would revenge their death, they therefore thought to do the like by them, therefore to prevent it, and that speedily, by taking some of the chief of them before it was too late, for he assured them of the truth thereof.

This did much trouble them, and they took it into serious consideration, and found upon examination, and other evidences to give light thereunto, that the matter was really so, as the said

sachem had told them. In the mean time came an Englishman²³ from the Massachusetts, from the said company in misery, as hath been above related, with a pack at his back; and although he knew not a foot of the way, yet he got safe hither, but lost his way, which was well for him, for he was pursued by two Indians, who by God's providence, missed of him by that means; and he related how all things stood with them there, and that he durst stay no longer, for he apprehended by what he observed they would be all slain ere long. This made them make the more haste, and they dispatched a boat away with some men, under the conduct of Capt. Standish, who found them in a miserable condition; out of which he rescued them, and helped them to some relief, cut off some of the chief conspirators against them, and according to his order, offered to bring them all to Plymouth, to be there until Mr. Weston came, or some other way should be presented for their help. They thanked him and the rest, but they rather desired that he would help them with some corn, and they would go with their small ship to the eastward, to look out a way for themselves, either to have relief by meeting with Mr. Weston, or if not, to work with the fishermen for their supply, and their passage for England; so they shipped what they had of any worth, and he helped them with as much corn as he could, and saw them out of the bay under sail, and so came home, not taking the worth of a penny of any of them.

This was the end of these that sometimes boasted of their strength, being all able, lusty men, and what they would do and bring to pass, in comparison of the people at Plymouth, who had many women and children, and weak ones; and said at their first arrival, when they saw the wants at Plymouth, that they would take another course and not fall into such a condition as this simple people were come to. But a man's way is not in his own power; God can make the weak stand. Let him that thinketh he standeth (in such respect as well as other), take heed lest he fall.²⁴

Shortly after, Mr. Weston came over with some of the fishermen, where he heard of the ruin of his plantation, and got a boat, and with a man or two came to see how things were; but by the way (for want of skill), in a storm, he cast away his boat in the bottom of the bay, between Merrimack and Piscataqua, and hardly escaped with life; and afterwards fell into the hands of the Indians, who pillaged him of all that he had saved from the sea, and stripped him of all his clothes to his shirt. At last he got to Piscataqua, and borrowed a suit of clothes, and got means and came to Plymouth. A strange alteration there was in him, to such as had seen and known him in his former flourishing condition; so uncertain are all things of this uncertain world.

But to return to the state and condition of the planters at Plymouth, all this while no supply heard of, so they began to think how they might raise as much corn as they could; so as they might not languish in misery as formerly they had done, and at the present they did, and it was thought the best way, and accordingly given way unto, that every one should plant corn for his own particular, and in that regard provide for themselves, and, in other respects, continue the general course and way as before; and so they ranged all their youth under some family, and set upon such a course, which had good success, for it made all hands very industrious, so as much corn was planted.

This course being settled, by that time all their corn was planted, all their victuals was spent, and they were only to rest on God's providence; many times at night not knowing where to have anything to sustain nature the next day, and so, (as one well observed,) had need to pray that God would give them their daily bread, above all people in the world; yet they bear those

²³ This man's name was Phineas Pratt, who has penned the particulars of his perilous journey, and some other things relating to this tragedy. (Morton).

²⁴ Here see the effects of pride and vainglory. (Morton).

wants with great patience and alacrity of spirit, and that for so long a time as the most part of two years. Which brings to mind what Peter Martyr writes in his magnifying of the Spaniards: (in his first Decade, p. 208). “They (said he) led a miserable life for five days together, with parched grain of maize only, and that not to satiety;” and then concludes, that “such pains, such labors,” he thought “none living, who is not a Spaniard, could have endured.”

But alas! those men when they had maize (that is Indian corn) they thought it as good as a feast, and wanted, not only for five days together, but sometimes for two or three months together, and neither had bread or any kind of corn.

Indeed, in another place in his second *Decade*, p. 94, he mentions how others of them were worse put to it, where they were fain to eat dogs, toads, and dead men, and so almost all of them died. From these extremities the Lord in his goodness preserved both their lives and healths; let his holy name have the praise. Yet let me here make use of his conclusion, which in some sort may be applied to this people, that “with their miseries they opened a way to those new lands; and after storms, with what ease, other men came to inhabit in them, in respect to the calamities these men suffered; so as they seemed to go to a bride feast, where all things are provided for them.”

They having one boat left, and she none of the best, with a net which they bought, improved them for the taking of bass, which proved a good help to them, and when those failed they were fain all hands to go dig shell-fish out of the sands for their living; in the winter season groundnuts and fowl were the principal of their refreshing, until God sent more settled and suitable supplies, by his blessing upon their industry.

At length they received some letters from the adventurers, which gave them intelligence of a ship set out to come hither unto Plymouth, named the Paragon. This ship was bought by Mr. John Pierce, and set out on his own charge, upon hopes of great matters; the passengers and goods, the company sent in her, he took in for freight, for which they agreed with him to be delivered here; this was he in whose name their first patent was taken, for this place where Plymouth is, by reason of acquaintance, and some alliance that some of their friends had with him, but his name was only used in trust, but when he saw they were here hopefully seated, and by the success God gave them, had obtained favor of the council of New England, he goes and sues to the said council, for another patent of much larger extent, in their names, which was easily obtained, but he meant to keep it to himself, and to allow them what they pleased to hold of him as tenants, and sue to his courts as chief lord. But the Lord marvelously crossed him in his proceedings; for when the ship above named set out from the Thames, she sprang a leak by that time she got to the Downs, and also by reason of a chop that accidentally befell one of her cables, it broke in a stress of wind while she there rode, and was in danger to have been driven on the sands, and thereupon was constrained to return back to London, and there arrived in fourteen days after, and was haled up into the dock, and an hundred pounds more bestowed on her to mend her leaks and bruises, which she received in the aforesaid storm; and when she was again fitted for the voyage, he pestered his ship, and takes in more passengers, and those some of them not very good, to help to bear his losses, and sets out the second time; and when he was half-way, or thereabouts, to New England, was forced back again by an extreme tempest, wherein the goodness and mercy of God appeared in their preservation, being one hundred and nine souls. This ship suffered the greatest extremity at sea, at her second setting forth, as is seldom the like heard of. It was about the middle of February that the storm began, and it continued for the most part of fourteen days, but for two or three days and nights together, in most violent extremity. At the beginning of the storm, their boat being above decks, was thrown

overboard; they spent their mainmast, their roundhouse was beaten off with the storm, and all the upper works of their ship; he that stood to give direction for the guiding of her before the sea, was made fast, to prevent his washing over-board, and the seas did so overtake them, as that many times those upon the deck knew not whether they were within board or without; and by her extreme leaking, being a very rotten ship, and the storm increasing, she was once very near foundering in the sea, so as they thought she would never rise again: notwithstanding the Lord was pleased of his great mercy to preserve them; and after great weather-beating and extraordinary danger, they arrived safe at Portsmouth in Hampshire, to the wonderment of all that beheld in what condition they were, and heard what they had endured.²⁵

Upon the return of the said Mr. John Pierce for England, (he being personally in this his ship in the so sad storm); the other merchant adventurers got him to assign over the grand patent to the company, which he had taken in his own name, and made quite void their former patent.

About the latter end of June, came in a ship at Plymouth with Capt. Francis West, who had a commission to be admiral of New England, to restrain interlopers, and such fishing ships as came to fish and trade without license from the council of New England, for which they should pay a great sum of money; but he could do no good of them, for they were too strong for him, and he found the fishermen to be refractory, and their owners, upon complaint made to the Parliament, procured an order that fishing should be free. He told the governor of Plymouth that they spoke with a ship at sea, and were on board her, that was coming to the said plantation of Plymouth, in which were sundry passengers, and they marveled she was not arrived, fearing some miscarriage; for they lost her in a storm that fell shortly after they had been on board; which relation filled them full of fears, yet mixed with hope. The master of the ship had two hogsheads of peas to sell, but seeing their wants, held them at nine pounds sterling an hogshead, and under eight he would not take, and yet would have beaver at an underrate; but they told him they had lived so long without, and would do still, rather than give so unreasonably; so the said ship went from Plymouth to Virginia.

It may not here be omitted, that notwithstanding all their great pains and industry, and the great hopes they had of a large crop, the Lord seemed to threaten them with more and sorer famine by a great drought, which continued from the third week in May, until the middle of July, without any rain, and with great heat of weather for the most part, insomuch that their corn began to wither away, although it was planted with fish, according to the usual manner in those times; yet at length it began to languish sore, and some of the dryer grounds was parched like withered hay, part whereof was never recovered. Upon which they set apart a solemn day of humiliation, to seek the Lord by humble and fervent prayer in this great distress; and he was pleased to give them a gracious and speedy answer, both to their own and the Indians' admiration, that lived amongst them; for all the morning and the greatest part of the day, it was clear weather, and very hot, and not a cloud nor any sign of rain to be seen, yet towards evening it began to be overcast, and shortly after to rain, with such sweet and gentle showers, as gave them cause of rejoicing and blessing God. It came without either wind or thunder, or any violence, and by degrees in that abundance, as that the earth was thoroughly wet and soaked therewith, which did so apparently revive and quicken the decayed corn and other fruits, as was wonderful, and made the Indians astonished to behold. A little before the Lord sent this rain of liberalities upon his people, one of them having occasion to go to the house of the aforementioned Hobomok, the Indian, he, the said

²⁵ This relation was made by Mr. William Pierce, the master of the said ship, and some passengers of good credit. (Morton).

Hobomok, said unto him, “I am much troubled for the English, for I am afraid they will lose all their corn by the drought, and so they will be all starved; as for the Indians, they can shift better than the English, for they can get fish to help themselves.” But afterwards the same man having occasion to go again to his house, he said to him, “now I see that the Englishman’s God is a good God, for he hath heard you, and sent you rain, and that without storms and tempests and thunder, which usually we have with our rain, which breaks down our corn, but yours stands whole and good still; surely your God is a good God; ” or with words to the like effect.²⁶

And after this gracious return of prayers, in this so seasonable a blessing of the rain, the Lord sent them such seasonable showers, with interchange of warm weather, as (through his blessing) caused in its time a fruitful and liberal harvest, to their great comfort and rejoicing; for which mercy, in time convenient, they also solemnized a day of thanksgiving unto the Lord.

About fourteen days after came in the ship, called the *Anne*, whereof Mr. William Pierce was master. Two of the principal passengers that came in this ship were Mr. Timothy Hatherley, and Mr. George Morton; the former, namely, Mr. Timothy Hatherley, soon after his arrival met with some cross providences by burning of his house, whereby he was much impoverished and much discouraged, and returned the winter following for England; and afterwards the Lord was pleased to renew his estate, and he came again into New England, and proved a very profitable and beneficial instrument, both in church and commonwealth, being one of the first beginners, and a good instrument to uphold the church and town of Scituate; and also served God and the jurisdiction of Plymouth in the place of magistracy, and retained his integrity in the profession of the ways of Christ unto old age; still surviving at the penning hereof.

The latter of the two forenamed, namely, Mr. George Morton, was a pious, gracious servant of God, and very faithful in whatsoever public employment he was betruſted withal, and an unfeigned well-willer, and, according to his sphere and condition, a suitable promoter of the common good and growth of the plantation of New Plymouth; laboring to still the discontents that sometimes would arise amongst some spirits, by occasion of the difficulties of these new beginnings; but it pleased God to put a period to his days soon after his arrival in New England, not surviving a full year after his coming ashore. With much comfort and peace he fell asleep in the Lord, in the month of June, anno 1624.

About ten days after the arrival of the ship called the *Ann*, abovenamed, there came in another small ship of about forty four tons, named the *James*, Mr. Bridges being master thereof; which said ship the *Ann* had lost at sea by reason of foul weather; she was a fine new vessel, built to stay in the country. One of the principal passengers that came in her was Mr. John Jenny, who was a godly, though otherwise a plain man, yet singular for publicness of spirit, setting himself to seek and promote the common good of the plantation of New Plymouth; who spent not only his part of this ship (being part owner thereof) in the general concernment of the plantation, but also afterwards was always a leading man in promoting the general interest of this colony. He lived many years in New England, and fell asleep in the Lord, anno. 1644. In the two ships last named, came over many other persons, besides those before recited, who proved of good use in their places.

These passengers, seeing the low and poor condition of those that were here before them, were much daunted and dismayed, and, according to their divers humors, were diversely affected. Some wished themselves in England again; others fell on weeping, fancying their own

²⁶ The person that made this relation is still surviving, (1669,) and a principal man in the jurisdiction of New Plymouth (Morton).

misery in what they saw in others; other some pitying the distress they saw their friends had been long in, and still were under. In a word, all were full of sadness; only some of their old friends rejoiced to see them, and that it was no worse with them, for they could not expect it should be better, and now hoped they should enjoy better days together. And truly it was no marvel they should be thus affected, for they were in a very low condition, both in respect of food and clothing at that time.

To consider seriously how sadly the Scripture speaks of the famine in Jacob's time, when he said to his sons, go buy us food, that we may live and not die; and that the famine was great and heavy in the land, and yet they had great herds and store of cattle of sundry kinds, which, besides their flesh, must needs produce other useful benefits for food, and yet it was accounted a sore affliction. But the misery of the planters at Plymouth, at the first beginning, must needs be very great therefore, who not only wanted the staff of bread, but all the benefits of cattle, and had no Egypt to go to, but God fed them out of the sea for the most part; so wonderful is his powerful providence over his in all ages; for his mercy endureth forever.

About the middle of September arrived Capt. Robert Gorges, in the bay of the Massachusetts, with sundry passengers and families, intended there to begin a plantation, and pitched upon that place, which Mr. Weston forenamed had forsaken. He had a commission from the council of New England to be general governor of the country; and they appointed, for his council and assistants, Capt. Francis West, the aforesaid admiral, Christopher Levitt, Esq., and the governor of Plymouth for the time being. Also they gave him authority to choose such others as he should find fit. Also they gave, by their commission, full power to him and his assistants, or any three of them, (whereof himself was always to be one,) to do and execute what to them should seem good, in all cases, capital, criminal, and civil; with divers other instructions; of which, and his commission, it pleased him to suffer the governor of Plymouth to take a copy.

He, meeting with the aforesaid Mr. Weston at Plymouth, called him before him and some other of the assistants, with the governor of Plymouth aforesaid, and charged him with the ill carriage of his men at the Massachusetts, by which means the peace of the country was disturbed, and himself and the people which he had brought over to plant in that bay, thereby much prejudiced. To which the said Weston easily answered, that what was done in that behalf, was done in his absence, and might have befallen any man. He left them sufficiently provided, and conceived they would have been well governed; and for any error committed he had sufficiently smarted.

Another particular was, an abuse done to his father, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and to the state. The thing was this; he used him and others of the council of New England, to procure him a license for the transporting of many great pieces of ordnance for New England, pretending great fortification here in the country; for which when he had obtained, he sold them beyond sea for his private profit. At which the state was much offended, and his father suffered a shrewd check, and he had order to apprehend him.²⁷

The said Weston excused it as well as he could, but could not wholly deny it; but after much speech about it, by the mediation of the governor of Plymouth, and some other friends, the said Capt. Gorges was inclined to gentleness, (though he apprehended the abuse of his father deeply,) which when the said Weston perceived, he grew the more presumptuous, and gave such

²⁷ The said Mr. Thomas Weston was a man of parts, and a merchant of good account in London. Sometime after these passages, he went for England, and died in the city of Bristol; he proved but a staff of reed to the plantation of Plymouth (Morton).

cutting and provoking speeches, as made the said captain rise up in great indignation and distemper, vowing, that he would either curb him, or send him home for England. At which the said Weston was daunted, and came privately to the governor of Plymouth, to know whether they would suffer him to send him for England? It was answered him, they could not hinder it; and much blamed him, that after they had pacified things, he should thus break out by his own folly and rashness, and bring trouble upon himself and others. He confessed it was his passion, and prayed the governor aforesaid to entreat for him, and procure a pacification for him if he could; the which at last he did obtain with much difficulty. So he was called again, and the said Capt. Gorges was content to take his own bond to be ready to make further answer, when either he or the lords of the council should send for him; and at last he took only his own word, and so there was a friendly parting on all hands.

Soon after this, the said Capt. Gorges took his leave and went to the Massachusetts by land, being very thankful for his kind entertainment. His ship stayed at Plymouth, and fitted for to go to Virginia, having some passengers to deliver there, and with her returned sundry of those from Plymouth, which came over on their particular account; some out of discontent and dislike of the country, and others by reason of fire that burnt their houses and all their provisions, so as they were necessitated thereunto.

This fire²⁸ was by some of the seamen, that were roistering in an house where it first began, making a great fire, the weather being cold, which broke out of the chimney into the thatch, and burnt three houses, and consumed all their goods and provisions. The house in which it began, was right against the storehouse at Plymouth, which they had much ado to save; in which was the common store of the provisions of the plantation, which had it been lost, the same had been overthrown; but through God's mercy it was saved by the diligence of the people, and care of the governor and those about him. Some would have had the goods thrown out, but if they had, there would have been much lost by the rude company belonging to the two forenamed ships, which were almost all on shore at this time; but a trusty company were placed within, as well as such as were meanwhile employed in quenching the fire without, that if necessity required, they might have them all out with speed; for they suspected some malicious dealing, if not plain treachery; and whether it was only suspected or no, God knows; but this is certain, that when the tumult was greatest, there was a voice heard (but from whence it came is uncertain), that bade them look well about them, for all were not friends that were then about them.²⁹ And soon after, when the vehemency of the fire was over, smoke was seen to arise within a shed that was joined to the end of the aforesaid storehouse, which was wattled up with boughs, in the withered leaves whereof the fire being kindled; which some running to quench, found a long firebrand of about an ell long, lying under the wall on the inside, which could not come thither by casualty, but must be laid there by some hand, in the judgment of all that saw it. But God kept them from this danger, whatever might be intended.

But to return again, to speak something of the aforesaid Capt. Gorges, after he had been at the eastward, and expedited some occasions there, he and some that depended upon him returned for England, having scarcely saluted the country in his government, finding the state of things not to answer his quality and condition; his people dispersed themselves, some for England, others for Virginia, some few remained, and were helped with supplies from Plymouth. Amongst the rest the said captain brought over a minister with him, one Mr. Morrell, who returned for England about a year after him, he took ship at Plymouth, and had a certain power

²⁸ This was on the fifth of November, 1624. (Morton).

²⁹ A very remarkable preservation. (Morton).

and authority of superintendency over other churches granted him, and instructions for that end; but he never showed it, or made any use of it, but only spoke of it to some of Plymouth, at his going away. This was in effect the end of the second plantation, in the forenamed place called Wessagussett.

There were also some scattering beginnings made in other places, as at Piscataqua, by Mr. David Thompson, and at Mohegan, and some other places, by sundry others.

1624.

The time of new election of officers being come, for this year at Plymouth, the number of their people being increased, and their troubles and occasions therewith; the governor desired them to change the persons, as well as renew the election, and also to add more assistants to the governor for help and counsel, and the better carrying on of public affairs, showing that it was necessary it should so be; for if it were an honor or benefit, it was fit that others should be made partakers of it; if it was a burden (as doubtless it was) it was but equal that others should help to bear it, and that this was the end of yearly elections.

The conclusion was, that whereas there was before but one assistant, they now chose five, giving the governor a double voice; and afterwards they increased them to seven, which course hath continued in that colony until this day.

In the month of March, in this year, Mr. Edward Winslow arrived at Plymouth, in New England, having been employed as agent for that plantation, on sundry occasions, with the merchant adventurers in England, who brought a considerable supply with him, the ship being bound on a fishing voyage; and with him came Mr. John Lyford, a minister, which was sent over by some of the adventurers.

There came over likewise in this ship, three heifers and a bull, which were the first neat cattle that came into New England.

The aforesaid John Lyford, when he came first on shore, saluted them of the plantation of Plymouth with that reverence and humility, as is seldom to be seen; and indeed made them ashamed, he so bowed and cringed unto them, and would have kissed their hands, if they would have suffered him; yea, he wept and shed many tears, blessing God that had brought him to see their faces; and admiring the things they had done in their wants, as if he had been made all of love, and the humblest person in the world; but in the end proved more like those mentioned by the Psalmist, Psal. 10:10, that crouched and bowed, that heaps of the poor may fall by them; or like unto dissembling Ishmael, who when he had slain Gedaliah, went out weeping, Jer. 41:6; and met those that were coming to offer incense in the house of the Lord, saying, come to Gedaliah, when he meant to slay them. They gave him the best entertainment they could, in all simplicity, and as their governor had used, in all weighty affairs, to consult with their elder, Mr. Brewster, together with his assistants, so now he called Mr. Lyford also on such like occasions. After some short time, he desired to join himself a member to their church, and was accordingly received; he made a large confession of his faith, and an acknowledgment of his former disorderly walking, and his being entangled with many corruptions, which had been a burden to his conscience, and blessed God for this opportunity of freedom and liberty, with many more such like expressions. In some short time he fell into acquaintance with Mr. John Oldham, who was a copartner with him in his after courses; not long after, both Oldham and he grew very perverse, and showed a spirit of great malignity, drawing as many into a faction as they could;

were they never so vile and profane, they did nourish and abet them in all their doings, so they would but cleave to them, and speak against the church. So as there was nothing but private meetings and whisperings amongst them, they feeding themselves and others with what they should bring to pass in England, by the faction of their friends there;³⁰ which brought others as well as themselves into a fool's paradise, yet they could not so carry closely, but both much of their doings and sayings were discovered, although outwardly they set a fair face on things.

At length when the ship he came in was ready to return for England, and it was observed that Lyford was long in writing, and sent many letters, and could nor forbear to communicate to his intimates such things as made them laugh in their sleeves, and thought he had done their errand sufficiently. The governor and some of his friends, knowing how things stood in reference to some known adversaries in England, and what hurt these things might do, took a boat and went out with the ship a league or two, and called for all Lyford's and Oldham's letters. Mr. William Pierce being master of the ship, and knew well their evil dealings, (both in England and here,) afforded them all the assistance he could; he found about twenty of Lyford's letters, many of them large and full of slanders and false accusations, tending not only to their prejudice, but ruin and utter subversion. Most of them they let pass, only took copies of them, but some of the most material they sent true copies of them and kept the originals, lest he should deny them, and that they might produce his own hand against him. Amongst these letters they found the copies of two letters which were sent in a letter of his to Mr. John Pemberton, a minister, and a great opposite to the plantation; these two letters, of which he took copies, were one of them written by a gentleman in England, to Mr. Brewster here, the other by Mr. Winslow to Mr. Robinson in Holland; at his coming away, as the ship lay at Gravesend, they lying sealed in the great cabin, whilst Mr. Winslow was busy about the affairs of the ship, this sly merchant opens them, takes copies of them, and seals them up again, and not only seals the copies of them thus, To his friend and their adversary, but adds thereto in the margin many scurrilous and flouting annotations. In the evening the governor returned, and they were something blank at it; but after some weeks, when they heard nothing, were then as brisk as ever thinking nothing had been known, but all was gone current, and that the governor went out but to dispatch his own letters.

The reason why the governor and the rest concealed these things, was to let things ripen, that they might the better discover their intents, and see who were their adherents; because, amongst the rest, they found a letter of one of their confederates, in which was written, that Mr. Oldham and Mr. Lyford intended a reformation in church and commonwealth, and as soon as the ship was gone they intended to join together and have the sacrament; a few of Oldham's letters were found in the aforesaid search, being so bad a scribe as his hand was scarce legible, yet he was as deep in the mischief as the other; and thinking they were now strong enough, they began to pick quarrels at everything. Oldham being called to watch, (according to order,) refuseth to come, fell out with the captain, called him rascal, and beggarly rascal, and resisted him, and drew his knife at him, though he offered him no wrong, nor gave him any ill terms, but with all fairness required him to do his duty; the governor hearing the tumult, sent to quiet it; but he ranted with great fury, and called them all traitors; but being committed to prison, after a while he came to himself, and with some slight punishment was let go upon his behavior, for further censure. But to cut things short, at length it grew to this issue, that Lyford, with his accomplices, without either speaking one word either to the governor, church, or elder, withdrew themselves,

³⁰ That is, some of the Adventurers, who proved in the issue adversaries to the plantation. (Morton).

and set up a public meeting apart on the Lord's day, with sundry such insolent carriages, too long here to relate, beginning more publicly to act that which they had been long plotting.

It was now thought high time, to prevent further mischief, to call them to account; so the governor called a court, and summoned the whole company together, and they charged Lyford and Oldham with such things as they were guilty of respecting the premises; but they were stiff, and stood resolutely upon the denial of most things, and required proof; they first alleged what was writ compared with their practices here; that it was evident they joined in plotting against them, and disturbed their peace in their civil and church state, which was most injurious, for both they and all the world knew they came hither to enjoy the liberty of their consciences, in the free use of God's ordinances, and for that end had ventured their lives, and passed through much hardship hitherto, and they and their friends had borne the charge of these beginnings, which was not small, and that he, namely, Lyford, for his part, was sent over on this charge, and both he and his great family was maintained on the same; and for him to plot against them, and seek their ruin, was most unjust and perfidious.

But Lyford denied, and made strange of sundry things laid to his charge. Then his letters were produced, at which he was struck mute. Oldham began to be furious, and to rage, because they had intercepted their letters, provoked the people to mutiny in such words as these; my masters, where are your hearts? Now show your courage; you have often complained to me so and so, now is the time, if you will do anything, I will stand by you, etc., thinking that everyone knowing his humor that had fooled and flattered him, or otherwise, or that in their discontent uttered anything unto him, would now side with him, in open rebellion; but he was deceived, for not a man opened his mouth, all were silent.

Then the governor took pains in convicting Lyford of his hypocrisy and treachery, in abusing his friends, in taking copies of their letters in an underhand way, and sending them abroad to their disgrace, etc., and produced them, and his own letters under his own hand, which he could not deny, and caused them to be read before all the people; at which all his confederates were blank, and had not a word to say

But after a while, he began to say, that sundry had made some complaint unto him, and informed him of divers things, which being there present, and the particulars named to them, they denied.

Then they dealt with him about his dissembling in the church, and that he professed to concur with them in all things, and what a large confession he had made at his admittance, and that he held not himself a minister, till he had a new calling, etc., and yet now he contested against them, and drew a company apart, and sequestered himself, and would go about to administer the sacraments by his former calling, without ever acquainting them with it. In conclusion he was fully convicted, and burst out into tears, and confessed, he feared he was a reprobate, his sins were so great that he doubted that God would not pardon them, he was unsavory salt, etc., and that he had so wronged them, as he could never make them amends; confessing all he had written against them was false and naught, both for matter and manner; and all this he did with as much fullness as words and tears could express.

After their trial and conviction, the court sentenced them to be expelled the plantation; John Oldham presently to depart, though his wife and family had liberty to stay all winter, or longer, until he could make provision to remove them comfortably. Lyford had liberty to stay six months; it was with some eye to his release, if he carried himself well in the mean time, and that his repentance proved sound. Lyford acknowledged his censure was far less than he deserved, and afterwards he confessed his sin publicly in the church, with tears, more largely than before. I

shall here relate it as I find it penned by some who took it from his own mouth as himself uttered it.

Acknowledging that he had done very evil, and slanderously abased them; and thinking most of the people would take part with him, he thought to have carried all by violence and strong hand against them; and that God might justly lay innocent blood to his charge, for he knew not what hurt might have come by these his writings, and blessed God that they were stayed; and that he spared not to take knowledge from any of any evil that was spoken, but shut his eyes and ears against all the good; and that if God should make him a vagabond in the earth, as was Cain, it was but just; and he confessed three things to be the causes of these his doings, pride, vainglory, and self-love; amplifying these heads with many other expressions in the particulars of them, so as they began to conceive good thoughts of him, upon his repentance, and admitted him to teach amongst them as before; yea, sundry tenderhearted persons amongst them were so taken with his signs of sorrow and repentance, as they professed they would fall on their knees to have his censure remitted and released. But that which made them all stand amazed in the end (and may do all others who shall come to hear the same, for a rarer precedent can scarce be named), was, that after two months' time, all his former confessions, convictions, and public acknowledgments, both in the presence of God and his church, and the whole company, with so many tears, and censures of himself, he should go again to justify what he had done; for secretly he wrote a second letter to the adventurers in England, in which he justified all his former writings, save in some things which tended to their damage.³¹

1625.

At the time of their election court, John Oldham came again amongst them; and though it was a part of his censure, for his former mutiny, not to return without leave first obtained, yet he presumed, without leave at all, to come, being set on and hardened by the ill counsel of others; and not only so, but suffered his unruly passion to run beyond the bounds and limits of all reason and modesty, insomuch that some strangers that were with him were ashamed of his outrages, and rebuked him, but all reproofs were but oil to the fire, and made the flame of his choler the greater. He called them all to naught in his fury, an hundred rebels and traitors; but in conclusion, they committed him until he was tamer, and then appointed a guard of musketeers, which he was to pass through, and every one was ordered to give him a blow on his hinder parts, with the butt end of his musket, and then he was conveyed to the water-side, where a boat was ready to carry him away, with this farewell, Go and mend your manners.

After the removal of his family he fell into some straits, and about a year after intended a voyage to Virginia; and so it pleased God that himself and sundry passengers being in the bark, they were in great danger, so as they despaired of life, and fell to prayer, and to examination of their hearts and consciences, and confessed such sins as most burdened them, and the said John Oldham did make a free and large confession of the wrongs he had done to the church and people at Plymouth, in many particulars; and that as he had sought their ruin, so God had now met with him, and might destroy him; yea, he feared that they all fared the worse for his sake: he prayed God to forgive him, and made vows, that if the Lord spared his life he would become otherwise. This was reported by some of good credit, not long since living in the Massachusetts Bay, that were themselves partners in the same danger, which was on the shoals of Cape Cod.

³¹ The copy of this letter is extant, but too large to be here inserted. (Morton).

It pleased God to spare their lives, but they lost their voyage; and some time afterwards, the said Mr. John Oldham carried himself fairly towards them, and acknowledged the hand of God to be with them, and seemed to have an honorable respect of them; and so far made his peace with them, as he had liberty to go and come at his pleasure, and in some time after went on trading in a small vessel amongst the Indians, and being weakly manned, upon some quarrel betwixt them, they slew him with a hatchet; this death being one ground of the Pequot war, of which afterwards in its proper place.³²

The time being expired that Mr. John Lyford's censure was to take place, he was so far from answering their hopes by amendment, as he had doubled his evil, as before mentioned. But first behold the hand of God concerning him, wherein that of the Psalmist is verified, Psal. 7:15. He hath made a pit, and digged it, and is fallen into the pit that he made. He thought to bring shame and disgrace upon them, but instead of that opens his own to all the world; for his wife, who was a prudent, sober woman, taking notice of his false and deceitful carriage about the premises, in grief of mind expressed her fears, that God would bring upon him and family, some sad judgment for these and other of his wicked practices, and related that he had a bastard, by another woman, before marriage with her, which he denied to her with an oath, but it afterwards appeared to be so; and another miscarriage of the like nature, more odiously circumstanced, was also discovered, for which he was forced to leave Ireland, and so came New England to be troubled with him. Being banished hence, he went first to Nantasket, then to Salem, and after to Virginia, where he shortly after died.

I have been too tedious in my relating the plots of these Machiavellians: but to conclude, the reader may take notice, that God observed and brought to naught their wicked devices, was a defense to the innocent, and caught them in the snares they privily laid for them, punishing one sin by another, until he had accomplished the freedom of his Israel, by the overthrow of his and their enemies; for which his mercy, let his holy name be praised for evermore.

This storm was blown over, yet sundry sad effects followed, for the company of the merchant adventurers break in pieces hereupon, and the greatest part wholly deserted the colony, but yet God took care of it; for although sundry of them fell off and adventured no more towards the support thereof, but rather proved manifest adversaries thereunto, than otherwise; and the rest partly because they were grown (some of them) low in their estates, and there being small hopes of returns to their expectations; although courteous in words and well wishes, yet afforded little or no help after this, so that the plantation was fain to stand on their own legs, being indeed marvelously supported by the Lord, for it pleased him so to bless their endeavors, as that they raised great crops of Indian corn (about this time), so as they had enough and to spare, and began to have thoughts of improving part of it in a way of trading with the Indians, and having only two shallops and no bigger vessels, they laid a deck on one of them in the midships, to preserve the corn dry from weather, and so sent her laden with corn, to a place called Kennebec, about fifty leagues off to the eastward; and notwithstanding they were strangers to the way, and place of trade, and to the people, and having no seamen, and, at that season, being the latter end of the year and drawing on to winter; yet it pleased God to preserve them, and so to bless their endeavors, as that they returned in safety, and with good success, it being the first enterprise they achieved in this kind, at least so far, and it proved an inlet to a further trade, which was greatly beneficial to them afterwards.

³² He was a man of parts, but high-spirited, and extremely passionate, which marred all in point of right improvement of them. (Morton).

And here I may not omit the observable dispensation of God's providence, respecting his dealing with the adventurers aforementioned, in reference unto two ships they sent unto these parts about that time, on a fishing voyage only upon their own account, having left the plantation to shift for themselves; one of these ships was small one, namely, the James, forenamed, which was well laden with cor-fish, and in her a great quantity likewise of beaver and other furs,³³ which was sent by the plantation to the adventurers, and returned for England; the other ship was also laden with good dry fish, and she also returned with her; being thus well freighted, they went together lovingly and joyfully away, the greater ship towing the lesser at her stern all the way over bound, and had such fair weather as they never cast her off till they were shot deep into the English channel, almost within sight of Plymouth, and yet there she was unhappily taken by a Turkish man-of-war, and carried into Sallee, where the master and men were made slaves, and many of the beaver skins were sold for fourpence apiece. Thus were all their hopes dashed in this respect, and the joyful news they went to carry home, turned into heavy tidings. Some thought this an hand of God for some unkindness showed to the plantation, by exaction upon them in reference to a parcel of goods they a little before had sent over to them on extreme rates; but God's judgments are unsearchable, neither ought we to be too bold therewith. But, however, it shows us the uncertainty of all human things, and what little cause there is in joying in them, or trusting to them.

In the bigger of these ships Capt. Myles Standish went over as agent in the behalf of the plantation, in reference unto some particulars yet depending betwixt them and the adventurers; as also to the honorable council of New England; and notwithstanding some difficulty he met with in his occasions by reason of the pestilence which was then so hot in the city of London, yet he accomplished his business so as he left things in a fair way for future composition, betwixt the said merchant adventurers and the plantation; and he spake also with some of the honorable council, aforenamed, who promised all helpfulness to the plantation, that lay in them. About this time it pleased the Lord likewise to give peace, health, and good success on their endeavors, his holy name be praised.

1626.

About the beginning of April, they heard of Capt. Standish's arrival, and sent a boat to fetch him home; welcome he was, but the news he brought was sad in many regards, not only in regard to the forementioned losses which their friends had, and some of them dead of the plague, but also that Mr. John Robinson, their pastor was dead, which struck them with much sorrow and sadness, as they had great cause; his and their adversaries had been long and continually plotting how they might hinder his coming into New England, but now the Lord had appointed him to a greater journey, at less charge, to a better place.

But before I pass things concerning this worthy servant of Christ, Mr. John Robinson, I shall here insert the honorable testimony that Mr. William Bradford, senior, hath left behind him, concerning him, being greatly acquainted with his worth and excellency.

Saith he, such was the mutual love and reciprocal respect that this worthy man had to his flock and his flock to him, that it might be said of them, as it was once said of that famous Emperor Marcus Aurelius, and the people of Rome, That it was hard to judge whether he delighted more in having such a people, or they in having such a pastor. But to return.

³³ Eight hundred weight of beaver, with other furs, a good quantity. (Morton).

Capt. Standish likewise brought the sad news of the death of Mr. Robert Cushman, their ancient friend, whom the Lord took away also, this year, about the same time, who was as their right hand with their friends the adventurers, and for divers years had done and agitated all their business with them, to their great advantage, of whom, occasionally, there hath been honorable mention formerly made in this book.

About this time they received divers letters from their friends at Leiden, in Holland, full of sad lamentation for their heavy loss by the death of their pastor, Mr. Robinson, abovenamed; and although their wills were good to come over to their brethren in New England, yet they saw no probability of means how it might be effected, but concluded, as it were, that all their hopes were cut off, and many, being aged, began to drop away by death. All which things before related, being well weighed and laid together, it could not but strike them with great perplexity, and to look humanly on the state of things, as they presented themselves at this time, it is a marvel it did not wholly discourage and sink them, but they gathered up their spirits, and the Lord so helped them, whose work they had in hand, as now, when they were very low, they began to rise again; and being stripped, in a manner, of all human helps and hopes, he brought things about otherwise in his divine providence, so as they were not only upheld and sustained, but their proceedings both honored and imitated by others, as by the sequel will appear.

1627.

This year they sent Mr. Isaac Allerton for England, and gave him orders to make a composition with the adventurers, in reference unto some particulars betwixt the plantation and them, which Capt. Standish had begun, as is before hinted, and at the ordinary season of the year, for the expectation of ships, he returned with some success in the business he was employed.

Likewise this year they began to make some distribution of lands, having had hitherto but to every person one acre allowed him, as to propriety, besides their homesteads, or garden-plots, the reason was that they might keep together, both for more safety and defense, and the better improvement of the general employments; which condition of theirs brings to mind that which may be read in Pliny, Lib. 18, chap. 2, of the Roman's first beginnings in Romulus's time, how every man contented himself with two acres of land, and had no more assigned them; and, chap. 3, it was thought a great reward to receive, at the hands of the people of Rome, a pint of corn; and long after, the greatest present given to a captain, that had got a victory over their enemies, was as much ground as he could till in one day; and he was not accounted a good, but a dangerous man, that would not content himself with seven acres of land; as also how they did pound their corn in mortars, as these people were forced to do, many years before they could get a mill.

Notwithstanding, as aforesaid, so small a portion of land served them at the first, yet afterwards for divers reasons moving thereunto, they were necessitated to lay out some larger proportions to each person; yet resolving to keep such a mean in distribution of lands, as should not hinder their growth by others coming to them, and therefore accordingly allotted to every one in each family, twenty acres, to be laid out five acres in breadth, by the water-side, and four acres in length.

I may not omit the inserting of a particular, that fell out this year, in reference unto a ship with many passengers in her, and some considerable goods, which was bound for Virginia, who had lost themselves at sea, either by the insufficiency of the master, or his illness, for he was sick and lame of the scurvy, so as he could but lie in the cabin door, and give direction, and, it should

seem, was badly assisted either with mate or mariners, or else the fear of, and the unruliness of the passengers was such, as they made them steer a course between the south-west and north-west, that they might fall in with some land; whatever it was they cared not, for they had been six weeks at sea, and had no beer nor water, nor wood left, but had burnt up all their empty casks, only one of the company had a hogshead of wine or two, which was also almost spent, so as they feared they should be starved at sea, or consumed with diseases, which made them run this desperate course. But it pleased God, that although they came so near the shoals of Cape Cod, or else ran stumbling over them in the night, they knew not how, they came before a small harbor, that lieth about the middle of Manamoyick Bay, to the southward of Cape Cod, and with a small gale of wind, and about high water, touched upon a bar of sand that lieth before it, but had no hurt, the sea being smooth; so they laid out an anchor; but towards evening the wind sprang up at sea, and was so rough as they brake their cable, and beat them over the bar into the harbor, where they saved their lives and goods; for, although with much beating they had sprung a butt end of a plank, yet they soon got over, and ran upon a dry flat within the harbor, close to a beach, and at low-water, got out their goods, and were not a little glad that they had saved their lives. But when they had refreshed themselves, not knowing where they were, nor what to do, were much troubled, but soon after some Indians came towards them in canoes, which made them stand upon their guard, but when they heard some of them speak English, they were not a little revived; especially when they heard them ask, whether they were not the governor of Plymouth's men, or friends, and that they would bring them to the English houses, or carry their letters; and when they had feasted these Indians, and given them many gifts, they sent two men, and a letter with them to the governor of Plymouth, by which he had intelligence of their condition, and took order for their supply; they hoping, by mending of their ship, to recover her to go to sea again, and accordingly did mend her; but afterwards having but bad mooring, was put on shore again, and suffered so much shipwreck as she never got off more, but all the company were forced to repair to Plymouth, where they continued the best part of the year, being courteously entertained, and so were dispersed; the greatest part of them went to Virginia, and some remained in the country. The chief amongst them were Mr. Fells, Mr. Sibsey, and the master's name was Johnston, a Scotchman.

This year the plantation of Plymouth received messages from the Dutch plantation, sent unto them from the governor there, written both in Dutch and French. The sum of the letters forementioned were, to congratulate the English here, taking notice of much that might engage them to a friendly correspondency and good neighborhood, as the propinquity of their native country, their long continued friendship, etc., and desires to fall into a way of some commerce and trade with them.³⁴

To which the governor and council of Plymouth returned answerable courteous acceptance of their loving propositions, respecting their good neighborhood in general, and particularly for commerce. And accordingly the Dutch, not long after, sent their secretary, Mr. Isaac de Rasieres, with letters and goods, who laid the foundation of a trade that continued between them many years after, to their mutual benefit. They also brought the English acquainted with the trading of wampameag, until then little known to us, nor esteemed by us, but was after of good valuation and profitable. Although for the space of twenty years, it was of great esteem among the natives in divers parts of the country, so as it made the Indians, in these parts, rich, proud, and powerful; yet until they had store of it, they could not attain English

³⁴ The Dutch had trading in those southern parts divers years before the English came, but they began no plantation until after the English came and were here seated. (Morton).

ammunition, but were fain to improve their own artillery of bows and arrows; but when as they learned to make store of wampum, they furnished themselves with guns, powder, and shot, which no laws can restrain, by reason of the baseness of sundry unworthy persons, both English, Dutch, and French, which may turn to the ruin of many; for hitherto the Indians of these parts had no pieces, nor other arms but their bows and arrows and clubs, nor in many years after; neither durst they scarce handle a gun, though out of kelter, it was a terror to them; but those Indians to the eastern parts, which had commerce with the French, got pieces of them, and they in the end made a common trade of it, and in time our English fishermen, led with the like covetousness, followed their example for their own gain; but upon complaint against them, it pleased the King's Majesty to prohibit the same by a strict proclamation, commanding that no sort of arms or ammunition should by any of his subjects be traded with them.

1628

This year died Mr. Richard Warren, who hath been mentioned before in this book, and was an useful instrument; and during his life bore a deep share in the difficulties and troubles of the first settlement of the plantation of New Plymouth.

Whereas about three years before this time there came over one Capt. Wollaston,³⁵ a man of considerable parts, and with him three or four more of some eminency, who brought with them a great many servants, with provisions and other requisites for to begin a plantation, and pitched themselves in a place within the Massachusetts Bay, which they called afterwards by their captain's name, Mount Wollaston; which place is since called by the name of Braintree. And amongst others that came with him, there was one Mr. Thomas Morton, who should seem had some small adventure of his own or other men's amongst them, but had little respect, and was slighted by the meanest servants they kept. They having continued some time in New England, and not finding things to answer their expectation, nor profit to arise as they looked for, the said Capt. Wollaston takes a great part of the servants, and transports them to Virginia, and disposed of them there, and writes back to one Mr. Rasdale, of his chief partners, and accounted their merchant, to bring another part of them to Virginia likewise, intending to put them off there, as he had done the rest; and he with consent of the said Rasdale, appointed one whose name was Filcher to be his lieutenant, and to govern the remainder of the plantation, until he or Rasdale should take further order thereabout.

But the aforesaid Morton, having more craft than honesty, having been a pettifogger at Furnival's Inn, he in the other's absence, watches an opportunity, commons being but hard among them, and got some strong drink, and other junkets, and made them a feast, and after they were merry, he began to tell them he would give them good counsel; you see, said he, that many of your fellows are carried to Virginia, and if you stay still until Rasdale's return, you will also be carried away and sold for slaves with the rest; therefore I would advise you to thrust out this Lieut. Filcher, and I, having a part in the plantation, will receive you as my partners and consociates, so may you be free from service, and we will converse, plant, trade, and live together as equals, or to the like effect. This counsel was easily followed, so they took opportunity and thrust Lieut. Filcher out of doors, and would not suffer him to come any more

³⁵ This gentleman's name is here occasionally used, and although he came over in the year 1625, yet these passengers in reference to Morton, fell out about this year, and therefore referred to this place. (Morton).

amongst them, but forced him to seek bread to eat and other necessaries, amongst his neighbors, till he could get a passage for England.³⁶

After this they fell to great licentiousness of life, in all profaneness, and the said Morton became lord of misrule, and maintained, as it were, a school of Atheism, and after they had got some goods into their hands, and got much by trading with the Indians, they spent it as vainly in quaffing and drinking both wine and strong liquors in great excess, as some have reported, ten pounds worth, in a morning, setting up a may-pole, drinking and dancing about it, and frisking about it like so many fairies, or furies rather, yea, and worse practices, as if they had anew revived and celebrated the feast of the Roman's goddess, Flora, or the beastly practices of the mad Bacchanalians. The said Morton, likewise, to show his poetry, composed sundry rhymes and verses, some tending to lasciviousness, and others to the detraction and scandal of some person's names, which he affixed to his idle or idol maypole; they changed also the name of their place, and instead of calling it Mount Wollaston, they called it the Merry Mount, as if this jollity would have lasted always. But this continued not long, for shortly after that worthy gentleman, Mr. John Endecott, who brought over a patent under the broad seal of England, for the government of the Massachusetts, visiting these parts, caused that maypole to be cut down, and rebuked them for their profaneness, and admonished them to look to it that they walked better; so the name was again changed, and called Mount Dagon.

Now to maintain this riotous prodigality and profuse expense, the said Morton thinking himself lawless, and hearing what gain the fishermen made of trading of pieces, powder, and shot; he, as head of this consortship, began the practice of the same in these parts; and first he taught the Indians how to use them, to charge and discharge them, and what proportion of powder to give the piece, according to the size or bigness of the same, and what shot to use for fowl, and what for deer; and having instructed them, he employed some of them to hunt and fowl for him; so as they became somewhat more active in this employment than any of the English, by reason of their swiftness of foot, and nimbleness of body, being also quicksighted, and by continual exercise, well knowing the haunt of all sorts of game; so as when they saw the execution that a piece would do, and the benefit that might come by the same, they became very eager after them, and would not stick to give any price they could attain to for them; accounting their bows and arrows but baubles in comparison of them.

And here we may take occasion to bewail the mischief which came by this wicked man, and others like unto him; in that, notwithstanding all laws for the restraint of selling ammunition to the natives, that so far base covetousness prevailed, and doth still prevail, as that the savages become amply furnished with guns, powder, shot, rapiers, pistols, and also well skilled in repairing of defective arms; yea some have not spared to tell them how gunpowder is made, and all the materials in it, and that they are to be had in their own land, and would, no doubt, in case they could attain to making of saltpeter, teach them to make powder; and what mischief may fall out to the English in those parts thereby, let this pestilent fellow Morton, aforementioned, bear a greater part of the blame and guilt of it to future generations. But lest I should hold the reader too long in the relation of the particulars of his vile actings, when as the English that then lived up and down about the Massachusetts, and in other places, perceiving the sad consequences of his trading, so as the Indians became furnished with the English arms and ammunition, and expert in the improving of them, and fearing they should, at one time or another, get a blow thereby; also, taking notice that if he were let alone in his way, they should keep no servants for him, because he would entertain any, how vile soever; sundry of the chief of the straggling plantations met

³⁶ See the sad effects of the want of good government. (Morton).

together, and agreed, by mutual consent, to send to Plymouth, who were then of more strength to join with them, to suppress this mischief; who, considering the particulars, proposed to them to join together to take some speedy course to prevent, if it might be, the evil that was accruing towards them; and resolved, first, to admonish him of his wickedness respecting the premises, laying before him the injury he did to their common safety, and that his acting concerning the same was against the king's proclamation; but he insolently persisted on in his way, and said the king was dead, and his displeasure with him, and threatened them that if they came to molest him, they should look to themselves; so that they saw there was no way but to take him by force; so they resolved to proceed in such a way, and obtained of the governor of Plymouth, to send Capt. Standish, and some other aid with him, to take the said Morton by force, the which accordingly was done; but they found him to stand stiffly on his defense, having made fast his doors, armed his consorts, set powder and shot ready upon the table, scoffed and scorned at them, and he and his accomplices being filled with strong drink, were desperate in their way; but he himself coming out of doors to make a shot at Capt. Standish, he stepping to him, put by his piece and took him, and so little hurt was done; and so he was brought prisoner to Plymouth, and continued in durance, till an opportunity of sending him for England, which was done at their common charge, and letters also with him, to the honorable council for New England, and returned again into the country in some short time, with less punishment than his demerits deserved, as was apprehended.

The year following he was again apprehended, and sent for England, where he lay a considerable time in Exeter gaol; for, besides his miscarriage here in New England, he was suspected of having murdered a man that had ventured moneys with him when he first came into New England; and a warrant was sent over from the lord chief-justice to apprehend him; by virtue thereof he was, by the governor of the Massachusetts, sent into England, and for other of his misdemeanors amongst them in that government, they demolished his house, that it might no longer be a roost for such unclean birds. Notwithstanding he got free in England again, and wrote an infamous and scurrilous book against many godly and chief men of the country, full of lies and slanders, and full fraught with profane calumnies against their names and persons, and the ways of God. But to the intent I may not trouble the reader any more with mentioning of him in this history; in fine, sundry years after he came again into the country, and was imprisoned at Boston, for the aforesaid book and other things, but denied several things therein, affirming his book was adulterated. And soon after being grown old in wickedness, at last ended his life at Piscataqua. But I fear I have held the reader too long about so unworthy a person, but hope it may be useful to take notice how wickedness was beginning, and would have further proceeded, had it not been prevented timely.

1629

This year sundry ships came out of England, and arrived at Neumkeag,³⁷ where Mr. John Endecott had chief command; and by infection that grew among the passengers at sea, it spread also among them on shore, of which many died, some of the scurvy, and others of infectious fevers. Mr. Endecott understanding that there was one at Plymouth that had skill in such diseases, sent thither for him; at whose request he was sent unto them. And afterwards acquaintance and Christian love and correspondency came on betwixt the said governor and the

³⁷ Now called Salem. (Morton).

said Endecott; which was furthered by congratulatory letters that passed betwixt each other; one whereof, because it shows the beginning of their Christian fellowship, I shall here insert,

The copy of a letter from Mr. Endecott to Mr. Bradford, as followeth:

RIGHT WORSHIPFUL SIR,

It is a thing not usual, that servants to one master, and of the same household, should be strangers; I assure you I desire it not; nay, to speak more plainly, I cannot be so to you. God's people are all marked with one and the same mark, and have, for the main, one and the same heart, guided by one and the same spirit of truth; and where this is, there can be no discord; nay, here must needs be a sweet harmony; and the same request, with you, I make unto the Lord, that we may, as Christian brethren, be united by an heavenly and unfeigned love, bending all our hearts and forces in furthering a work beyond our strength, with reverence and fear, fastening our eyes always on him that is only able to direct and prosper all our ways. I acknowledge myself much bound to you for your kind love and care in sending Mr. Fuller amongst us, and rejoice much that I am by him satisfied touching your judgment of the outward form of God's worship; it is, as far as I can gather, no other than is warranted by the evidence of truth, and the same which I have professed and maintained ever since the Lord in mercy revealed himself unto me, being far from the common report that hath been spread of you, touching that particular; but God's children must not look for less here below; and it is a great mercy of God that he strengtheneth them to go through with it. I shall not need, at this time, to enlarge unto you, for (God willing) I purpose to see your face shortly; in the mean time, I humbly take my leave of you, committing you to the Lord's blessing and protection, and rest your assured loving friend,

JOHN ENDECOTT

Neumkeag, May 11, 1629.

In the three ships that came over this year to Salem, in the month of June, besides many godly Christians, there came over three ministers, two of them, Mr. Skelton and Mr. Higginson, were non-conformists, who, having suffered much in their native land upon that account, they came over with a professed intention of practicing church reformation; the third minister, Mr. Bright, was a conformist, who, not agreeing in judgment with the other two, removed to Charlestown, where also, not agreeing with those godly Christians there, that were for reformation, after one year's stay in the country, he returned for England: but Mr. Higginson and Mr. Skelton, in pursuance of the ends of their coming over into this wilderness, acquainted the governor, Mr. Endecott, and the rest of the godly people whom they found inhabitants of the place, and the chief of the passengers that came over with them, with their professed intentions, and consulted with them about settling a reformed congregation; from whom they found a general and hearty concurrence, so that, after some conference together about this matter, they pitched upon the 6th of August for their entering into a solemn covenant with God and one another, and also for the ordaining of their ministers; of which they gave notice to the church of Plymouth, that being the only church that was in the country before them. The people made choice of Mr. Skelton for their pastor, and Mr. Higginson for their teacher. And accordingly it was desired of Mr. Higginson to draw up a confession of faith and covenant in scripture language; which being done, was agreed upon. And because they foresaw that this wilderness might be looked upon as a place of liberty, and therefore might in time be troubled with erroneous spirits, therefore they did put in one article into the confession of faith, on purpose,

about the duty and power of the magistrate in matters of religion. Thirty copies of the aforesaid confession of faith and covenant being written out for the use of thirty persons, who were to begin the work.

When the 6th of August came, it was kept as a day of fasting and prayer, in which, after the sermons and prayers of the two ministers, in the end of the day, the aforesaid confession of faith and covenant being solemnly read, the forenamed persons did solemnly profess their consent thereunto; and then proceeded to the ordaining of Mr. Skelton pastor, and Mr. Higginson teacher of the church there. Mr. Bradford, the governor of Plymouth, and some others with him, coming by sea, were hindered by cross winds, that they could not be there at the beginning of the day, but they came into the assembly afterward, and gave them the right-hand of fellowship, wishing all prosperity, and a blessed success unto such good beginnings. After which, at several times, many others joined to the church in the same way. The confession of faith and covenant, forementioned, was acknowledged only as a direction, pointing unto that faith, and covenant contained in the Holy Scripture, and therefore no man was confined unto that form of words, but only to the substance, end, and scope of the matter contained therein. And for the circumstantial manner of joining to the church, it was ordered according to the wisdom and faithfulness of the elders, together with the liberty and ability of any person.

Hence it was, that some were admitted by expressing their consent to that written confession of faith and covenant; others did answer to questions about the principles of religion that were publicly propounded to them; some did present their confession in writing, which was read for them; and some, that were able and willing, did make their confession in their own words and way; a due respect was also had unto the conversations of men, namely, that they were without scandal. But some of the passengers that came over at the same time, observing that the ministers did not at all use the *Book of Common Prayer*, and that they did administer baptism and the Lord's supper without the ceremonies, and that they professed also to use discipline in the congregation against scandalous persons, by a personal application of the word of God, as the case might require, and that some that were scandalous were denied admission into the church, they began to raise some trouble; of these Mr. Samuel Brown and his brother were the chief, the one being a lawyer, the other a merchant, both of them amongst the number of the first patentees, men of estates, and men of parts and port in the place. These two brothers gathered a company together, in a place distinct from the public assembly, and there, sundry times, the *Book of Common Prayer* was read unto such as resorted thither. The governor, Mr. Endecott, taking notice of the disturbance that began to grow amongst the people by this means, he convented the two brothers before him. They accused the ministers as departing from the orders of the church of England, that they were Separatists, and would be Anabaptists, etc., but for themselves, they would hold to the orders of the church of England. The ministers answered for themselves, they were neither Separatists nor Anabaptists, they did not separate from the church of England, nor from the ordinances of God there, but only from the corruptions and disorders there; and that they came away from the common prayer and ceremonies, and had suffered much from their non-conformity in their native land, and therefore being in a place where they might have their liberty, they neither could nor would use them, because they judged the imposition of these things to be sinful corruptions in the worship of God. The governor and council, and the generality of the people, did well approve of the ministers' answer; and therefore finding those two brothers to be of high spirits, and their speeches and practices tending to mutiny and faction, the governor told them, that New England was no place for such as they; and therefore he sent them both back for England, at the return of the ships the same year; and

though they breathed out threatenings both against the governor and ministers there, yet the Lord so disposed of all, that there was no further inconvenience followed upon it.

The two ministers there being seriously studious of reformation, they considered of the state of their children, together with their parents; concerning which, letters did pass between Mr. Higginson and Mr. Brewster, the reverend elder of the church at Plymouth, and they did agree in their judgments, namely, concerning the church membership of the children with their parents; and that baptism was a seal of their membership; only when they were adult, they being not scandalous, they were to be examined by the church officers, and upon their approbation of their fitness, and upon the children's public and personally owning of the covenant, they were to be received unto the Lord's supper. Accordingly, Mr. Higginson's eldest son, being about fifteen years of age, was owned to have been received a member together with his parents, and being privately examined by the pastor, Mr. Skelton, about his knowledge in the principles of religion, he did present him before the church when the Lord's supper was to be administered, and the child, then publicly and personally owning the covenant of the God of his father, he was admitted unto the Lord's supper; it being then professedly owned, according to 1 Cor. 7:14; that the children of the church are holy unto the Lord as well as their parents, accordingly the parents owning and retaining the baptism, which they themselves received in their infancy, in their native land, as they had any children born, baptism was administered unto them, namely, to the children of such as were members of that particular church.

Mr. Higginson lived but one year after the settling of the church there, departed this life about the same time the next year, in the month of August, 1630. Mr. Skelton lived until the year 1634, when he also quietly slept in the Lord, and were both buried at Salem. As it is an honor to be in Christ before others, as in Rom. 16, so also to be first in the Lord's work, and to be faithful in it, as these two holy men were, who made such a beginning in church reformation, as was afterwards followed by many others.

In the year 1634, Mr. Roger Williams removed from Plymouth to Salem; he had lived about three years at Plymouth, where he was well accepted as an assistant in the ministry to Mr. Ralph Smith, then pastor of the church there, but by degrees venting of divers of his own singular opinions, and seeking to impose them upon others, he not finding such a concurrence as he expected, he desired his dismissal to the church of Salem, which though some were unwilling to, yet through the prudent counsel of Mr. Brewster, the ruling elder there, fearing that his continuance amongst them might cause divisions, and there being many abler men in the bay, they would better deal with him than themselves could, and foreseeing, what he professed he feared concerning Mr. Williams, which afterwards came to pass, that he would run the same course of rigid separation and anabaptistry, which Mr. John Smith, the Sebaptist at Amsterdam had done; the church of Plymouth consented to his dismissal, and such as did adhere to him were also dismissed, and removed with him, or not long after him, to Salem. He came to Salem in the time of Mr. Skelton's weakness, who lived not long after Mr. Williams was come, whereupon after some time, the church there called him to office; but he having in one year's time, filled that place with principles of rigid separation, and tending to Anabaptistry, the prudent magistrates of the Massachusetts jurisdiction sent to the church of Salem, desiring them to forbear calling him to office, which they hearkening to, was a cause of much disturbance; for Mr. Williams had begun, and then being in office, he proceeded more vigorously to vent many dangerous opinions, as amongst many others these were some; that it is not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray, nor to take an oath, and in special, not the oath of fidelity to the civil government; nor was it lawful for a godly man to have communion, either in family prayer, or in

an oath, with such as they judged unregenerate; and therefore he himself refused the oath of fidelity, and taught others so to do; also, that it was not lawful so much as to hear the godly ministers of England, when any occasionally went thither, and therefore he admonished any church members that had done so, as for heinous sin; also he spake dangerous words against the patent, which was the foundation of the government of the Massachusetts colony; also he affirmed, that the magistrates had nothing to do in matters of the first table, but only the second; and that there should be a general and unlimited toleration of all religions, and for any man to be punished for any matters of his conscience, was persecution.

And further, he procured the church of Salem's consent unto letters of admonition, which were written and sent by him, in their name, to the churches at Boston, Charlestown, Newtown, (now Cambridge,) etc., accusing the magistrates, that were members of the respective churches, of sundry heinous offences, which he laid unto their charge; and though divers did acknowledge their error and gave satisfaction, yet Mr. Williams himself, notwithstanding all the pains that was taken with him by Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, and many others, to bring him to a sight of his errors and miscarriages, and, notwithstanding all the court's gentle proceedings with him, he not only persisted, but grew more violent in his way, insomuch as he staying at home in his own house, sent a letter, which was delivered and read in the public church assembly, the scope of which was to give them notice, that if the church of Salem would not separate not only from the churches of Old England, but the churches of New England too, he would separate from them. The more prudent and sober part of the church, being amazed at his way, could not yield unto him; whereupon he never came to the church assembly more, professing separation from them as antichristian, and not only so, but he withdrew all private religious communion from any that would hold communion with the church there, insomuch as he would not pray nor give thanks at meals with his own wife nor any of his family, because they went to the church assemblies. Divers of the weaker sort of the church members, that had been thoroughly leavened with his opinions, of which number were divers women that were zealous in their way, did by degrees fall off to him, insomuch as he kept a meeting in his own house, unto which a numerous company did resort, both on the Sabbath day and at other times in way of separation from, and opposition to the church assembly there; which the prudent magistrates understanding, and seeing things grow more and more towards a general division and disturbance, after all other means used in vain, they passed a sentence of banishment against him out of the Massachusetts colony, as against a disturber of the peace, both of the church and commonwealth.

After which Mr. Williams sat down in a place called Providence, out of the Massachusetts jurisdiction, and was followed by many of the members of the church at Salem, who did zealously adhere to him, and who cried out of the persecution that was against him; some others also resorted to him from other parts. They had not been long there together, but from rigid separation they fell to Anabaptistry, renouncing the baptism which they had received in their infancy, and taking up another baptism, and so began a church in that way; but Mr. Williams stopped not there long, for after some time he told the people that followed him, and joined with him in a new baptism, that he was out of the way himself, and had misled them, for he did not find that there was any upon earth that could administer baptism, and therefore their last baptism was a nullity, as well as their first; and therefore they must lay down all, and wait for the coming of new apostles; and so they dissolved themselves and turned Seekers, keeping that one principle, that every one should have liberty to worship God according to the light of their own consciences; but otherwise not owning any churches or ordinances of God anywhere upon earth.

Thus much was thought meet to be inserted here concerning the great and lamentable apostasy of Mr. Williams, that it may be a warning to all others to take heed of a gradual declining from, and forsaking the churches of Christ, and ordinances of God in them, lest they be left of God to run such a course as he hath done; wherefore let him that thinks he stands, take heed lest he fall, 1 Cor. 10:12; as also to be a motive to the saints to remember him unto God in their fervent prayers for his return, he having been sometimes an able dispenser of the word of God, and, in several respects of an exemplary conversation.

And yet that there may be a standing evidence of the care that was had in those times to prevent the growth of errors, and of the exercises of the communion of churches for that end, it is thought meet further to insert this passage; that before the putting forth of the civil power of the magistrate for the removing of Mr. Williams from Salem, and besides other means also used, there was a public admonition sent in writing from the church of Boston to the church of Salem, for the reducing of Mr. Williams, and the erring part of the church. The title of the writing was,

Errors in doctrine maintained by some of the brethren of the church of Salem, tending to the disturbance of religion and peace, in family, church, and commonwealth, namely,

1. That it is not lawful to call upon an unregenerate man to pray for himself.
2. It is not lawful for a regenerate man to pray with his carnal family.
3. It is not lawful for magistrates to take an oath of fidelity from unregenerate men.
4. It is not lawful for magistrates to take an oath of fidelity from the body of their subjects, though regenerate, and members of churches.
5. It is not lawful for magistrates to punish the breaches of the first table, unless thereby the civil peace of the commonwealth be disturbed.

Whence also it follows, and is confessed,

That a church wholly declining into arianism, papism, familism, or other heresies, being admonished, and convinced thereof by other churches, and not reforming, may not be reformed by the civil magistrate, in a way of civil justice, unless it break the civil peace.

These errors were solidly confuted, and the contrary truths asserted, by the word of God, in that writing which was subscribed by

John Cotton, Teacher of the church of Boston.

Thomas Oliver,

Thomas Leverett, Elders of the same church.

Mr. Wilson the pastor of the church being at that time absent upon a voyage to England.

1630

This year it pleased God, of his rich grace, to transport over into the bay of the Massachusetts divers honorable personages, and many worthy Christians, whereby the Lord began in a manifest manner and way to make known the great thoughts which he had of planting the gospel in this remote and barbarous wilderness, and honoring his own way of instituted worship, causing such and so many to adhere thereunto, as fall upon the practice thereof; among the rest, a chief one amongst them was that famous pattern of piety and justice, Mr. John Winthrop, the first governor of the jurisdiction, accompanied with divers other precious sons of Zion, which might be compared to the most fine gold. Amongst whom, also, I might name that reverend and worthy man, Mr. John Wilson, eminent for love and zeal; he likewise came over

this year, and bare a great, share of the difficulties of these new beginnings, with great cheerfulness and alacrity of spirit. They came over with a fleet of ten ships, three of them arriving first at Salem, in which several of the chiefest of them came, who repaired, sundry of them, in some short time, into the bay of the Massachusetts; the other seven ships arrived at Charlestown, where it pleased the Lord to exercise them with much sickness, and being destitute of housing and shelter, and lying up and down in booths, some of them languished and died. Yea, it pleased God to take away amongst the rest that blessed servant of Christ, Mr. Isaac Johnson, with his lady, soon after their arrival, with sundry other precious saints.

This sickness being heavy upon them, caused the principal of them to propose to the rest to set a day apart to seek the Lord, for the assuaging of his displeasure therein, as also for direction and guidance in the solemn enterprise of entering into church fellowship; which solemn day of humiliation was observed by all, not only of themselves, but also by their brethren at Plymouth in their behalf; and the Lord was entreated not only to assuage the sickness, but also encouraged their hearts to a beginning, and in some short time after to a further progress in the great work of erecting a way of worshipping of Christ in church fellowship, according to primitive institution. Those choice and eminent servants of Christ did not despise their poor leaders and fellow-soldiers that they found in the same work of the Lord with them, at Plymouth, but treated them as brethren, much pitying their great straits and hardships they had endured in the first beginning of planting this wilderness, promising all helpfulness even out of their own estates, according to their power; and their said brethren at Plymouth were persuaded they spake as they thought in their hearts; for, such was the simplicity of those times, as that divers faces were not carried under a hood; pride, covetousness, profaneness, and sinful self, were ashamed to be seen, except in obscure places and persons. O poor New England! consider what thou wast, and what thou now art! Repent and do thy first works, saith the Lord! So may thy peace be as a river, and thy righteousness as the waves of the sea, Isa. 48:18, 19. So be it. But to return.

The first that began in the work of the Lord above mentioned, were their honored governor, Mr. John Winthrop, Mr. Johnson, forenamed, that much honored gentleman, Mr. Thomas Dudley, and Mr. John Wilson, aforesaid; these four were the first that began that honorable church of Boston, unto whom there joined many other. The same year also Mr. George Phillips, who was a worthy servant of Christ and dispenser of his word, began a church fellowship at Watertown; as did also Mr. Maverick and Mr. Warham at Dorchester, the same day.

Thus, out of small beginnings, great things have been produced by his hand that made all things of nothing; and, as one small candle may light a thousand, so the light here kindled hath shown unto many, yea, in some sort, to our whole nation. Let the glorious name of Jehovah have all the praise in all ages.

1631

This year the reverend and useful instrument Mr. John Eliot came over, and not long after Mr. Weld, who began a church society at Roxbury; as likewise good old Mr. Maverick, and Mr. Warham began one at Dorchester.

1632

This year one Sir Christopher Gardiner, being, as himself said, descended of the house of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who was so great a persecutor of God's saints in Queen Mary's days, arrived in New England; he being a great traveler received his first honor of knighthood at Jerusalem, being made a knight at the sepulcher there. He came into these parts in pretence of forsaking the world, and to live a private life in a godly course, not unwilling to put himself upon any mean employment, and take any pains for his living, and sometimes offered himself to join to the church in sundry places; he brought over with him a servant or two, and a comely young woman, whom he called his cousin; but it was suspected that, after the Italian manner, she was his concubine. He living at the Massachusetts, for some miscarriages for which he should have answered, fled away from authority, and got amongst the Indians in the jurisdiction of New Plymouth. The governor of the Massachusetts sent after him, but could not get him, and promised some reward to those that should find him. The Indians came to the governor of Plymouth, and told where he was, and asked if they might kill him, but the said governor told them no, they should not kill him by no means, but if they could take him alive and bring him to Plymouth, they should be paid for their pains; they said he had a gun and a rapier, and he would kill them if they went about it, and the Massachusetts Indians said they might kill him, but the governor aforesaid told them no, they should not kill him, but watch their opportunity and take him and so they did, for when they light on him by a river side, he got into a canoe to get from them, and when they came near him, whilst he presented his piece at them to keep them off, the stream carried the canoe against a rock, and threw both him and his piece, and the rapier into the water, yet he got out, and having a little dagger by his side, they durst not close with him; but getting long poles, they soon beat the dagger out of his hand; so he was glad to yield, and they brought him to the governor at Plymouth, but his hands and arms were swelled very sore with the blows they had given him; so he used him kindly, and sent him to a lodging where his arms were bathed and anointed, and he was quickly well again, and blamed the Indians for beating him so much. They said they did but a little whip him with sticks. In his lodging, those that made his bed found a little notebook, that by accident had slipped out of his pocket, or some private place, in which was a memorial what day he was reconciled to the Pope or church of Rome, and in what university he took his scapula, and such and such a degree; it being brought to the governor, he kept it and sent it to the governor of the Massachusetts, with word of his taking, who sent for him; but afterwards he went for England and showed his malice against New England, but God prevented him; of which I thought meet to insert a letter from Mr. Winthrop, governor of the Massachusetts, to Mr. Bradford, the governor of Plymouth, in reference to this matter, as also the copy of an order relating to the same as followeth. And first of the letter:

Sir,

Upon a petition exhibited by Sir Christopher Gardiner, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Captain Mason, etc., against you and us, the cause was heard before the Lords of the Privy Council, and afterwards reported to the king; the success whereof makes it evident to all, that the Lord hath care of his people here; the passages are admirable and too long to write. I heartily wish for an opportunity to impart them unto you, being many sheets of paper; but the conclusion was, against all men's expectation, an order for our encouragement, and much blame and disgrace upon the adversaries, which calls for much thankfulness from us all, which we purpose, God willing, to express in a day of thanksgiving to our merciful God," (I doubt not but you will consider if it be not fit for you to join in it,) who, as he hath humbled us by his late correction, so he hath lifted us up by an abundant rejoicing in our deliverance out of so desperate a danger; so

as that which our enemies built their hopes upon to ruin us by, he hath mercifully disposed to our great advantage, as I shall further acquaint you when occasion shall serve.
The copy of the order follows.

At the Court at Whitehall, January 19, 1632.

Sigillum Crescent.

Lord Privy Seal,	Mr. Trevers,
Earl of Dorset,	Mr. Vice Chamberlain,
Lord Viscount Falkland,	Mr. Secretary Cook,
Lord Bishop of London,	Mr. Secretary Windebank.
Lord Cottington,	

Whereas his majesty hath lately been informed of great distraction and much disorder in the plantations in the parts of America, called New England, which if they be true, and suffered to run on, would tend to the dishonor of this kingdom, and utter ruin of that plantation; for prevention whereof, and for the orderly settling of government, according to the intention of those patents which have been granted by his majesty, and from his late royal father, King James; it hath pleased his majesty, that the lords and others of his most honorable privy council should take the same into consideration; their lordships, in the first place, thought fit to make a committee of this board, to take examination of the matters informed; which committee having called divers of the principal Adventurers in that plantation, and heard those that are complainants against them; most of the things informed being denied, and resting to be proved by parties that must be called from that place, which required a long expense of time, and at present their lordships finding they were upon dispatch of men, victuals, and merchandise for that place, all which would be at a stand if the Adventurers should have discouragement, or take suspicion that the state here had no good opinion of that plantation; their lordships not laying the fault or fancies (if any be) of some particular men upon the general government, or principal Adventurers, which in due time is further to be inquired into; have thought fit, in the mean time, to declare, that the appearances were so fair, and hopes so great, that the country would prove both beneficial to this kingdom, and profitable to the particulars, as that the Adventurers had cause to go on cheerfully with their undertakings, and rest assured, if things were carried as was pretended when the patents were granted, and accordingly as by the patents it is appointed, his majesty would not only maintain the liberties and privileges heretofore granted, but supply anything further that might tend to the good government, prosperity, and comfort of his people there of that place, etc.

William Trumball.

1633

This year Mr. Edward Winslow was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth; and Mr. William Bradford, Capt. Myles Standish, Mr. John Howland, Mr. John Alden, Mr. John Doane, Mr. Stephen Hopkins, and Mr. William Gilson, were chosen to be his assistants in government.

The plantation of Plymouth, having had some former converse with the Dutch, as hath been hinted, they seeing them seated in a barren quarter, told them of a river called by them the

Fresh river,³⁸ which they often commended unto them for a good place, both for plantation and trade, and wished them to make use of it; but their hands being full otherwise, they let it pass; but afterwards, there coming a company of Indians into these parts, that were driven out of their country by the potency of the Pequots, they solicited them to go thither. These Indians not seeing them very forward to entertain the motion, which they moved with great ardency, they solicited them of the government of the Massachusetts in like sort, but they being then not fit to entertain the motion, in respect that they were newly come into the country, did not much regard it. Notwithstanding, some of the chief made a motion to join some here in a way of trade at the same river; on which a meeting was appointed to treat concerning the same matter, and some of Plymouth appointed to give them meeting, which they did, but they cast in the way many fears of danger and loss, and the like, on which they of the Massachusetts declined the thing, and did not proceed therein. Whereupon those of Plymouth went alone, and prepared a frame of an house, and stowed it into a bark, ready to rear at their landing, and went up the said river and reared their said house, and fenced it about with a palisade, which was done with great difficulty, not only of the Dutch, but also of the Indians; notwithstanding the place they possessed themselves of was such as the Dutch had nothing to do with, and likewise was bought of the Indians which they carried with them. And this was Plymouth's entrance there, who deserved to have held it, and not by friends to have been thrust out, as in a sort they afterwards were.

This year it pleased God to visit Plymouth with an infectious fever, of which many fell very sick, and upwards of twenty died, men, women, and children, and sundry of them were of their ancient friends; amongst the rest, Mr. Samuel Fuller then died, after he had much helped others, and was a comfort to them; he was their surgeon and physician, and did much good in his place, being not only useful in his faculty, but otherwise, as he was a godly man, and served Christ in the office of a deacon in the church for many years, and forward to do good in his place, and was much missed after God removed him out of this world.

This sickness caused much sadness amongst them, and, according to their duty, they besought the Lord by fasting and prayer, and he was entreated of them, and towards winter the sickness ceased. This sickness, being a kind of pestilent fever, swept away also many of the Indians from places near adjoining to Plymouth.

It is to be observed, that the spring before this sickness, there was a numerous company of flies, which were like for bigness unto wasps or bumblebees; they came out of little holes in the ground, and did eat up the green things, and made such a constant yelling noise as made the woods ring of them, and ready to deafen the hearers; they were not any of them heard or seen by the English in the country before this time; but the Indians told them that sickness would follow, and so it did, very hot, in the months of June, July, and August of that summer.

This year there arrived in New England, those three worthy instruments, Mr. John Cotton, Mr. Thomas Hooker, and Mr. Samuel Stone, who were gospel preachers, of excellent worth and use in their places, until God took them out of the world unto himself.

This year likewise, Mr. William Collier arrived with his family in New England, who, as he had been a good benefactor to the colony of New Plymouth, before he came over, having been an Adventurer unto it at its first beginning, so also, he approved himself a very useful instrument, in that jurisdiction, after he arrived, being frequently chosen, and for divers years serving God and the country in the place of magistracy, and lived a godly and holy life, until old age, which to him is a crown of glory, being found in the way of righteousness.

³⁸ Which is the same called Connecticut river. (Morton).

1634

This year Mr. Thomas Prence was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth. His assistants in government were Mr. William Bradford, Mr. Edward Winslow, Capt. Myles Standish, Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Mr. John Howland, and Mr. Stephen Hopkins. In the spring of this year there fell a very great sickness of the smallpox amongst the Indians, so as they died most miserably of it; for a sorer disease cannot come amongst them, and they dread it more than the plague itself; for, usually, those of them which have this disease, have them in abundance, and for want of bedding and linen, and other necessaries, fall into a lamentable condition; for, as they lie on their hard mats, the pock breaking and running one into another, their skin cleaving by reason thereof to the mats they lie on, when they turn them, much of their skin frays off at once, and they will be all on a gore of blood, most sad and grievous to behold; and then, being very sore, what with cold and other distempers, they die like rotten sheep.

This year one Capt. Stone, who had sometimes lived at Christophers, in the West Indies, came into these parts; of whom I have nothing to speak in the way of commendation, but rather the contrary. After he had been to and fro in the country, he returned towards Virginia, with one Capt. Norton; and so it was, that, as they returned, they went into Connecticut river, where the Indians killed the said Stone as he lay in his cabin, and threw a covering over him. They likewise killed all the rest of his company, but the said Capt. Norton, he defending himself a long time in the cook-room of the bark, until, by accident, the gunpowder took fire, which for readiness he had set in an open thing before him, which did so burn and scald him, and blind his eyes, as he could make no longer resistance, but was slain also by them, and they made a prey of his goods.

It is to be observed, that the said Stone, being at the Dutch plantation, in the fore part of this year, a certain bark of Plymouth being there likewise on trading, he kept company with the Dutch governor, and made him drunk, and got leave of him, in his drunkenness, to take the said bark, without any occasion or cause given him; and so, taking his time when the merchant and some of the chief of the men were on shore, with some of his own men, made the rest of them weigh anchor, and set sail to carry her away to Virginia; but some of the Dutch seamen, who had been at Plymouth, and received kindness, seeing this horrible abuse, got a vessel or two and pursued them, and brought them back. After this he came into the Massachusetts Bay, where they commenced suit against him; but by the mediation of some it was taken up, and afterwards, in the company of some gentlemen, he came to Plymouth, and was kindly entertained; but revenge boiling in his breast, as some conceived, he watched a season to have stabbed the governor, and put his hand to his dagger for that end, but by God's providence, ordering the vigilance of some that were about him, he was prevented; but God met with him for these and other wickednesses, as hath been before related.

1635

This year Mr. William Bradford was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth. Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Thomas Prence, Mr. William Collier, Capt. Myles Standish, Mr. John Alden, Mr. John Howland, and Mr. Stephen Hopkins, were chosen to be his assistants in government.

This year Mr. Edward Winslow took a voyage for England, on public occasions, and it came to pass that he had occasion to answer some complaints made against the country at the council board; more chiefly concerning the Massachusetts jurisdiction, which he did to good

effect, and further prosecuted such things as might tend to the good of the whole; in particular, he preferred a petition to the right honorable the lords commissioners for the plantations in America, in reference unto some injuries done by the French and Dutch unto the country; which petition found good acceptance, and was in a way to a satisfactory answer. But sundry adversaries interposed, whose ends were the subversion and overthrow of the churches, at least to disturb their peace, and hinder their growth; but, by God's providence, it so fell out in the end, that although those adversaries crossed the petition from taking any further effect, in the end principally intended in it; yet by this, as a means, the whole plot was discovered, and those adversaries came to nothing. The particulars whereof are too long here to be inserted.

This year, on Saturday, the fifteenth day of August, was such a mighty storm of wind and rain, as none now living in these parts, either English or Indian, had seen the like; being like unto those hurricanes, or tuffins, that writers mention to be in the Indies. It began in the morning a little before day, and grew not by degrees, but came with great violence in the beginning, to the great amazement of many. It blew down sundry houses, and uncovered divers others; divers vessels were lost at sea in it, and many more in extreme danger. It caused the sea to swell in some places to the southward of Plymouth, as that it arose to twenty foot right up and down, and made many of the Indians to climb into trees for their safety. It threw down all the corn to the ground, which never rose more, the which, through the mercy of God, it being near the harvest time, was not lost, though much the worse; and had the wind continued without shifting, in likelihood it would have drowned some part of the country. It blew down many hundred thousands of trees, turning up the stronger by the roots, and breaking the high pine trees, and such like, in the midst; and the tall young oaks, and walnut trees, of good bigness, were wound as a withe by it, very strange and fearful to behold. It began in the south-east, and veered sundry ways, but the greatest force of it, at Plymouth, was from the former quarter; it continued not in extremity above five or six hours before the violence of it began to abate; the marks of it will remain this many years, in those parts where it was sorest. The moon suffered a great eclipse two nights after it.

1636

This year Mr. Edward Winslow was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of Plymouth; and Mr. William Bradford, Mr. Thomas Prentice, Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Mr. Timothy Hatherley, Mr. John Brown, and Mr. Stephen Hopkins, were chosen to be his assistants in government.

This year the towns on the river of Connecticut began to be planted, and in transporting of goods thither, from the Massachusetts Bay, two shallops were cast away, loaded with goods to go thither, in an easterly storm, at the mouth of Plymouth harbor; the boat's men were all lost, not so much as any of their bodies found for burial, they being five in number in both boats. The principal of them was one Mr. William Cooper, an ancient seaman, of known skill, having formerly been master of a ship, and had gone great voyages to the East Indies, and to other parts; but the night being dark and stormy, they ran upon the skirt of a flat that lieth near the mouth of the harbor, and so were over-raked; the goods came on shore along the harbor, and the governor caused a careful course to be taken for the preservation of them, in the behalf of the right owners, who afterwards received so many of them as were saved.

Now followeth the tragedy of the war that fell betwixt the English and the Pequots, which I will relate according to my best intelligence; in order whereunto I thought good to mention

some particulars first, that by discerning the whole matter, in the several parts and circumstances, the more of the mercy and goodness of God may be taken notice of to his praise, for destroying so proud and blasphemous an enemy. In the year 1634, the Pequots, a stout and warlike people, who had made war with sundry of their neighbors, and being puffed up with many victories, grew now at variance with the Narragansetts, a great people bordering upon them. These Narragansetts held correspondence and terms of friendship with the English of the Massachusetts. Now the Pequots being conscious of the guilt of Capt. Stone's death, whom they knew to be an Englishman, as also those that were with him, and being fallen out with the Dutch, lest they should have over many enemies at once, sought to make friendship with the English of the Massachusetts, and for that end, sent both messengers and gifts unto them, as appears by some letters sent from the governor of the Massachusetts to the governor of Plymouth, as followeth:

Dear and Worthy Sir:

To let you know something of our affairs, you may understand that the Pequots have sent some of theirs to us, to desire our friendship, and offered much wampum and beaver, etc. The first messengers were dismissed without answer; with the next we had divers days' conference, and taking the advice of some of our ministers, and seeking the Lord in it, we concluded a peace and friendship with them, upon these conditions: that they should deliver up to us those men who were guilty of Stone's death, etc., and if we desired to plant in Connecticut, they should give up their right to us, and we would send to trade with them as our friends, which was the chief thing we aimed at, they being now at war with the Dutch, and the rest of their neighbors. To this they readily agreed; and that we should mediate a peace between them and the Narragansetts, for which end they were content we should give the Narragansetts part of the present they would bestow on us; for they stood so much on their honor, as they would not be seen to give anything of themselves. As for Capt. Stone, they told us there were but two left of those who had any hand in his death, and that they killed him in a just quarrel; for, said they, he surprised two of our men, and bound them, to make them by force to show him the way up the river, and he, with two others, coming on shore, nine Indians watched them, and when they were asleep in the night they killed them, to deliver their own men; and some of them, going afterwards to the bark, it was suddenly blown up. We are now preparing a bark to send unto them.³⁹

Yours, ever assured,
JOHN WINTHROP.

Boston, March 12, 1634

Not long after these things, Mr. John Oldman, of whom much is spoken before, being now an inhabitant of the Massachusetts, went, with a small vessel, and slenderly manned, on trading on those south parts; and, upon a quarrel between him and the Indians; was cut off by them, in such manner as hath been forenoted, at an island called by the Indians Manisses, by the English, Block Island. This, with the former, about the death of Stone, and the baffling of the Pequots with the English of the Massachusetts, moved them to take revenge, and to require satisfaction for these wrongs; but it took little effect; some of the murderers of Mr. Oldham fled to the Pequots, and although the English went to the Pequots, and had some parley with them, yet they did but delude them; and the English returned without doing anything to purpose, being

³⁹ And in another letter he saith, "our bark is lately returned from the Pequots, and our men put off but little commodities, and found them to be a very false people, so we mean to have no more to do with them." (Morton).

frustrated of their opportunity by their deceit. After the English of the Massachusetts were returned, the Pequots took their time and opportunity to cut off some of the English at Connecticut, as they passed up and down upon their occasions; and tortured some of them, in putting them to death in the most barbarous manner, and most blasphemously, in this their cruelty, bade them call upon their God, or mocked and derided them when they so did; and, not long after, assaulted them at their houses and habitations, as will appear more fully in the ensuing relation.

1637

In the forepart 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 the fields, both men and women, to the great terror of the rest; and went away in great pride and triumph with many threats. They also assaulted Saybrook fort, at the mouth of the river of Connecticut, although it was strong and well defended. 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 Massachusetts Bay, to send them speedy aid, for they looked for more forcible assaults. Mr. Vane, being then governor of that jurisdiction, writ from their general court to the governor and court of New Plymouth, to join with them in this war, to which they were cordially willing. In the meantime, before things could be prepared for to set out, the Pequots, as they had done the winter before, sought to make peace with the Narragansetts, and used many 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, that 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 hearken 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 do with little danger to themselves. The which course being held, they well saw the English would not long subsist, but they would either be starved with hunger, or forced to forsake the country; with many 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 had now, by helping the English to right themselves, revenge was so sweet to them, as it prevailed above all the rest; so as they resolved to join with the English against them, and so did. The court of Plymouth agreed to find fifty men at their own charge, and with as much speed as possible they could get them in readiness, under sufficient leaders, and provided a bark to carry their provisions, and to tend upon them on all occasions, and when they were ready to march with a supply from the bay, they had word sent them 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 this war, because possibly it hath been done by themselves that were actors therein, and best knew the circumstances of things; I shall therefore set them down in the main and general, according to my best intelligence.

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 Massachusetts Bay, at the Narragansetts, who were to join them. The Narragansetts were very 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 come upon the enemy suddenly and unexpectedly. There being a bark of Plymouth newly put in there, which was come from Connecticut, they did encourage them to lay hold of the opportunity of the Indians' forwardness, and to show as great forwardness as they, for it would encourage them, and expedition might turn to their great advantage. So they went on, and so ordered their march, as the Indians brought them to the fort of their enemy, 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 among them, and entered the fort with great speed; and those that first entered found sharp resistance from the enemy, who both shot and grappled with them; others ran into their houses, and brought out fire and set them on fire, which soon took in their mats, and their houses standing close together, with the wind all was soon on a flame, and thereby more were burnt to death than were otherwise slain. It burnt their bowstrings, and made them unserviceable. Those that escaped the fire were slain with the sword; some hewed to pieces, some run through with their rapiers, so as they were quickly dispatched, and very few escaped. The number they thus destroyed, was conceived to be above four hundred. 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 praise 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, insulting, and blasphemous an enemy. The Narragansetts, all this while, stood round about aloof, off from all danger, and left the whole execution to the English, except it were the stopping any that brake away, insulting over their enemies in their ruins and misery, when they saw them dancing in the fire; calling by a word in their own language, signifying, O brave Pequots! Which they used familiarly amongst themselves in their own praises, in songs of triumphs after their victories.

After this service was thus happily accomplished, the English marched to the waterside, where they met with some of their vessels, by whom they were refreshed and supplied with victuals and other necessaries; but in their march, the rest of the Pequots drew into a body, and followed 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 would receive any. And after the English their refreshing and repairing together for further counsel and directions, they resolved to pursue their victory, and follow the war against the rest; but the Narragansetts most of them forsook them, and such of them as they had with them for guides or otherwise, they found very cold or backward in the business, either out of envy, or that they thought the English would make more profit of the victory than they were willing they should, or else deprive them of that advantage that they desired in making the Pequots become tributaries unto them, or the like. For the rest of this tragedy, I shall only relate the same as in a letter from Mr. Winthrop to Mr. Bradford, as followeth:

Worthy Sir,

I received your loving letter, but straightness of time forbids me, for my desire is to acquaint you with the Lord's great mercy towards us, in our prevailing against his and our enemies, that you may rejoice and praise his name with us. About fourscore of our men, having

coasted along towards the Dutch Plantation, sometimes by water but most by land, met here and there with some Pequots, whom they slew, or took prisoners. Two sachems they took and beheaded; and not hearing of Sassacus, the chief sachem, they gave a prisoner his life to go and find him out; he went and brought them word where he was; but Sassacus suspecting him to be a spy, after he was gone, fled away with some twenty more to the Mohawks, so our men missed of him; yet dividing themselves, and ranging up and down, as the providence of God guided them, for the Indians were all gone, save three or four, and they knew not whither to guide them, or else would not; upon the thirteenth of this month, they lighted upon a great company, namely, eighty strong men, and two hundred women and children, in a small Indian town, fast by a hideous swamp, which they all slipped into, before our men could get to them.

Our captains were not then come together; but there was Mr. Ludlow and Capt. Mason, with some ten of their men, and Capt. Patrick, with some twenty or more of his, who, shooting at the Indians, Capt. Trask, with fifty more, came soon in at the noise. Then they gave order to surround the swamp, it being about a mile round; but Lieut. Davenport, and some twelve more, not hearing that command, fell into the swamp amongst the Indians. The swamp was so thick with shrubs, and boggy withal, that some stuck fast, and received many shot.

Lieut. Davenport was dangerously wounded about his armhole, and another shot in the head, so as fainting, they were in great danger to have been taken by the Indians; but Sergeant Riggs and Sergeant Jeffery, and two or three more, rescued them, and slew divers of the Indians with their swords. After they were drawn out, the Indians desired parley, and were offered by Thomas Stanton, our interpreter, that if they would come out and yield themselves, they should have their lives that had not their hand in the English blood. Whereupon the sachem of the place came forth, and an old man or two, and their wives and children, and so they spake two hours, till it was night. Then Thomas Stanton was sent to them again, to call them forth, but they said they would sell their lives there; and so shot at him so thick, as, if he had not been presently relieved and rescued, on his crying out, they would have slain him.

Then our men cut off a place of swamp with their swords, and cooped up the Indians into a narrow compass, so as they could easier kill them through the thickets. So they continued all the night, standing about twelve foot one from another, and the Indians, coming up close to our men, shot their arrows so thick, as they pierced their hat-brims, and their sleeves and stockings, and other parts of their clothes; yet so miraculously did the Lord preserve them, as not one of them was wounded, save those three who rashly went into the swamp as aforesaid. When it was near day it grew very dark, so as those of them that were left, dropped away, though they stood but twelve or fourteen foot asunder, and were presently discovered, and some killed in the pursuit. In the searching of the swamp the next morning, they found nine slain, and some they pulled up, whom the Indians had buried in the mire; so as they do think that of all this company not twenty did escape, for they afterwards found some who died in the flight, of their wounds received. The prisoners were divided, some to those of the river, and the rest to us of these parts. We sent the male children to Bermuda, by Mr. William Pierce, and the women and maid children are disposed about in the towns. There have been now slain and taken in all, about seven hundred, the rest are dispersed, and the Indians, in all quarters, so terrified, as all their friends are afraid to receive them. Two of the sachems of Long Island came to Mr. Stoughton, and tendered themselves to be under our protection; and two of the Napanet sachems have been with me to seek our friendship. Among the prisoners we have the wife and children of Mononotto, a woman of a very modest countenance and behavior. It was by her mediation, that the two English maids were spared from death, and were kindly used by her. One of her first requests was, that the

English would not abuse her body, and that her children might not be taken from her. Those which were wounded we fetched soon off, by John Gallop, who came with his boat in a happy hour, to bring them victuals, and to carry their wounded men to the bark, where our chief surgeon was, with Mr. Wilson, being about eight leagues off. Our people are all in health, the Lord be praised. And although they had marched in their arms all the day, and had been in fight all the night, yet they professed they found themselves so, as they could willingly have gone to such another business. The captains report, we have slain thirteen sachems, but Sassacus and Mononotto are still living. This is the substance of what I have received, though I am forced to omit many considerable circumstances. So being in much straightness of time, the ships being to depart within this four days, and in them the Lord Lee and Mr. Vane; I here break off, and with hearty salutation, etc., I rest,

Your assured friend,
John Winthrop.

July 28, 1637.

To conclude the discourse of this matter, this Sassacus, the Pequot sachem, being fled to the Mohawks they cut off his head, and some other of the chief of them, whether to satisfy the English, or rather the Narragansetts, who, as I heard, hired them to do it, or for their own advantage, I know not. And thus this war took end; the body of this people were wholly subdued, and their country taken from them, and such of its inhabitants as had escaped the heat of our revenge, by fire and sword, being nevertheless at the dispose of the conquerors, whereby the English, appointed some to the Narragansetts and some to the Mohegans, under Uncas their sachem, who had been faithful and serviceable to them in this war; yet the Narragansetts were not pleased that themselves had not the sole government of the captives, and have since been continually quarrelling with the Mohegans, and have sometimes been plotting against the English also; but to conclude, the Pequots have since been taken under the immediate government of the English colonies, and live in their own country, being governed by such of their own, as are by the English substituted and appointed for that purpose.

This year Mr. William Bradford was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth; and Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Timothy Hatherley, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Thomas Prence, Capt. Myles Standish, and Mr. John Jenny, were chosen to be his assistants in government.

This year Mr. Theophilus Eaton and Mr. John Davenport, accompanied with divers other Christians of special eminency, began the fourth of the united colonies in New England called New Haven,⁴⁰ where they erected a church of Christ, which continue in gospel order until this day, in an amiable and exemplary manner; notwithstanding they have met with divers losses and crosses, both of eminent and useful instruments, as also of a great part of their estates, as in special by the loss of Mr. Lamberton's ship. Of which said plantation and colony, I have little to insert, for want of more full and certain intelligence.

About this time there arose great troubles in the country, especially at Boston, by the broaching of antinomian and familistical opinions; the chief sect-leader thereof was one Mrs. Hutchinson. These carried on their abominable tenets, with such subtlety, under a pretence of advancing free grace, and crying up the covenant of grace, and down the covenant of works; as they took away, by their assertions, grace from the covenant; yea, so close was this mystery of iniquity carried on, as that some of the prudentest of the orthodox party, could not discern it at

⁴⁰ Called by the Dutch Rocabert, and by the Indians Quinnapiuk. (Morton).

the first; but at length, the folly of those that were principal therein was made manifest unto all men. The evil consequences thereof faced very sadly, so as it influenced into their civil state, and caused great disturbance; but by God's blessing on the improvement of the faithful endeavors of his servants, the messengers of the churches, who were called together as a synod to help in the case; together with the prudence and industry of sundry principal ones amongst them, both in church and state at other times, a right understanding of some few things, in difference amongst the sincere and godly, was procured. The ring leaders of the faction being thus detected were censured, not only by the church, but by the civil power, and were also condemned to exile; who, not knowing where they might sit down safely, made requests unto the government of Plymouth, that they might be at an island, that they had not hitherto improved, called by the Indians Aquidneck, and, by the English inhabiting it, Rhode Island, which the government of Plymouth, aforesaid, considering they were their countrymen and fellow-subjects that were thus distressed and destitute of habitation, although they had their errors in as great dislike as those from whence they came, yet pitying them in their present straits, granted their request; so these, having there seated themselves, and finding that it was a very fruitful and pleasant place, such indeed as that colony or jurisdiction hath not any the like left within their patent, they soon drew many more unto them, not only to fill up that island, but have also seated two more towns on the main; therein, as is judged, encroaching upon the rights of the aforesaid colony of Plymouth, and have of late through misinformation obtained a patent, not only for the places forementioned, but have also extended it into the heart and bowels of the known and possessed rights of the said colony, endeavoring to requite their kindness, as sometimes it is said the hedgehog did by the friendly coney. But it is our great happiness, that as God takes notice from on high of the unrighteousness and oppression of the sons of men, so he hath given us a gracious Prince, who minds the peace of his meanest subjects, from whose justice and prudence we do confidently expect relief, and on that assurance, do resolve, by God's help, to contain ourselves from seeking to vindicate our wrongs in such a way as their injurious dealings might provoke unto.

This year there was a hideous monster born at Boston, in New England, of one Mrs. Mary Dyer, a copartner with the said Mrs. Hutchinson, in the aforesaid heresies; the said monster, as it was related to me, was without head, but horns like a beast, scales or a rough skin like the fish, called the thornback; it had legs and claws like a fowl, and in other respects as a woman child; the Lord declaring his detestation of their monstrous errors, as was then thought by some, by this prodigious birth.⁴¹

Not long before these troubles, there arrived at Boston, one Samuel Gorton, who from thence came to Plymouth; and upon his first coming thither, gave some hopes that he would have proved an useful instrument, but soon after, by little and little, discovered himself to be a proud and pestilent seducer, and deeply leavened with blasphemous and familistical opinions; and observing such fictions to be spread by some of his spirit already in the country, he takes his opportunity to begin to sow such seed at Plymouth, whereby some were seduced, in special one John Weeks and his wife, who in some short time became very atheists, looking for no more

⁴¹ This description of the Monster is copied by Morton from John Josselyn's *Two Voyages to New England*. Josselyn reports that on 29 June 1638, while traveling to New England on the ship *Nicholas* of London, they encountered two ships headed for Newfoundland. The ships reported a "general Earthquake in New England, [and] the birth of a Monster at Boston." Josselyn then later describes the Monster, based on what he heard from Samuel Maverick. Paul J. Linderholdt, editor, *John Josselyn, Colonial Traveler: A Critical Edition of "Two Voyages to New England"* (London:University Press of New England, 1988), p. 12, 23. Mary Dyer became a Quaker, was banished from Boston in March 1638, and hanged in 1660 for sedition after making repeated visits to Boston in spite of her banishment.

happiness than this world affords, not only in practice such, but also in opinion. But the said Gorton falling into some controversy with one Mr. Ralph Smith, was summoned to the court held at Plymouth, the fourth of December, 1638, to answer the said Mr. Smith's complaint; and there he carried so mutinously and seditiously, as that he was for the same, and for his turbulent carriages towards both magistrates and ministers, in the presence of the court, sentenced to find sureties for his good behavior, during the time he should stay in the jurisdiction, which was limited to fourteen days, and also amerced to pay a considerable fine. In some short time after he departed to Rhode Island, and in like manner, or worse, demeaned himself there, so as they were forced to sentence him to suffer corporal punishment by whipping, and they banished him likewise off the island. And from thence, he, with divers of his accomplices, went to Providence, and there he and they carried so in outrage and riotously, as they were in danger to have caused bloodshed, so as the inhabitants, some of them, namely, Mr. Roger Williams and others, were constrained to solicit the government of the Massachusetts for aid, to help them against their insolencies; and for that end some of them desired to come under their jurisdiction, and were accepted. Moreover, several of the poor neighboring natives were so injuriously wronged by the said Gorton and his company, they seeking to bereave them of their just rights of land by surreptitious ways;⁴² in special, Pomham and Socononoco, two petty sachems living not far off from Providence, who were bereaved of their just rights in lands, by improving the tyranny of Miantonomo, the then chief sachem of the Narragansetts, for the procuring thereof, which necessitated the said under sachems to make their appeal to the court of the Massachusetts for help in their oppressed condition, subjecting themselves and their lands unto their jurisdiction likewise; which caused the said government to require their appearance at Boston, to answer the complaints of those oppressed English and Indians. But notwithstanding they several times sent to them, with all gentleness and courteous expressions, they neither appeared, nor sent satisfying reasons for their absence; but instead thereof, many insolent, proud, railing, opprobrious returns; so that the said government saw there was no remedy, but to send force to constrain them to come; which they accordingly performed, and committed the said Gorton and several of them to ward. And during the time of their imprisonment, they carried still very proudly and audaciously towards all in place of authority, sparing not to reproach, abuse, and traduce the most honorable and reverend both in church and state; and which is yet worse, spared not blasphemously to fly upon the Lord Jesus himself, his word and ordinances, in such a manner as scarce in any age any heretics or apostates have done the like; not only abandoning and rejecting all civil power and authority, except molded according to their own fancies, but belching out errors in their familistical allegories, if I may so call them, as, to speak with holy reverence, they rendered the Lord Christ no other than an imagination; shunning not, blasphemously, to say, that Christ was but a shadow, and resemblance of what is done in every Christian; that Christ was incarnate in Adam, and was the image of God wherein Adam was created; and that his being born afterwards of the Virgin Mary, and suffering, was but a manifestation of his suffering in Adam; that man's losing God's image was the death of Christ; that Christ is the covenant properly, and, that faith and Christ are all one. They call the holy word, and sermons of salvation, tales; the Lord's supper, an abomination, and a spell; baptism, vanity and abomination; the ministers of the word, necromancers; and by other opprobrious terms vilify and traduce them. Much more might be spoken and mentioned of this stuff, which they have not been ashamed to divulge; but a little is

⁴² The answer of Mr. E. Winslow to Gorton's Pamphlet, entitled *Simplicity's Defence against the seven-headed Policy*, will give the reader a full and particular intelligence concerning all the transactions of those matters, and likewise of their damnable errors. (Morton). Edward Winslow's answer was published as *Hypocrisy Unmasked*.

enough, save but to give the reader to see the Lord's goodness towards his poor people in, New England, that hath delivered us, and saved us of his grace from their pernicious, destructive ways, and hath so detected their folly, as it is made manifest to all men. In fine, the said Gorton and his fellow-prisoners were, several of them, sentenced to remain in durance, in several of the towns in the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, for six months, and afterwards banished.

He was a subtle deceiver, courteous in his carriage to all, at some times, for his own ends, but soon moved with passion, and so lost that which he gained upon the simple. To shut up what I have to say concerning him, which is sad, he is since become a sordid man in his life, as he hath been declared to be in his cursed principles and opinions, and hath not shunned to say and affirm, that all the felicity we are like to have, we must expect in this life and no more, and therefore advised one, with whom he had some speech, to make much of herself, for she must expect no more but what she could enjoy in this life, or words to the same effect. Thus evil men and deceivers grow worse and worse, deceiving and being deceived. 2 Tim. 3:13.

1638

This year Mr. Thomas Prence was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth. Mr. William Bradford, Mr. Edward Winslow, Capt. Myles Standish, Mr. John Alden, Mr. John Jenny, Mr. John Atwood, and Mr. John Brown, were chosen to be his assistants in government.

This year three men were executed for robbing and murdering an Indian near Providence, which, besides the evidence that came against them, they did in substance confess against themselves, and were condemned by legal trial. Some have thought it great severity to hang three English for one Indian; but the more considerate will easily satisfy themselves for the legality of it; and, indeed, should we suffer their murderers to go unpunished, we might justly fear that God would suffer them to take a more sharp revenge. By such arguments was the government of Plymouth moved by the government of the Massachusetts to do justice in the case. And here may be noted, that the Massachusetts refused this trial, as being committed in the jurisdiction of Plymouth; and they of Rhode Island, having apprehended them, delivered them to the aforesaid jurisdiction of Plymouth, on the same grounds.

This year, about the second of June, there was a great and fearful earthquake. It was heard before it came with a rumbling noise, or low murmur, like unto remote thunder. It came from the northward, and passed southwards. As the noise approached near, the earth began to quake; and it came at length with that violence as caused platters, dishes, and such like things which stood upon shelves, to clatter and fall down; yea, people were afraid of their houses; and it was so, as that some, being without doors, could not stand, but were fain to catch hold of posts and pales to prevent them from falling. About half an hour after, or less, came another noise and shaking, but not so loud nor so strong as the former. It was not only on the land, but at sea also; for some ships that were on the sea-coast were shaken by it. So powerful is the mighty hand of the Lord, as to cause both the earth and sea to shake, and the mountains to tremble before him. His way is in the whirlwind, and the storm, and the clouds are the dust of his feet; the rocks are thrown down before him. Who can stand before his indignation? and who can abide in the fierceness of his anger? Nahum 1:3-6.

1639.

This year Mr. William Bradford was chosen governor of Plymouth. Mr. Thomas Prence, Capt. Myles Standish, Mr. John Alden, Mr. John Brown, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherley, and Mr. John Jenny, were chosen assistants.

This year Harvard College was erected at Cambridge, in New England, which was so called in remembrance of a worthy gentleman, who liberally contributed towards the charge of the erecting of it. This year the great sachem Woosamequin, sometimes called Massasoit, and Mooanam his son, came into the court held at Plymouth, in New England, on the five and twentieth day of September, in their own proper persons, and desired that the ancient league and confederacy formerly made with the government of Plymouth aforesaid, wherein he acknowledged himself subject to the king of England, and his successors, may stand and remain inviolable. And the said Woosamequin, and Mooanam⁴³ his son, for themselves and their successors, did faithfully promise to keep and observe the covenants and conditions therein expressed and contained, which, on their parts, are likewise to be kept and observed. And the said Woosamequin, and Mooanam his son, did then also promise to the whole court aforesaid, that he nor they shall or will needlessly or unjustly raise any quarrels, or do any wrong to other natives, to provoke them to war against him; and that he or they shall not give, sell, or convey any of his or their lands, territories, or possessions whatsoever, to any person or persons whomsoever, without the privity and consent of the government of Plymouth, aforesaid, other than to such as the said government shall send or appoint. All which conditions the said Woosamequin and Mooanam his son, for themselves and their successors, did then faithfully promise to observe and keep. And the whole court, in the name of the whole government, for each town respectively, did then likewise ratify and confirm the aforesaid ancient league and confederacy. And did also further promise to the said Woosamequin, and Mooanam his son, and their successors, that they shall and will from time to time defend the said Woosamequin, and Mooanam his son, and their successors, when need and occasion shall require, against all such as shall unjustly rise up against them to wrong or oppress them unjustly.

1640.

Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of Plymouth. Mr. Thomas Prence, Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Brown, Capt. Myles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherley, and Mr. Edmund Freeman, were elected assistants.

⁴³ He that is here called Mooanam, is the same that, afterwards, was called Wamsutta; it being usual for the Indians to change their names. (Morton).

1641.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth. Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Thomas Prence, Mr. William Collier, Capt. Myles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherley, Mr. John Brown, and Mr. Edward Freeman, were chosen assistants to him in government.

1642.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth. Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Thomas Prence, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherley, Mr. John Brown, Mr. William Thomas, and Mr. Edmund Freeman, were elected assistants to him in government.

In reference unto the three years last specified, although I have no special providence to take notice of, particularly to assign to each of them, save the continuance of God's mercy and goodness in the annual election of godly and able magistrates in the jurisdiction of Plymouth, as is before noted; yet notwithstanding we are to take notice of the continued peace and plenty, with which not only these three years, restrictively considered, but also for many years together, both before and after them, New England was so marvelously gratiated. But that which is more, that about these times the Lord was pleased of his great goodness, richly to accomplish and adorn the colony of Plymouth, as well as other colonies in New England, with a considerable number of godly and able gospel preachers, who then being dispersed and disposed of, to the several churches and congregations thereof, gave light in a glorious and resplendent manner, as burning and shining lights. Which mercy and transcendent favor, had not sin and Satan's envy interposed, might have rendered them greatly happy and prosperous; it being observed, that where gospel dispensation flourisheth, there prosperity, in other respects, may usually be expected.

In reference unto the honor of God, and due respects unto such worthy instruments, I thought meet to nominate some of the specialist of them, namely:

Mr. Charles Chauncy, Mr. William Hooke, Mr. Nicholas Street, Mr. John Lathrop, Mr. John Mayo, Mr. John Reyner, Mr. Ralph Partridge, Mr. Samuel Newman, Mr. William Leverich, Mr. Richard Blindman, Mr. Edward Bulkley, Mr. John Miller, Mr. Marmaduke Matthews, with some others that might be named. These some of them stayed not long ere they removed, some into the neighbor colonies, some into Old England, and others to their eternal rest, whereby the said jurisdiction was wanting, in a great measure, for some time, of such a blessing. Howbeit, the Lord hath since graciously raised up a supply to divers of the said congregations, and more may be expected according to his promises.

1643.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth; and Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Thomas Prence, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherley, Mr. John Brown, Mr. Edmund Freeman, and Mr. William Thomas, were chosen his assistants in government.

This year, about the eighteenth day of April, died Mr. William Brewster, the ruling elder of the church of Christ at Plymouth; concerning whom, I could say much of mine own

knowledge; but I shall content myself only to insert the honorable testimony that Mr. William Bradford, deceased, hath left written with his own hand, concerning him.

Saith he, my dear friend, Mr. William Brewster, was a man that had done and suffered much for the Lord Jesus, and the gospel's sake, and hath borne his part in weal and woe, with this poor persecuted church, above thirty-six years, in England, Holland, and in this wilderness; and done the Lord and them faithful service in his place and calling. And notwithstanding the many troubles and sorrows he passed through, the Lord upheld him to a great age; he was fourscore and four years of age when he died. He had this blessing added by the Lord to all the rest, to die in his bed in peace amongst the midst of his friends, who mourned and wept over him, and ministered what help and comfort they could unto him; and he again recompensed them while he could. His sickness was not long, and until the last day thereof, he did not wholly keep his bed; his speech continued until somewhat more than half a day before his death, and then failed him, and about nine or ten of the clock that evening he died without any pangs at all. A few hours before, he drew his breath short, and some few minutes before his last, he drew his breath long, as a man fallen into a sound sleep, without any pangs or gasping, and so sweetly departed this life unto a better.

I would now demand of any, what he was the worse for former sufferings? What, do I say worse? No, he was the better; and they now added to his honor. It is a manifest token, saith the apostle, 2 Thess. 1:5-7, of the righteous judgment of God, that we might be counted worthy of the kingdom of God, for which we also suffer; seeing it is a righteous thing with God, to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you, and to you that are troubled, rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels. And if you be reproached, saith the apostle Peter, 1 Pet. 4:14, for the name of Christ, happy are ye, for the spirit of glory and of God shall rest upon you. What though he wanted the riches and pleasures of the world in this life, and pompous monuments of his funeral? yet the memorial of the just shall be blessed, when the name of the wicked shall rot,. Prov. 10:17, with their marble monuments. He was well educated in learning, as at inferior schools, so also at the university; and from thence went to the court, and there served Mr. Davison, a godly gentleman, and secretary of state to Queen Elizabeth, and attended him on his embassy into Holland, and was employed by him in matters of great trust; as in keeping of the keys of the cautionary towns delivered up to him for her majesty, and things of the like nature. His master would always in private confer with him as a friend or equal. He afterwards lived in good esteem in his own country, and did much good, until the troubles of those times enforced his remove into Holland, and so into New England, and was in both places of singular use and benefit to the church and people of Plymouth, whereof he was; being eminently qualified for such work as the Lord had appointed him unto; of which, should I speak particularly, as I might, I should prove tedious; I shall content myself, therefore, only to have made honorable mention in general of so worthy a man.

And here I might take occasion to mention, with admiration, the marvelous providence of God, that notwithstanding the many changes and hardships that this people, namely, the first planters at New Plymouth, went through, and the many enemies they had, and difficulties they met withal, that so many of them should live unto very old age. It was not only this reverend man's condition, but many more of them did the like; some dying before and about this time, and some living, who attained to sixty years of age, and to sixty-five, divers to seventy, and some to more than eighty, as he did. It must needs be more than ordinary, and above natural reason that so it should be; for it is found in experience, that changing of air, famine, and unwholesome food, much drinking of water, sorrows and troubles, etc., all of them are enemies to health,

causes of much diseases, consumers of natural vigor and the bodies of men, and shortness of life; and yet, of all these things they had a large and long part, and suffered deeply in the same. They went from England to Holland, where they found both worse air and diet than that they came from; from thence, enduring a long imprisonment in the ships at sea, into New England, and how it hath been with them here hath already been shown; and what crosses, troubles, fears, wants, and sorrows they have been liable unto, is easily to be discerned, so as in some sort they may say with the apostle, 1 Cor. 11:26, 27, "They were in journeys often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils of their own nation, in perils amongst the heathen, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils amongst false brethren; in weariness, in painfulness, in watching often, in hunger, in thirst, in fasting often, in cold and nakedness." What was it then that upheld them? It was God's visitation that preserved their spirits; he that upheld the apostle upheld them, 2 Cor. 4:9, "they were persecuted, but not forsaken; cast down, but perished not; as unknown, and yet known; as dying, and behold we live; as chastened, and yet not killed." God, it seems, would have all men behold such works of his providence, as these are towards his people, that they, in like cases, might be encouraged to depend upon him in their trials, and also bless his name when they see his goodness towards others. Man lives not by bread only." Deut. 8:3. It is not by dainty fare, peace, rest, and heart's ease, in enjoying contentments and good things of this world only, that preserves health and prolongs life. God, in such examples, would have the world take notice that he can do it without them; and if the world will shut their eyes, and take no notice thereof, yet he would have his people to see and consider it. Daniel could be in better liking with pulse, than with the king's dainties. Jacob, though he went from one nation to another people, and passed through famine, fears, and many afflictions, yet he lived unto old age, and died sweetly, and rested in the Lord, as many others of God's servants have done, and still do, through God's goodness, notwithstanding all the malice of their enemies, "When the branch of the wicked shall be cut off before his day, and the bloody and deceitful man shall not live out half his days." Job 15:32; Psal. 4:23.

By reason of the plotting of the Narragansetts, ever since the Pequot war, the Indians were drawn into a general conspiracy against the English in all parts, as was in part discovered the year before, and now made more plain and evident, by many discoveries and free confessions of sundry Indians upon several occasions, from divers places, concurring in one; with such other concurring circumstances as gave the English sufficiently to understand the truth thereof, and to think of means how to prevent the same. In which respect, together with divers other and more weighty reasons, the four colonies, namely, the Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, entered into a more near union and confederation, the nineteenth day of May, 1643. And the articles of the said confederation were signed by the commissioners of the said jurisdictions respectively, by which were authorized thereunto, namely:

John Winthrop, governor of the Massachusetts, Thomas Dudley, Edward Winslow, William Collier, Edward Hopkins, Thomas Grigson, Theophilus Eaton, George Fenwick.

The said articles at large, with sundry other particulars appertaining thereunto, together with the particulars concerning the plotting contrivements, menacings, and insolencies of the Narragansetts against the English, together with the provision and preparation made by the English for an expedition against them, with the yieldings and compliance of the said Narragansetts to the English, composition and articles of agreement made with them, etc., these are all to be seen as they are at large extent in the records of the commissioners for the united colonies of New England, whereunto I refer the reader.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ See Acts of the Commissioners for the United Colonies of New England, Anno 1644, and 1645. (Morton).

1644.

This year Mr. Edward Winslow was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth. Mr. William Bradford, Mr. Thomas Prence, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherley, Mr. John Brown, Mr. William Thomas, and Mr. Edmund Freeman, were elected his assistants in government. This year Mr. John Atwood died. He was a godly man, singularly endowed with the grace of patience, and having a large estate, became a useful benefactor to the colony of New Plymouth. He departed this life expressing great faith in Christ, and a cheerful expectation of the restoration of his body at the general resurrection in glory.

This year many of the town of Plymouth, by reason of some straits that were upon them, took up thoughts of removing to some other place, for their better accommodation, and for that end made a more exact and particular discovery of a place called by the Indians Nauset; which place being purchased by them of the Indians, divers of the considerablest of the church and town removed thither, and erected a town, which is now called by the name of Eastham.

1645.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth. Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Thomas Prence, Mr. William Collier, Capt. Myles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherley, Mr. John Brown, and Mr. Edmund Freeman, were elected his assistants in government.

The commissioners of the united colonies of New England were called together this year, before their ordinary time of meeting,⁴⁵ partly in regard of some differences between the French and the government of the Massachusetts, about their aiding of Monsieur Latore and Monsieur de Alney, and partly about the Indians, who had broken their former agreements about the peace concluded the year before; as concerning such conclusions and determinations which passed in this meeting, in reference to the premises, I shall refer the reader unto the acts if the said commissioners for that year, as they are recorded at large.

1646

This year Mr. William Bradford was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of Plymouth; and Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Thomas Prence, Mr. William Collier, Capt. Myles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherley, and Mr. Edward Freeman, were elected his assistants in government.

About the middle of May, that year, there came three men-of-war into Plymouth harbor, under the command of Capitan Thomas Cromwell, who had taken several prizes from the Spaniards, by commission from the Earl of Warwick. They were full of moneys, silks, and other rich goods, some of which they left behind them. They are a company of lusty, stout men, but very unruly and hard to govern; notwithstanding the care and vigilance both of such as ere in authority of Plymouth, and also of their own commanders, who could hardly restrain them, especially from inordinate drinking and quarrelling. It proved fatal to one of them, who being quarrelling with one of their own company, and being commanded by their own captain to forbear, he giving very provoking language, and also attempting to draw upon his captain; he took his rapier from him, and struck him on the head with the hilt, of which wound, three of four

⁴⁵ This meeting was held the 28th of July, 1645. (Morton).

days after, he died. The captain was tried by a council of war, and acquitted by the largeness of his commission.

This year Mr. Edward Winslow went for England, upon occasion that some discontented persons, under the government of the Massachusetts, sought to trouble their peace, and disturb, if not innovate their government, by laying many scandals upon them, and intended to prosecute against them in England, by petitioning and complaining to the parliament. Also Samuel Gorton and his company, made complaint against them; so as they made choice of Mr. Winslow to be their agent to make their defense, and gave him commission and instructions for that end, in which he so carried himself, as did well answer their ends, and cleared them from any blame and dishonor, to the shame of their adversaries. After this he fell upon other employment in England, which detained him there, so as he returned not again to New England any more, whose absence hath been much to the weakening of the government of New Plymouth, who had large experience of his help and usefulness amongst them in government, etc., of whom I have more to insert, in honor of so worthy a gentleman, in its more proper place.

1647.

Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth. Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Thomas Prentice, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherley, Capt. Myles Standish, Mr. John Brown, and Mr. William Thomas, were elected his assistants in government.

This year the whole land, but more especially the church and town of Hartford on Connecticut, sustained a great and more than ordinary loss, by the death of that most eminent servant of Jesus Christ, Mr. Thomas Hooker, who, in the month of July in this year, changed this life for a better; concerning whose piety, learning, and singular dexterity in preaching the gospel with answerable success, the many souls wrought upon by his ministry, in both Old England and New, do give forth a large testimony; and withal, as an addition to the former, those learned and profitable works penned by him for the refutation of error, and guiding and confirming of the saints in the ways of Christ. In which respects, with others, his name will live and is embalmed; and doth remain, and will be as a precious ointment in the churches, and amongst the saints in present and future ages.

This special servant of Christ, as he served his master with great zeal, love, wisdom, and sincerity, so he ended his life with much comfort and serenity; so as it is rare that was said of him, that the peace which he had in believing, thirty years before his death, was firm, and not touched by the adversary, until the period of his life; and with much joy and peace in believing, he fell asleep in the Lord, and was honorably buried at Hartford on Connecticut. In whose memorial, I shall here insert the funeral elegies of two eminent divines, written upon his death.

*On my reverend and dear brother, Mr. Thomas Hooker,
late pastor of the church at Hartford on Connecticut.*

To see three things was holy Austin's wish,
Rome in her flower, Christ Jesus in the flesh,
And Paul i' the pulpit: lately men might see,
Two first, and more, in Hooker's ministry.

Zion in beauty is a fairer sight,
Than Rome in flower, with all her glory dight:
Yet Zion's beauty did most clearly shine
In Hooker's rule and doctrine; both divine.

Christ in the spirit is more than Christ in flesh,
Our souls to quicken, and our states to bless!
Yet Christ in spirit brake forth mightily,
In faithful Hooker's searching ministry.

Paul in the pulpit, Hooker could not reach,
Yet did he Christ in spirit so lively preach;
That living hearers thought he did inherit
A double portion of Paul's lively spirit.

Prudent in rule, in argument quick, full;
Fervent in prayer, in preaching powerful;
That well did learned Ames record bear,
The like to him he never wont to hear.

'Twas of Geneva's worthies said, with wonder,
(Those worthies three) Farell was wont to thunder;
Viret, like rain, on tender grass to shower;
But Calvin, lively oracles to pour.

All these in Hooker's spirit did remain,
A son of thunder, and a shower of rain,
A pourer forth of lively oracles,
In saving souls, the sum of miracles.

Now blessed Hooker, thou art set on high,
Above the thankless world, and cloudy sky;
Do thou of all thy labor reap the crown,
Whilst we here reap the seed which thou hast sown.

J. C.⁴⁶

A lamentation for the death of that precious and worthy minister of Jesus Christ, Mr. Thomas Hooker, who died July 7, 1647, as the sun was setting. The same hour of the day died blessed Calvin, that glorious light.

Come sighs, come sorrows, let's lament this rod,
Which hath bereaved us of this man of God;
A man of God, who came from God to men,

⁴⁶ Rev. John Cotton

And now from them is gone to God again.
Bid joy depart, bid merriment be gone;
Bid friends stand by, sit sorrowful alone.
But ah! what sorrow can be to suffice,
Though heaven and earth were filled with our cries,
The clouds were turned into drops of tears,
The mourning for to last an age of years?
'Twere all too little to lament his death,
Whose life so precious was for heaven and earth.
Job wish'd his day might quite forgotten be,
Which brought him forth this world's light first to see.
O let not the day be numbered in th' year,
That took this light out of our hemisphere.
A fatal day, a day of sad presage
To us survivors of this present age.
The hour of thy decease, when sun went down,
When light turn'd dark, when heavens began to frown;
'Tis ominous to us who saw his light,
That grace provok'd should turn our day to night;
And gospel's light which shineth from on high,
Should clouded be, and darkened in our sky.
O happy days, when such lights shine on earth!
O bitter days, when they are hid beneath!
This is our grief, he who late shin'd on high,
Is hid in grave, and now beneath doth lie.
Let Hartford sigh, and say, I've lost a treasure;
Let all New England mourn at God's displeasure,
In taking from us one more gracious
Than is the gold of Ophir precious.
Sweet was the savor which his grace did give,
It season'd all the place where he did live.
His name did as an ointment give its smell,
And all bear witness that it savored well.
Wisdom, love, meekness, friendly courtesy,
Each moral virtue, with rare piety,
Pure zeal, yet mixt with mildest clemency,
Did all conspire in this one breast to lie.
Deep was his knowledge, judgment was acute,
His doctrine solid, which none could confute.
To mind he gave light of intelligence,
And searched the corners of the conscience.
To sinners stout, which no law could bring under,
To them he was a son of dreadful thunder,
When all strong oaks of Bashan us'd to quake,
And fear did Lebanon his cedars shake;
The stoutest hearts he filled full of fears,

He clave the rocks, they melted into tears.
Yet to sad souls, with sense of sin cast down,
He was a son of consolation.
Sweet peace he gave to such as were contrite;
Their darkness sad he turned to joyous light.
Of preaching he had learn'd the rightest art,
To every one dividing his own part.
Each ear that heard him said, He spake to me:
So piercing was his holy ministry.
His life did shine, time's changes stain'd it not,
Envy itself could not there find a spot.
Had he survived to finish works begun,
'T had been a blessing to all Christendom.
Then should the world have known what God had show'd him,
And what themselves for all his works had ow'd him.
But this unthankful age is now cut short
Of that rich treasure, 'cause they car'd not for 't:
O that his love may turn us, yet to prize
The blessings yet enjoyed; herein be wise;
Lest that which he not long ago foretold,
Be now in us fulfill'd as 't was of old,
That wantonness of churches, would bereave
Them of their ministers, without their leave,
God plaguing this his messenger's contempt,
With this soul 'stroying plague and punishment.
But whatsoever wrath doth us abide,
Whatever plague for sin doth us betide;
Yet thou, O blessed saint, art now at rest,
I' th' bosom of thy Christ, which is the best;
Bathing in rivers of divine pleasure,
Which is at God's right hand, most sweet and pure;
Tasting the fruit of all thy labors spent,
To honor God, which was thy whole intent.
From God thou camest forth, who sent thee hither.
And now hath called thee back to live together.
Him didst thou serve while life and breath did last,
With him now blest, while life and breath is past.
Sense of our loss would call thee back again.
But out of love, we bid thee there remain,
Till we yet left behind our course fulfill,
To meet thee on the top of Zion's hill;
When thou and we shall both rejoice together,
So fast united as no death shall sever;
Both to sing praises to our heavenly king,
Who hath us saved from death's poisonous sting,
And will restore our bodies from the grave,

Which them to dust of death consumed have;
Making them shine like brightness of the sun
With glory, ne'er to end when once begun.
Let heaven and earth, angels and men him praise,
Sounding his glory past all length of days.

P. B.⁴⁷

1648.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth; and Mr. Thomas Prentice, Mr. William Collier, Capt. Myles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherley, Mr. John Brown, and Mr. William Thomas, were chosen assistants to him in government.

⁴⁷ Probably Rev. Peter Bulkley, minister at Concord, Massachusetts.

1649.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth. Mr. Thomas Prence, Mr. William Collier, Capt. Myles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherley, Mr. John Brown, and Mr. William Thomas, were chosen his assistants in government.

This year Mr. John Winthrop, governor of the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, deceased, the twenty-sixth day of March, about ten of the clock. He was singular for piety, wisdom, and of a public spirit. He brought over a great estate into the country, and partly by his liberality, and partly by the unfaithfulness of his baily, spent the most part of it; so as when he died, he was but low in that respect; and yet notwithstanding, very much honored and beloved of the most, and continued in the place of governor, for the most part, until his death, which was much lamented by many. He was a man of unbiased justice, patient in respect of personal wrongs and injuries, a great lover of the saints, especially able ministers of the gospel; very sober in desiring, and temperate in improving earthly contentments; very humble, courteous, and studious of general good. His body was, with great solemnity and honor, buried at Boston, in New England, the third of April, 1649.

This year some part of the country was much troubled with innumerable hosts of caterpillars, which destroyed the fruits of the earth, in divers places, and did eat off the leaves of trees, so as they looked as bare as if it had been winter; and in some places did eat the leaves from off the peas-straw, and did not eat the peas. It pleased God to give them a check, and a rebuke, so as they hurt but in some places, and of his goodness in a short time removed them.

This year, August 25, that faithful and eminent servant of Christ, Mr. Thomas Shepard, died, who was a soul-searching minister of the gospel, and pastor of the church of Christ at Cambridge. By his death, not only that church and people, but also all New England, sustained a very great loss. He not only preached the gospel profitably and very successfully, but also hath left behind him divers worthy works of special use, in reference unto the clearing up the state of the soul to God ward; the benefit thereof, those can best experience, who are most conversant in the improvement of them, and have God's blessing on them therein to their soul's good. His body was honorably buried at Cambridge, in New England. "Blessed are the dead, that die in the Lord, for their works do follow them." Rev. 13:13.

This year there passed an act of parliament in England, for the promoting and propagating the gospel of Jesus Christ among the Indians in New England. In reference unto the furtherance and advancement of so good a work, a corporation of sixteen select men were appointed, consisting of a president, treasurer, and assistants, called by the name of the President and Society for the propagation of the Gospel in New England; to receive such sums of money, as from time to time was, or should be collected and raised, by the liberal contributions of such as whose hearts God was pleased to stir up to so glorious a work. And it was by the same parliament enacted, that the commissioners for the united colonies of New England, for the time being, by themselves or such as they shall appoint, shall have power and authority to receive and dispose of the said moneys brought in and paid to the said treasurer for the time being; or any other moneys, goods, or commodities, acquired and delivered by the care of the said corporation at any time; whose receipt or receipts of such person or persons so authorized by them, shall be a sufficient discharge to the said corporation and treasurer. The particulars of such orders and instructions, with which the said act is invested, the reader may be more amply satisfied in, by the perusal thereof, as it is extant, bearing date, July 27, 1649.

Moreover, let the reader take notice of the special favor of Almighty God, in moving the heart of the King's Majesty, since his restitution to his crown and regal dignity, particularly of his royal favor to countenance this work, and to secure what hath been, and what may be given toward this work, by a legal settlement, which before was wanting; so as the said glorious design hath been vigorously carried on, both in Old England and in New, by such active and faithful instruments as God hath raised up and improved therein, with some considerable success. The work coming on to such perfection, as that the Holy Bible is translated and printed in the Indian language, whereby the glad tidings of the gospel is, and may be communicated to them with the greater facility; some souls also of them being gained, as may be hoped, to believe on the Lord Jesus for life everlasting; and daily hopes of further and greater success in that behalf, for which unspeakable riches of his grace, let his holy name have all the praise throughout all ages.

The principal instruments improved in preaching the gospel of Christ unto the Indians, are, Mr. John Eliot, sen., Mr. John Eliot, jun., Mr. Thomas Mayhew⁴⁸, Mr. Pierson, Mr. Brown, Mr. James, and Mr. Cotton, besides divers of their own nation, whose names and number I know not.

1650

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth. Mr. Edward Winslow, Mr. Thomas Prence, Mr. William Collier, Capt. Myles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherley, Mr. John Brown, and Mr. William Thomas, were chosen assistants to him in government. This year there was more than ordinary mortality in the country, especially about Boston, and mostly among their children. (New diseases the fruits of new sins.) Since which time, several diseases have been in the country more frequently than formerly; as namely, gripings in the bowels, with violent vomiting and purging, which hath taken away many; as also a disease in the mouth or throat, which hath proved mortal to some in a very short time; as also great distempers of colds, etc., which ought to be awakening dispensations, together with others, to cause is to consider and examine whether we have not provoked the Lord with some general and unwonted sins; inasmuch as he is pleased to exercise the country oftentimes with unwonted afflictions and punishments.

1651.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth. Mr. Thomas Prence, Mr. William Collier, Capt. Myles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherley, Mr. John Brown, Mr. John Alden, and Capt. Thomas Willet, were chosen his assistants in government. This year Mr. William Thomas expired his natural life in much peace and comfort. He served in the place of magistracy, in the jurisdiction of Plymouth, divers years; he was a well approved and a well-grounded Christian, well read in the Holy Scriptures, and other approved authors, and a good lover and approver of godly ministers and good Christians, and one that had a sincere desire to promote the common good, both of church and state. He died of a consumption, and was honorably buried at Marshfield, in the jurisdiction of New Plymouth.

⁴⁸ Edward Winslow introduces a pamphlet entitled *Glorious Progress of the Gospel*, which contained several letters by Thomas Mayhew.

1652.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth; and Mr. Thomas Prence, Capt. Myles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherley, Mr. John Brown, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, and Lieut. Thomas Southworth, were chosen to be his assistants in government.

This year that blessed servant of God, Mr. John Cotton, died. He was sometimes preacher of God's word at Boston, in Lincolnshire, and from thence came over into New England, in the year 1633, and was chosen teacher of the first church of Christ at Boston. (Of Mr. Cotton's life, Mr. Norton hath penned a book, whereunto I refer the reader for more full relation of the same.) For which function and office he was greatly enriched with gifts and abilities, being an able expounder and faithful applier of the word of God; furnished also with wisdom and prudence to go before the church, in the ordering of the affairs thereof; endowed also with meekness of spirit, whereby he was fitted to compose such differences as did at any time arise amongst them. He was very patient also in respect unto personal wrongs and injuries done unto himself, yea, towards his sharpest antagonists. An influence of good, not only flowed from him unto the church over whom he was set, but also into all the churches in New England, as necessity required. About the time of his sickness, there appeared in the heavens, over New England, a comet, giving a dim light; and so waxed dimmer and dimmer, until it became quite extinct and went out; which time of its being extinct, was soon after the time of the period of his life: it being a very signal testimony, that God had then removed a bright star, a burning and a shining light out of the heaven of his church here, unto celestial glory above. He was buried at Boston, in New England, with great honor and lamentation, in the year above written.

Upon whose never enough deplored death, were made these verses following:

A Funeral Elegy upon the death of the truly Reverend Mr. John Cotton, late teacher of the church of Christ at Boston, in New England.

And after Winthrop's, Hooker's, Shepard's hearse,
Doth Cotton's death call for a mourning verse?
Thy will be done. Yet Lord, who dealest thus,
Make this great death expedient for us.
Luther pulled down the Pope, Calvin the Prelate slew:
Of Calvin's lapse, chief cure to Cotton's due.
Cotton, whose learning, temper, godliness,
The German Phoenix, lively did express.
Melanchthon's all, may Luther's word but pass;
Melanchthon's all, in our great Cotton was.
Than him in flesh, scarce dwelt a better one;
So great's our loss, when such a spirit's gone.
Whilst he was here, life was more life to me;
Now he is not, death hence less death shall be.
That comets, great men's deaths do oft forego,
This present comet doth too sadly show.
This prophet dead, yet must in's doctrine speak,
This comet saith, else must New England break.

Whate'er it be, the heavens avert it far,
That meteors should succeed our greatest star.
In Boston's orb, Winthrop and Cotton were;
These lights extinct, dark is our hemisphere.
In Boston once how much shin'd of our glory,
We now lament, posterity will story.
Let Boston live, who had and saw their worth;
And did them honor, both in life and death.
To him New England trust in this distress,
Who will not leave his exiles comfortless.

J. N.⁴⁹

Upon the tomb of the most Reverend Mr. John Cotton, late teacher of the church of Boston, in New England.

Here lies magnanimous humility,
Majesty, meekness, Christian apathy
On soft affections; liberty in thrall;
A noble spirit, servant unto all.
Learning's great masterpiece; who yet could sit
As a disciple at his scholar's feet.
A simple serpent, or serpentine dove,
Made up of wisdom, innocence, and love,
Neatness embroider'd with itself alone;
And civils canonized in a gown:
Embracing old and young, and low and high;
Ethics embodied in divinity.
Ambitious to be lowest, and to raise
His brethren's honor on his own decays.
Thus doth the sun retire into his bed,
That being gone, the stars may show their head.
Could wound at argument without division;
Cut to the quick, and yet make no incision;
Ready to sacrifice domestic notions
To churches peace and minister's devotions.
Himself indeed (and singular in that)
Whom all admired, he admired not.
Liv'd like an angel of a mortal birth,
Convers'd in heaven while he was on earth:
Though not, as Moses, radiant with light,
Whose glory dazzled the beholders' sight;
Yet so divinely beautified, you'd count
He had been born and bred upon the mount.
A living, breathing Bible; tables, where
Both covenants at large engraven were;

⁴⁹ Rev. John Norton, the successor of John Cotton as minister of the first church of Boston.

Gospel and law in's heart had each its column,
His head an index to the sacred volume.
His very name a title-page; and next,
His life a commentary on the text.
O what a monument of glorious worth,
When in a new edition he comes forth,
Without erratas, may we think he'll be,
In leaves and covers of eternity!
A man of might at heavenly eloquence,
To fix the ear and charm the conscience;
As if Apollos were revived in him,
Or he had learned of a Seraphim.
Spake many tongues in one: one voice and sense
Wrought joy and sorrow, fear and confidence.
Rocks rent before him, blind received their sight;
Souls levell'd to the dunghill, stood upright.
Infernal furies burst with rage to see
Their pris'ners captiv'd into liberty.
A star, that in our eastern England rose,
Thence hurry'd by the blast of stupid foes,
Whose foggy darkness, and benumbed senses,
Brook'd not his dazzling fervent influences.
Thus did he move on earth from east to west;
There he went down, and up to heaven for rest.
Nor from himself, whilst living, doth he vary,
His death bath made him an ubiquatary:
Where is his sepulcher is hard to tell,
Who in a thousand sepulchers doth dwell;
(Their hearts, I mean, whom he bath left behind,)
In them his sacred relics now enshrin'd.
But let his mourning flock be comforted,
Though Moses be, yet Joshua is not dead:
I mean renowned Norton; worthy he
Successor to our Moses is to be,
O happy Israel in America,
In such a Moses, such a Joshua.

B.W.⁵⁰

1653.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth. Mr. Thomas Prence, Capt. Myles Standish, Mr. Timothy Hatherley, Mr. John Brown, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, and Lieut. Thomas Southworth, were chosen his assistants in government. Mr. Thomas Dudley, who was a principal founder and pillar of the colony of the Massachusetts, in New England, and sundry times governor and deputy-governor

⁵⁰ Rev. Benjamin Woodbridge.

of that jurisdiction, died at his house in Roxbury, July 31, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. He was a person of quick understanding, and solid judgment in the fear of the Lord. He was a lover of justice, order, the people, Christian religion, the supreme virtues of a good magistrate.

1. His love to justice appeared at all times, and in special upon the judgment-seat, without respect of persons in judgment; and in his own particular transactions with all men, he was exact and exemplary.
2. His zeal to order appeared in contriving good laws, and faithfully executing them upon criminal offenders, heretics, and underminers of true religion. He had a piercing judgment to discover the wolf, though clothed with a sheepskin.
3. His love to the people was evident in serving them in a public capacity many years, at his own cost, and that as a nursing father to the churches of Christ.
4. He loved the true Christian religion, and the pure worship of God, and cherished, as in his bosom, all godly ministers and Christians. He was exact in the practice of piety, in his person and family, all his life. In a word, he lived desired, and died lamented by all good men.

The verses following were found in his pocket after his death, which may further illustrate his character, and give a taste of his poetical fancy; wherein, it is said he did excel.

Dim eyes, deaf ears, cold stomach show
My dissolution is in view;
Eleven times seven near lived have I,
And now God calls, I willing die:
My shuttle's shot, my race is run,
My sun is set, my deed is done;
My span is measur'd, tale is told,
My flower is faded and grown old,
My dream is vanish'd, shadow's fled,
My soul with Christ, my body dead;
Farewell dear wife, children and friends,
Hate heresy, make blessed ends;
Bear poverty, live with good men,
So shall we meet with joy again.

Let men of God in courts and churches watch
O'er such as do a toleration hatch;
Lest that ill egg bring forth a cockatrice,
To poison all with heresy and vice.
If men be left, and otherwise combine,
My epitaph's, I died no libertine.

This year Mr. John Lathrop did put off his earthly tabernacle. He was sometimes preacher of God's Word in Egerton in Kent, from whence he went to London, and was chosen pastor of a church there. He was greatly troubled, and imprisoned, for witnessing against the errors of the times. During the time of his imprisonment, his wife fell sick, of which sickness she died. He procured liberty of the bishop to visit his wife before her death, and commended her to God by prayer, who soon after gave up the ghost. At his return to prison, his poor

children, being many, repaired to the bishop to Lambeth, and made known unto him their miserable condition by reason of their good father, his being continued in close durance; who commiserated their condition so far, as to grant him liberty, who soon after came over into New England, and settled for some time at the town of Scituate, and was chosen pastor of their church, and faithfully dispensed the word of God amongst them. And afterwards, the church dividing, a part whereof removed to Barnstable, he removed with them, and there remained until his death. He was a man of a humble and broken heart and spirit, lively in dispensation of the word of God, studious of peace, furnished with godly contentment, willing to spend, and to be spent, for the cause of the church of Christ. He fell asleep in the Lord, November 8, 1653.

1654.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth. Mr. Thomas Prence, Capt. Myles Standish, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherley, Mr. John Brown, Mr. John Alden, and Capt. Thomas Willet, were chosen assistants to him in government.

1655.

This year Mr. William Bradford was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth; and Mr. Thomas Prence, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherley, Capt. Myles Standish, Mr. John Brown, Mr. John Alden, and Capt. Thomas Willet, were chosen assistants to him in government. This year that worthy and honorable gentleman, Mr. Edward Winslow, deceased; of whom I have had occasion to make honorable mention formerly in this discourse. He was the son of Edward Winslow, Esq., of the town of Droitwich, in the county of Worcester. He, traveling into the low countries, in his journeys fell into acquaintance with the church of Leiden, in Holland, unto whom he joined, and with whom he continued until they parted to come into New England, he coming with that part that came first over, and became a very worthy and useful instrument amongst them, both in place of government and otherwise, until his last voyage for England, being sent on special employment for the government of the Massachusetts, as is aforementioned in this book; and afterwards was employed as one of the grand commissioners in that unhappy design against Domingo in Hispaniola, who taking grief for the ill success of that enterprise, on which, together with some other infirmities that were upon him, he fell sick at sea, betwixt Domingo and Jamaica, and died the eighth day of May, which was about the sixty-first year of his life, and his body was honorably committed to the sea, with the usual solemnity of the discharge of forty-two pieces of ordnance.

One of the company, who was employed in taking notice of the particulars of that tragedy, gave such testimony of the said Mr. Winslow, as followeth in this poem.

The eighth of May, west from 'Spaniola shore,
God took from us our grand commissioner,
Winslow by name, a man of chiefest trust,
Whose life was sweet, and conversation just;
Whose parts and wisdom most men did excel;

An honor to his place, as all can tell.

1656.

Mr. William Bradford was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of Plymouth. Mr. Thomas Prence, Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherley, Capt. Myles Standish, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, and Capt. James Cudworth, were chosen his assistants in government.

This year Capt. Myles Standish expired his mortal life. He was a gentleman, born in Lancashire, and was heir apparent unto a great estate of lands and livings, surreptitiously detained from him; his great grandfather being a second or younger brother from the house of Standish. In his younger time he went over into the Low Countries, and was a soldier there, and came acquainted with the church at Leiden, and came over into New England, with such of them as at the first set out for the planting of the plantation of New Plymouth, and bare a deep share of their first difficulties, and was always very faithful to their interest. He growing ancient, became sick of the stone, or strangury, whereof, after his suffering of much dolorous pain, he fell asleep in the Lord, and was honorably buried at Duxbury.

1657

This year Mr. Thomas Prence was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. Timothy Hatherley, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, Capt. James Cudworth, Capt. Josiah Winslow, and Lieut. Thomas Southworth, were chosen his assistants in government.

This year it pleased God to put a period of to the life of his precious servant, Mr. William Bradford, who was the second governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth, and continued in the same place for the most part of his time, with little intermission. Concerning whom the following poems made, the one by himself, and the other by such as were well acquainted with his worth and excellency, will give a large testimony thereof.

Certain verses left by the honored William Bradford, Esq. Governor of the jurisdiction of Plymouth, penned by his own hand, declaring the gracious dispensations of God's providence towards him on the time of his life, and his preparation and fittedness for death.

From my years young in days of youth,
God did make know to me his truth,
And call'd me from my native place
For to enjoy the means of grace.
In wilderness he did me guide,
And in strange lands for me provide.
In fears and wants, through weal and woe,
A pilgrim, passed I to and fro:
Oft left of them whom I did trust;
How vain it is to rest on dust!
A man of sorrows I have been,
And many changes I have seen.

Wars, wants, peace, plenty, have I known;
And some advanc'd, others thrown down.
The humble poor, cheerful and glad;
Rich, discontent, sour and sad:
When fears and sorrows have been mixt,
Consolations came betwixt.
Faint not, poor soul, in God still trust,
Fear not the things thou suffer must;
For, whom he loves he doth chastise,
And then all tears wipes from their eyes.
Farewell, dear children, whom I love,
Your better Father is above:
When I am gone, he can supply;
To him I leave you when I die.
Fear him in truth, walk in his ways,
And he will bless you all your days.
My days are spent, old age is come,
My strength it fails, my glass near run.
Now I will wait, when work is done,
Until my happy change shall come,
When from my labors I shall rest,
With Christ above for to be blest.

By the honored Major Josias Winslow, on the said Mr. William Bradford, as followeth:

WILLIAM BRADFORD, Anagr.

I made law for bridl'.
For law I made bridl'.

See how God honored hath this worthy's name,
To make it spell his virtue, and proclaim
His rare endowments, us'd for God and us:
Now such as honor God, he'll honor thus.

Both just and gentle, merciful and just;
And yet a man, and yet compos'd of dust!
Yes, God within these slender walls can find
A noble, virtuous, studious, active mind.

God was the guider of his childhood, youth;
God did preserve him ever in the truth,
And gave him grace to own him when but young,
Whom afterward he made a champion strong,

For to defend his people, and his cause,

By wisdom, justice, prudence, and by laws;
And, most of all, by his own good example,
A pattern fit to imitate most ample.

If we should trace him from the first, we find
He flies his country, leaves his friends behind,
To follow God, and to profess his ways,
And here encounters hardships many days.

He is content, with Moses, if God please,
Renouncing honor, profit, pleasure, ease,
To suffer tossings, and unsettlements,
And if their rage doth rise, to banishments.

He weighs it not, so he may still preserve
His conscience clear, and with God's people serve
Him freely, 'cording to his mind and will,
If not in one place, he'll go forward still.

If God have work for him in th' ends of th' earth,
Safe, danger, hunger, colds, nor any dearth;
A howling wilderness, nor savage men,
Discourage him, he'll follow God again:

And how God hath made him an instrument
To us of quiet peace and settlement;
I need not speak; the eldest, youngest know,
God honor'd him with greater work than so.

To sum up all, in this he still went hence,
This man was wholly God's: his recompense
Remains beyond expression, and he is
Gone to possess it in eternal bliss.

He's happy, happy thrice; unhappy we
That still remain more changes here to see:
Let's not lament that God hath taken him
From troubles hence, in seas of joys to swim.

Let's not lament his gracious life is ended,
And he to life of glory is attended;
Nor let us grieve that now God's work is done,
In making him a happy blessed one.

But let's bewail that we have so neglected
Duty to God, or men have disrespected;

With earnest lamentations let's lament;
And, whilst we may, let's seriously repent.

That we have not improved as we might,
For God, and for ourselves, this worthy wight;
And now that God hath Moses tak'n away,
Let's pray that he would give us Joshua;

To go before the camp, and to subdue
God's and his people's foes, whatever crew
Oppose our journeys to that land of rest,
Which 'till obtain'd, we're never truly blest.

And for our better progress in this course,
Let now our great necessity enforce
Each man to study peace, and to improve
His greatest strength to reunite, in love,
The hearts and the affections of us all;
Lest by our faults, God's work to th' ground should fall.

Why mourns the people thus for me, since I
In heavens dwell, shall to eternity?
Let not so many tears fall from my friends;
Live holy, happy, God will recompense
Into your bosoms all your love again,
And your affections whilst I did remain
Mongst you, but now you must refrain.

Bear up your hearts, dear hearts, when thoughts of me
Run in your minds, with this the time will be,
And every hour brings it on apace,
Dear friends, when we forever shall embrace.
Farewell but for a season then, farewell;
Our next embraces shall the rest excel,
Rest happy, children, friends, and tender wife,
Death but begins the godly's happy life.

*A few verses more, added by one that was well acquainted with the worth of the said Mr.
William Bradford.*

The ninth of May, about nine of the clock,
A precious one God out of Plymouth took;
Governor Bradford then expired his breath,
Was call'd away by force of cruel death.
A man approv'd in town, in church, in court,
Who so behav'd himself in godly sort,

For the full space of thirty-seven years,
As he was means of turning many fears
Away from thee, poor Plymouth, where he spent
The better part of time that God him lent.
Well skill'd he was in regulating laws,
So as by law he could defend the cause
Of poor distressed plaintiff, when he brought
His case before him, and for help besought.
Above all other men he loved those
Who gospel truths most faithfully unclose,
Who were with grace and learning fully fraught,
Such as laboriously the gospel taught.
Willing also to own, in his due place,
The meanest saint, expressing gifts of grace.
Sweet Brewster, he is gone some time before;
Wise Winslow, whose death we lament so sore;
And faithful Standish, freed from horrid pain,
To be with Christ, in truth, the greatest gain:
Now blessed, holy Bradford, a successor
Of blessed, holy Bradford, the confessor,
Is gone to place of rest, with many more
Of precious ones, whom I might name, great store;
And commendation of each one have given;
But what needs that? their names are writ in heaven.
And now, dear Lord, let us our time improve,
To be with thee in prayer much above.
O save thy people; help in time of need;
When all means fail, be thou in room and stead
Of other helps, who fail when needed most;
When greatest need, they then give up the ghost.
And let thy servants their time still employ,
That in the end they may attain such joy
As may a fruit of true believing be,
That we with Christ may reign eternally.

This worthy gentleman was interred with the greatest solemnities that the jurisdiction to which he belonged was in a capacity to perform, many deep sighs, as well as loud volleys of shot declaring that the people were no less sensible of their own loss, who were surviving, than mindful of the worth and honor of him that was deceased? You might now easily discern a heavy heart in the mournful countenance of every sober-minded and considerate man; for as you have heard, in the three or four years last past, God was pleased greatly to weaken this poor tottering colony of Plymouth, by taking away several of the most useful props thereof, both in church and civil state; some others, who had been of singular use, now stooping under the infirmities of old age, could not be so serviceable as in times past; and others removed so far from the center of the government, that they could not, without great difficulties, attend their public concerns, nor could possibly so constantly as our necessities required, which did greatly aggravate our

troubles; we were become weak when we had need of the greatest strength; had lost many of our chieftains, when we stood in need of the best conduct and guidance. For, besides the troubles and changes that attended our native country, and might call for great circumspection in our walking in relation unto them; we had also, at this very time, some amongst us, that growing weary of the long peace and concord we enjoyed, and hoping to fish better in troubled waters, when their bait might be taken in, and the hook not easily discerned, would willingly have been ringing the changes in this jurisdiction; also pretending a great zeal for liberty of conscience, but endeavoring to introduce such a liberty of will as would have proved prejudicial, if not destructive, to civil and church societies; and at the same time there arrived in the said colony many of that pernicious sect called Quakers, whose opinions are a composition of many errors, and whose practices tend greatly to the disturbance both of church and state; many unstable people amongst us were leavened with their errors, and proved very troublesome to this as well as other colonies in New England. But the Lord many times delighteth to appear in the mount of his people's miseries, distresses, and troubles, that his power and wisdom may appear when they are weakest, and that they may know that their salvation is from him. At such a time, and when the condition of this colony was such as hath been declared, God was pleased to mind it, even in its low estate, and when he had taken to himself not only our Moses, but many of the elders and worthies of our Israel, he hath not hitherto left us without a Joshua, to lead us in the remaining part of our pilgrimage. When the usual time for the renewing of our election, of such as should govern us, came, Mr. Thomas Prentice was, by a unanimous vote, chosen governor; and although men's spirits were so distempered, as I have related, and it might have been expected that they would have been much divided in their choice; yet God, who disposeth the lot that is cast into the lap, so disposed that all their votes centered there; a good demonstration that he was chosen of God for us, and by his blessing made an instrument of much peace and settlement in this place, and to this people, in these times of trouble and confusion. The Lord also directing the freemen of this jurisdiction, at the same time, in their election, to the choice of a discreet and able council, to be assistant unto our said honored governor, in this so weighty a work, divers of them being descended of several of the honored magistrates deceased, not only bearing their names, but having a large measure of their spirit bestowed on them, befitting them for such work; so as through the goodness of God, those storms that seemed to threaten the subversion of our all, and did at first prevail, to the disturbing and shaking of many towns and churches, and to the great discouragement of the ministers in divers places, do seem to be pretty well blown over; such uncomfortable jars, as have been sometimes thought incurable, seem to be thoroughly reconciled and healed; our towns, for the most part, supplied with godly and able ministers, and we sit under our vines and fig-trees in peace, enjoying both civil and religious liberties; for which goodness of the Lord, let his holy name be praised; and may he grant us so to improve our present opportunities, as he may have some suitable returns, and we may have cause to hope in his grace for the continuance of such favors.

This year that much honored and worthy gentleman, Mr. Theophilus Eaton, governor of New Haven, deceased, who was very eminent, both on a religious and civil account. His death proved a great blow to that jurisdiction, and was seconded, not long after, with the loss of another precious man amongst them, namely, Mr. Francis Newman.

In this year, 1657, in the month of November, Mr. Garret set sail on a voyage for England, from Boston; in whose ship, amongst many considerable passengers, there went Mr. Thomas Mayhew, Jr., of Martha's Vineyard, who was a very precious man. He was well skilled, and had attained to a great proficiency in the Indian language, and had a great propensity upon

his spirit to promote God's glory in their conversion, whose labors God blessed for the doing of much good amongst them; in which respect he was very much missed amongst them, and bewailed by them, as also in reference unto the preaching of God's word amongst the English there. The loss of him was very great. Many other sad losses befell sundry others in the country, by the loss of that ship, both in their estates and dear relations, to the great grief and saddening of the hearts of many.

1658.

This year Mr. Thomas Prence was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, Capt. Josias Winslow, Lieut. Thomas Southworth, Mr. William Bradford, and Mr. Thomas Hinkley, were elected his assistants in government.

This year there was a very great earthquake in New England.

Also Mr. Ralph Partridge died in a good old age, having, for the space of forty years, dispensed the word of God with a very little impediment by sickness. His pious and blameless life became very advantageous to his doctrine; he was much honored and loved by all that conversed with him. He was of a sound and solid judgment in the main truths of Jesus Christ, and very able in disputation to defend them; he was very singular in this, that, notwithstanding the paucity and poverty of his flock, he continued in his work amongst them to the end of time. He went to his grave in peace, as a shock of corn fully ripe, and was honorably buried at Duxbury.

In whose remembrance, one who was a true admirer of his worth, presented these at his funeral.

Not rage, but age; not age, but God's decree,
Did call me hence, my Savior Christ to see,
And to embrace, and from his hand receive
My crown of Glory. Oh I who would not leave
A flattering world, nay friends, or what's most dear,
The saint's communion that's enjoyed here,
At once to have God, Christ, saints, angels, all,
To make complete, and sum our joys total?
Now I behold God's glory face to face;
Now I sit down with Christ, who've run my race;
Now I sing praise to God, and to the Lamb;
Now I companion to the angels am.
Now I behold, with greatest joy, my sons
And daughters all; I mean converted one;
Which I was instrumental in my place,
To bring to God, but all of his free grace.
How am I changed that of late was weak,
Above the force of Satan now to break?
How am I changed, son of sorrow late,
But now triumphing in my heavenly state.
How was I vex'd with pains, with griefs molested?

How, in a moment, am I now invested
With royal robes, with crowns, with diadems,
With God's eternal love? Such precious gems
He hath in store for them his saints that are;
For such indeed he counts his jewels rare.
Oh! brethren, sisters, neighbors, country, friends,
I'm now above you; hark to them God sends,
As yet surviving in their worthy charge;
Whose work it is God's vineyard to enlarge.
God and my conscience your experience knows,
Whilst I was with you I was one of those
That labored faithfully God's vineyard in,
Sowing his seed, and plucking up of sin.
Now is the harvest to myself indeed;
The Lord grant a supply of one to feed
Your souls with heavenly food, and one to lead
In ways of God, until his courts you tread.
Next to God's love, my flock, love one another;
And next to Christ, preserve love to thy brother.
Let ever precious be in your esteem
God's holy word; and such as slight it deem
Of serpent's brood; whatever they pretend,
By no means to such blasphemies attend.
Decline all wand'rings, lest from all you stray,
If stept aside, return in this your day.
Keep close to God, so he that is most high
Shall you preserve as apple of his eye;
And give you peace on earth, tranquility,
Mansions in heaven to eternity;
Where we, that death doth for a time now sever,
Shall meet, embrace, and shall not part forever.

Run is his race,
And his work done,
Left earthly place,
Partridge is gone,
He's with the Father and the Son.

Pure joys and constant do attend
All that so live, such is their end.
Return be shall with Christ again,
To judge both just and sinful men.
Rais'd is this bird of paradise;
Ioy heaven entered breaks the ice.
Death underfoot he trodden hath;
Grace is to glory straightest path,

Ever enjoys love free from wrath.

This year, on the last day of July, it pleased God that, by thunder and lightning, one John Philips, of Marshfield, in the jurisdiction of New Plymouth, was suddenly slain.

Also, in the month of August, it pleased God to take away, by death, Mr. William Paddy, who was a precious servant of Christ, endued with a meek and quiet spirit, of a courteous behavior to all men, and was very careful to nourish an intimate communion with God. He was instrumental in his place for common good, both in church, (being sometimes by office a deacon of the church of Plymouth,) and in other respects very officious, as occasion did require. He having a great temporal estate, was occasioned thereby to have abundance of business upon him, but when he was to put off his earthly tabernacle, he laid aside all his earthly encumbrances and occasions, even as one would have taken off a garment, and laid it down; and without any trouble of spirit, on that behalf, prepared himself for his journey to the everlasting mansions, prepared for him by his Lord and Master in the highest heavens, whereof he was well assured; as, to the like effect he spake to Mr. Norton, near unto the period of his life; and so falling asleep in the Lord, he was buried at Boston, with honor and great lamentation, in the year and month above mentioned.

One, who was well acquainted with his worth and gracious endowments, presented this following, as a testimonial of his good respects for him.

Weep not dear wife, children, nor dear friends,
I live a life of joys that never ends.
Love God, and fear him to end of your days;
Live unto him, but die to sin always.
In heavenly place of bliss my soul doth rest,
Among the saints and angels I am blest;
Much better here, than in the world at best.

Praising my God is now my great employ,
Above such troubles as did me annoy.
Did but my friends know what I here possess,
Doubtless it would cause them to mourn the less;
Your souls with mine e'er long shall meet in bliss.

1659.

This year Mr. Thomas Prence was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, Major Josias Winslow, Lieut. Thomas Southworth, Mr. William Bradford, and Mr. Thomas Hinkley, were chosen assistants to him in government.

Having noted before, that in the year 1657, there arrived in the colony of New Plymouth, many of the pernicious sect, called Quakers; the reader may take notice, that by this time, for some years after, New England, in divers parts of it, abounded with them, and they sowed their corrupt and damnable doctrines, both by word and writings, almost in every town of each jurisdiction, some whereof were, "that all men ought to attend the light within them, to be the rule of their lives and actions;" and, "that the Holy Scriptures were not for the enlightening of

man, nor a settled and permanent rule of life.” They denied the manhood of the Lord Jesus Christ, and affirmed, “that, as man, he is not in heaven.” They denied the resurrection from the dead. They affirmed, “that an absolute perfection in holiness or grace, is attainable in this life.” They placed their justification upon their patience and suffering for their opinions, and on their righteous life and retired demurity, and affected singularity both in word and gesture.

As to civil account, they allowed not nor practiced any civil respect to man, though superiors, either in magistratical consideration, or as masters or parents, or the ancient, neither by word nor gesture. They deny also the use of oaths for the deciding of civil controversies, with other abominable opinions, dreams, and conceits, which some of them have expressed, tending to gross blasphemy and atheism.

This efficacy of delusion became very prevalent with many, so as the number of them increased, to the great endangering of the subversion of the whole, both of church and commonwealth, notwithstanding the endeavors of those in authority to suppress the same, had not the Lord declared against them, by blasting their enterprises and contrivements, so as they have withered away in a great measure; sundry of their teachers and leaders, which have caused them to err, are departed the country, and we trust the Lord will make the folly of the remainder manifest to all men more and more. Error is not long-lived; the day will declare it. Let our deliverance from so eminent a danger be received amongst the principal of the Lord’s gracious providences, and merciful loving-kindnesses towards New England; for the which let present and future generations celebrate his praises.

This year that learned and godly servant of God, Mr. John Dunster, fell asleep in the Lord. He was some time president of Harvard College, at Cambridge, in New England, in which he approved himself to the satisfaction of such as were in those affairs concerned. Afterwards he came into the jurisdiction of New Plymouth, and lived awhile in the town of Scituate, and was useful in helping to oppose the abominable opinions of the Quakers, forementioned, and in defending the truth against them. He deceasing in the said town of Scituate, his body was embalmed, and removed unto Cambridge, aforesaid, and there honorably buried.

1660.

This year Mr. Thomas Prence was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, Major Josias Winslow, Capt. Thomas Southworth, Capt. William Bradford, and Mr. Thomas Hinkley, were chosen assistants to him in government.

This year James Pierce, a young man that belonged to Boston, coming on fishing, and upon occasion putting into Plymouth harbor, it pleased God that a storm of thunder and lightning arose, and by a blow thereof he was slain of a sudden, being much scorched and burnt thereby, although his clothes were made fast and close about him; so strange was this great work to the wonderment of all that beheld it.

1661.

This year Mr. Thomas Prence was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, Major Josias Winslow, Capt. Thomas Southworth, Capt. William Bradford, and Mr. Thomas Hinkley, were chosen assistants to him in government.

1662.

This year Mr. Thomas Prence was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, Major Josias Winslow, Capt. Thomas Southworth, Capt. William Bradford, and Mr. Thomas Hinkley, were chosen assistants to him in government.

This year, upon occasion of some suspicion of some plot intended by the Indians against the English, Philip the sachem of Pokanoket, otherwise called Metacom, made his appearance at the court held at Plymouth, August 6, did earnestly desire the continuance of that amity and friendship that hath formerly been between the governor of Plymouth and his deceased father and brother; and to that end the said Philip doth for himself and his successors desire, that they might forever remain subject to the king of England, his heirs and successors; and doth faithfully promise and engage, that he and his, will truly and exactly observe and keep inviolable, such conditions as formerly have been by his predecessors made; and particularly that he will not at any time, needlessly or unjustly, provoke or raise war with any of the natives; nor at any time give, sell, or anyway dispose of any lands (to him or them appertaining) to any strangers, or to any without our privity or appointment, but will in all things endeavor to carry peaceably and inoffensively towards the English.

And the said court did also express their willingness to continue with him and his, the above said friendship, and do on their part promise, that they will afford them such friendly assistance, by advice and otherwise, as they justly may; and we will require our English at all times to carry friendly towards them. In witness whereof, the said Philip the sachem hath set to his hand, as also his uncle, and witnessed unto by sundry other of his chief men.

Witness, John Sausamen,
The mark of Francis
the sachem of Nauset.

The mark of Philip,
alias Metacom.

This year, on the 26th of January, at the shutting in of the evening, there was a very great earthquake, in New England, and the same night another, although something less than the former.

And again on the 28th of the same month there was another about nine of the clock in the morning.

Forasmuch as I have had special occasion several times in this history to mention divers earthquakes that have been in New England, they being great and terrible works of God, and are usually ominous to some strokes and visitations of his hand unto places and people where they are; and sometimes the Lord in the very acting of his power in them, hath declared his severity to the children of men, to their great overthrow and confusion; I thought it necessary, before I pass on, a little to point at some few particulars, to work and induce us to a profitable remembrance of them; it being very considerable that is said by a useful author, in taking notice of the wisdom of God, in preparing the earth to be a fit habitation for man to dwell in, addeth withal, that as if man were not always worthy to tread upon so solid a foundation, we see it oft times quake and shake, and rock and rend itself, as if it showed that he which made it, threatened by this trembling the impiety of the world, and the ruin of those that dwell on the earth.

In order unto that which I have nominated in this behalf and more principally intend, let us take notice, that writers have rendered the cause of earthquakes to be, that when it happeneth that air and windy spirits and exhalations are shut up in the caverns of the earth, or have such passage as is too narrow for them, they then striving to break their prisons, shake the earth, and make it tremble. They speak likewise of the several kinds of them: as,

First, when the whole force of the wind driveth to one place, there being no contrary motion to let or hinder it; many hills and buildings have been rushed down by this kind of earthquake, especially when the wind causing it was strong; for if it be a feeble wind, it only looseneth or unfasteneth foundations, if less feeble, then, without further harm, the earth only shakes, like one sick of an ague.

Secondly, the second is a swelling of the earth; the which, when the wind is broken out of its prison, the earth returns to its place again.

Thirdly, a third kind is, a gaping, rending or cleaving of the earth one part from another, so that sometimes whole towns, cities, rocks, hills, rivers, and some parts of the sea have been swallowed up, and never seen more.

Fourthly, a fourth kind is, shaking, that causeth sinking, and is far different from the former; for now the earth splitteth not, but sinketh; this being in such places, where, though the surface of the ground be solid, yet it hath but a salt foundation, which being moistened by water driven through it by the force of the shaking exhalation, is turned into water also.⁵¹

Fifthly, a fifth kind of earthquake is contrary to the former; for, as before the ground sinks down, so now it is cast up, like as in the second kind already mentioned, only this is the difference, that now it returneth not to its place again, but remains a great mountain. And note, that if such a rising be in the sea, it not only causeth overflowings, but produceth likewise many islands such as were never seen before.

These particulars are treated of at large by approved authors, and here only hinted, to the intent that we may take notice of the special providence of God to New England in this behalf, that we have not as yet felt the misery of the worst of the kinds of earthquakes forenamed, nor swallowed up in them, but those who have been sensible of have been rather gentle warnings unto us, to shake us out of our earthly mindedness, spiritual security, and other sins, lest the Lord do come against us with judgments of this kind, in the sorest and worst sort of them, or otherwise by removing the present blessing of godly government from us.

Notwithstanding that which hath been said, the efficient cause is supernatural, as either principally God, or instrumentally the angels, although naturally the wind shut up within the pores and bowels of the earth, as is before noted. If the effects of them usually are such, as by them is sometimes a discovery of the channels of water and foundations of the world, the removing of mountains from one place to another, the cleaving of rocks and opening of graves and gates, yea, the throwing down of many famous buildings and cities, and some swallowed up, and many thousands of people destroyed thereby; the turning of plain land into mountains; the throwing down of mountains and raising up of islands in the sea, the breaking out of rivers where there were none before; the discovery of burning mountains where there were none seen before. Famines and pestilences, of which particulars divers instances might be produced out of the Sacred Scriptures, and several other authors. Exod. 19:18; Psal. 29:6; 104:32; Matt. 28:2; Psal. 18:15; Zech. 14:4; Rev. 6:12, 14; Matt. 27:51; Acts 16:26. Ought we not then to fear and tremble before so great a God, who, (as one saith,) by his handmaid nature doth so terribly shake

⁵¹ Thus was the Atlantic Ocean to be a sea, as Plato affirmeth, who lived three hundred and sixty-six years before Christ was born. (Morton).

the earth, as no land can be sure, no place so strong that can defend us? Nay, the more strong, the more dangerous; for the higher, the greater the fall. Let us therefore say with the wise man, Eccl. 3:14, I know that whatsoever God doth, shall stand forever; nothing can be put to it, nor anything taken from it, and God doth it, that men should fear before him.

This year Mr. John Brown ended this life; in his younger years traveling into the Low Countries, he came acquainted with, and took good liking to, the reverend pastor of the church of Christ at Leiden, as also to sundry of the brethren of that church; which ancient amity induced him (upon his coming over to New England) to seat himself in the jurisdiction of New Plymouth, in which he was chosen a magistrate; in which place he served God and the country several years; he was well accomplished with abilities to both civil and religious concerns, and attained, through God's grace, unto a comfortable persuasion of the love and favor of God to him; he falling sick of a fever, with much serenity and spiritual comfort fell asleep in the Lord, and was honorably buried at Wannamoisset near Rehoboth, in the spring of the year abovesaid.

1663.

This year Mr. Thomas Prence was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, Major Josias Winslow, Lieut. Thomas Southworth, Capt. William Bradford, Mr. Thomas Hinkley, were chosen his assistants in government. This year Mr. Samuel Newman, teacher of the church of Christ at Rehoboth, changed this life for a better. He was sometimes preacher of God's word at Weymouth, in the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, and from thence removed to Rehoboth, where he continued in the work of the ministry until the end of his days. He was a lively dispenser of the word of God, and of a pious life, very hospitable, and at the close of his life very full of joy and comfort; and with cheerfulness of spirit resigned himself up to the Lord, and his spirit into the arms of his blessed Redeemer, desiring that the holy angels might do their office in transporting his soul into everlasting bliss and happiness. He fell asleep in the Lord on the fifth of July, 1663.

This year also it pleased God to put a speedy period to the life of Mr. John Norton, who was a burning and a shining light; and although the church of Boston, in a more special manner, felt the smart of this sudden blow, yet it reflected upon the whole land. He was singularly endowed with the tongue of the learned, enabled to speak a word in due season, not only to the wearied soul, but also a word of counsel to a people in necessity thereof, being not only a wise steward of the things of Jesus Christ, but also a wise statesman; so that the whole land sustained a great loss of him. At his first coming over into New England, he arrived at Plymouth, where he abode the best part of one winter, and preached the gospel of the kingdom unto them and ever after, to his dying day, retained a good affection unto them. From thence he went to Boston, and from thence to Ipswich, in New England, where he was chosen the teacher of their church; and after the death of worthy Mr. Cotton, he was solicited, and at length obtained, to return to Boston, and there served in that office until his death. He was chosen by the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, together with the much honored Mr. Simon Bradstreet, to go over into England, as agents in the behalf of that jurisdiction, unto His Majesty and the Privy Council, upon business of greatest trust and concernment; and soon after his return, it pleased God, suddenly and unexpectedly, to take him away by death, on the fifth day of April, 1663. His body was honorably buried at Boston. On whose much lamented death, take this following elegy.

An elegy on the death of that eminent minister of the gospel, Mr. John Norton, the reverend teacher of the church of Christ at Boston, who exchanged this life for a better, April 5, 1663.

Ask not the reason why tears are our meat,
And none but mourners seen in ev'ry street?
Our crown, alas, is fallen from our head;
We find it off: woe to us, Norton's dead.
Our breach is like the sea, no healing's known:
To comfort Zion's daughter is there none?
Oh teach your daughters wailing every one,
Their neighbors' deepest lamentation.
Oh that mine eyes a fountain were of tears!
I'd day and night in mourning spend my years.
My father! father! Israel's chariot thou,
And horsemen wert! Sons of the prophets now,
Weep since your master from your head is taken:
This father of the muses hath forsaken
His study here, not liking our dark room,
Doth choose those mansions in his Father's home.
The schoolmen's doctors, whomsoe'er they call
Subtle, seraphic, or angelical:
Dull souls! their tapers burnt exceeding dim;
They might to school again to learn of him.
Lombard must out of date: we now profess
Norton the master of the sentences.
Scotus a dunce to him: should we compare
Aquinas here, none to be named are.
Of a more heavenly strain his notions were,
More pure, sublime, scholastical, and clear;
More like the apostles Paul and John, I wist,
Was this our orthodox evangelist.
And though an exile from his native land,
As John in Patmos was; yet here the hand
Of Christ leads forth, more clearly to espy
The New Jerusalem in her bravery.
Who more acute in judgment was than he?
More famous too for heavenly policy?
He was a wise and faithful counselor,
One of a thousand, an interpreter.
Mighty in word and prayer, who could have
Whate'er almost from heaven he did crave:
On him, with things without (which I'll not name)
The care of all the churches daily came.
He car'd thus naturally: Oh hear that rod,
Which us bereaved of such a man of God I

Zealous for order, very critical
For what was truly congregational.
A pillar of our church and state was he,
But now no more, no more his face we see I
Who thought more fit of all his tribe to stand
Before our king, for favor for our land,
Lately? but now translated is to rest,
This agent of New England's interest.
When last he preach'd, he us the pattern gave
Of all that worship Christ in's church would have;
God then him up into the mount did call,
To have the vision beatifical.
As Thomas to the twelve said, Come let's go
And die with him; I'd almost said so too:
I'll yet a while in tears sow, that I may,
With him, in joyful reapings live for aye.
A tomb now holds his soul's beloved shrine,
Of th' Holy Ghost, a temple most divine.
And well New England's heart may rent at this!
Wonder not reader, I so greatly miss
Fit words, his worth, our loss and grief to fame,
When as no epitaph can declare the same.

T. S.⁵²

Not long after, namely, in the month of July, followed the death of that eminent servant of God, Mr. Samuel Stone, who was another star of the first magnitude in the firmament of New England. He was a learned, solid, and judicious divine, equally able for the confirmation of the truth, and confutation of errors. His ministry was with much conviction and demonstration, and when he set himself to application, very powerful. He was teacher to the church of Hartford fourteen years, together with Mr. Hooker, and sixteen years after him, thirty years in all. He died on the twentieth of July, and was honorably buried at Hartford.

A Threnodia upon our churches second dark eclipse, happening July 20, 1663, by death's interposition between us and that great light and divine plant, Mr. Samuel Stone, late of Hartford, in New England.

Last spring this summer may be autumn styl'd,
Sad withering fall our beauties which despoil'd;
Two choicest plants, our Norton and our Stone,
Your justs threw down; remov'd, away are gone.
One year brought Stone and Norton to their mother,
In one year, April, July, them did smother.
Dame Cambridge, mother to this darling son;
Emanuel, Northampt' that heard this one,
Essex, our bay, Hartford, in sable clad,

⁵² Thomas Shepard

Come bear your parts in this Threnodia sad.
In losing one, church many lost: O then
Many for one come be sad singing men.
May nature, grace and art be found in one
So high, as to be found in few or none.
In him these three with full fraught hand contested,
With which by each he should be most invested.
The largest of the three, it was so great
On him, the stone was held a light complete,
A stone more than the Ebenezer fam'd;
Stone splendent diamond, right orient nam'd;
A cordial stone, that often cheered hearts
With pleasant wit, with Gospel rich imparts;
Whetstone, that edgify'd th' obtusest mind;
Loadstone, that drew the iron heart, unkind;
A pond'rous stone, that would the bottom sound
Of Scripture depths, and bring out Arcan's found;
A stone for kingly David's use so fit,
As would not fail Goliah's front to hit;
A stone, an antidote, that brake the course
Of gangrene error, by convincing force;
A stone acute, fit to divide and square;
A squared stone became Christ's building rare.
A Peter's living, lively stone (so reared)
As 'live, was Hartford's life; dead, death is fear'd.
In Hartford old, Stone first drew infant breath,
In New, effused his last; O there beneath
His corps are laid, near to his darling brother,
Of whom dead oft he sighed, Not such another.
Heaven is the more desirable, said he,
For Hooker, Shepard, and Hayne's company.

E. B.⁵³

1664.

This year Mr. Thomas Prence was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Capt. Thomas Willet, Major Josias Winslow, Lieut. Thomas Southworth, Capt. William Bradford, and Mr. Thomas Hinkley, were chosen assistants to him in government.

This year a blazing star, or comet, appeared in New England, in the ninth, tenth, eleventh, and the beginning of the twelfth month. Concerning which it hath been observed, that such was its motion, that, in all likelihood, it was visible to all the inhabitants of the earth; and that, also, in its motion, the blaze of it did turn to all the quarters of the world; and that by its turning according to the several aspects it had to the sun, it was no fiery meteor caused by exhalation, but that it was sent immediately by God to awake the secure world.

⁵³ Perhaps Edward Bulkley.

I willingly close with that which Mr. Samuel Danforth hath religiously observed, as to the theological application of this strange and notable appearance in the heavens, that indeed by the testimony of the Sacred Scriptures, and the common histories of former ages, comets do usually precede and portend great calamities and notable changes.

To add a few more instances to those the said author hath well observed:

When the Emperor Jovian attained to the empire, (succeeding the apostate Julian, under whom the church suffered much persecution,) and that under him both church and commonwealth were like to have had a flourishing time, had he not been taken away by sudden death; then also appeared a comet, showing that further trouble was yet to be expected to the church. [Socrates, lib. 4, cap. 22.]

Again, other authors make mention of a strange comet, that was seen in the year of Christ 410, being like a two-edged sword, which portended many mischiefs and calamities, that happened both in the east and west, and such great slaughters of men were, about those days, as no age ever afforded the like. All Europe was in a manner undone; no small part of Asia was affrighted; and Africa also was not void of those evils, as war, famine, drought, and pestilence, all of them strove, as it were, to trouble the whole world.

Also, in the years 1400, 1401, 1402, and 1403, comets appeared, and great calamities followed; sundry unheard of diseases were felt, rivers dried up, and plagues were increased. Tamerlain, king of the Scythians and Parthians, with an innumerable host, invaded Asia, calling himself, The wrath of God, and the desolation of the earth. [Read Carion, lib. 5, page 854.]

Also, in the year 1529, appeared four comets; and in the years 1530, 1532, and 1533, were seen, in each year, one.

Languet saith, that there were three within the space of two years, upon which these, and the like calamities, followed, namely, a great sweating sickness in England, which took away great multitudes of people. The Turk in the quarrel of John Vuavoida, who laid claim to the crown of Hungaria, entered the said kingdom with two hundred and fifty thousand fighting soldiers, committing, against the inhabitants thereof, most harsh and unspeakable murders, rapes, villainies, and cruelties.

Great famine and death in Venice, and the countries thereabouts, which swept away many; the sweating sickness in Brabant, and in a great part of Germany.

Great wars likewise about the Dukedom of Millain, between the Emperor Charles the Fifth, and Francis, the French King.

About that time, also, all Lusitania, or Portugal, was struck with an earthquake, insomuch that at Ulisippo, or Lisbon, above a thousand houses were thrown down, and sixty more so shaken that they were ready to fall; with many other evils that befell those parts about that time.

And to observe what hath fallen out since this last comet appeared, will not be unuseful, either in Europe or America.

In Europe, the great contest between our own nation and the Dutch, which hath threatened bloody war; and what will be in the conclusion is known only to God. Besides other contests between the Dutch and some other of their neighbors; as also the pestilence, very hot both in England and Holland.

In America, the late and sad blow that our countrymen, at the Isle of Christopher's, received from the French. And as to ourselves in New England, although, through the mercy of our good God, there is no breaking in, nor going out into captivity, nor complaining in our streets; yet we have been threatened with invasion by foreign force, and sometimes in expectation thereof; as also we are not to slight the hand of God in his late sore strokes in taking

away so many by thunder and lightning, to the great amazement and terror of many. As also, God's continued strokes in drought, blasting, and mildew, with which much of the fruits of the earth have been destroyed. All which, considered, ought to induce us to search and try our ways, and to enter into a strict and serious examination of our hearts and lives, and having found out what those sins are that are most provoking to the Majesty of Heaven, we may reform them, whether in church, in state, in family, or in persons; that so he may not stir up all his wrath, but yet may delight over us to do us good, from the beginning of the year to the end thereof.

This year it pleased God to smite the fruits of the earth, namely, the wheat, in special, with blasting and mildew, whereby much of it was utterly spoiled, and became profitable for nothing, and much of it worth little, being light and empty. This was looked at, by the judicious and conscientious of the land, as a speaking providence against the unthankfulness of many for so great a mercy, and their murmuring, expressed in their words, by slighting and undervaluing terms of it; as also against voluptuousness, and abuse of the good creatures of God, by licentiousness in drinking, and fashions in apparel; for the obtaining whereof, a great part of this principal grain was oftentimes unnecessarily expended. This so sad a dispensation, with other particulars, occasioned the observation of some days in a way of humiliation before the Lord, somewhat more frequently than ordinary. Let it also be observed, that yet in judgment he remembered mercy, by affording a plentiful harvest of other sorts of grain, so as the country suffered not in respect of the want of bread this year, but had plenty thereof.

This year also, His Majesty's commissioners, namely, Col. Richard Nicolls, Sir Robert Carr, knight, George Cartwright, Esq., and Samuel Maverick, Esq., arrived at Boston, in New England, in the month of July; the tenor of whose commission was, in special, to reduce the Dutch at the Manhato's to His Majesty's obedience; which, in some short time, was accomplished; and the place and jurisdiction thereof, surrendered up unto His Majesty's said commissioners, who stiled it by the name of New York, and placed a government over it of His Majesty's subjects, the aforesaid Colonel Richard Nicolls being governor in chief there. And whereas they were likewise commissioned to hear and determine such differences as might be amongst the colonies, in respect unto the bounds of their jurisdictions; some such differences were by them heard, and in special betwixt Plymouth and Rhode Island, and such settlement therein concluded as they were capacitated unto. As also sundry propositions were by them made to several of the respective jurisdictions, which, together with the agitations concerning them, and the answers unto them, are elsewhere extant. They likewise presented the honored governor of the jurisdiction of Plymouth, as to the colony, with a gracious letter from His Majesty, the contents whereof are as followeth:

To our trusty and well-beloved, our Governor and Council of New Plymouth, greeting:

CHARLES REX,

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. We need not enlarge upon our care of, and affection to that our plantation of New Plymouth, when we give you such a testimony and manifestation of it, in the sending of those gentlemen, persons well known unto us, and deserving from us, our trusty and well-beloved Col. Richard Nicolls, Sir Robert Carr, knight, George Cartwright, Esq., and Samuel Maverick, Esq., our commissioners to visit you, and other our plantations in those parts of New England, and to give us a full and particular information and account of your present state and condition, and how the same may be advanced and improved by any further acts of grace and favor from us toward you; and that both you and all

the world may know and take notice, that we take you into our immediate protection, and will no more suffer you to be oppressed or injured by any foreign power, or ill neighbors, than we would suffer our other subjects that live upon the same continent with us, to be so injured and oppressed. And as our care and protection will, we doubt not, be sufficient, with God's blessing, to defend you from foreign force; so our care and circumspection is, no less, that you may live in peace amongst yourselves, and with those our other subjects who have planted themselves in your neighbor colonies, with that justice, affection, and brotherly love, which becomes subjects born under the same prince, and in the same country, and of the same faith and hope in the mercies of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ. And to the end there may be no contentions and differences between you, in respect of the bounds and jurisdiction of your several colonies; the hearing and determining whereof we have referred to our commissioners, as the right appears by clear evidence and testimony before them, or that they can settle it by your mutual consent and agreement; otherwise, in cases of difficulty, they shall present the same to us, who will determine according to our own wisdom and justice. The address you formerly made to us, gave us so good satisfaction of your duty, loyalty, and affection to us, that we have not the least doubt that you will receive those commissioners in such manner as becomes you, and as may manifest your respect and affection towards us, from whom they are sent. They will let you know the resolution we have to preserve all your liberties and privileges, both ecclesiastical and civil, without the least violation; which we presume will dispose you to manifest, by all ways in your power, loyalty and affection to us, that all the world may know that you do look upon yourselves as being as much our subjects, and living under the same obedience under us, as if you continued in your natural country. And so we bid you farewell.

Given at our court, at Whitehall, April 23, 1654, in the sixteenth year of our reign. By His Majesty's special command,

Henry Bennet

After the said His Majesty's commissioners had visited several of the jurisdictions of New England, and were courteously entertained in every of them, the said honorable Colonel Richard Nicolls is settled at New York, for the present, being governor there, as is before noted. George Cartwright, Esq., went for England, in the latter end of the year, with Mr. Benjamin Gillam, and was taken by the Dutch, and afterwards, with some difficulty, arrived in England. Sir Robert Carr is, at the present, at Delaware, and Mr. Samuel Maverick, at Boston.⁵⁴

1665.

This year Mr. Thomas Prentice was elected governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth. Mr. William Collier, Mr. John Alden, Major Josias Winslow, Capt. Thomas Southworth, Capt. William Bradford, Mr. Thomas Hinkley, and Mr. James Brown, were chosen assistants to him in government.

In the spring of this year, that honorable gentleman, Mr. John Endecott, governor of the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, changed this life for a better. He was a very virtuous

⁵⁴ The said Sir Robert Carr, since that, went for England, in the year 1667. He arrived at Bristol, and died there June 1, the next day after he came ashore. About that time it was thought, by such as were judicious, that through the instigation of the said Maverick, (whose spirit was full of malignity against the country,) our both civil and religious liberties were much endangered; and the rather for that, probably, there would have been a concurrence of divers ill affected in the land, had not the Lord prevented. (Morton).

gentleman, and was greatly honored and beloved of the most, as he well deserved. He arrived at Salem in the year 1628, and had the chief command of those that, at the first, there seated, and bare a deep share of the difficulties of those first beginnings, which were great, by reason especially of the great sickness and mortality that was then amongst them, as hath been before noted. There he continued, until the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts saw reason to desire his removal to Boston, for the more convenient administration of justice, as governor of the said jurisdiction, to which he was frequently elected, for many years together, with little intermission; and in which honorable service he served God and the country, until old age, and the infirmities thereof, coming upon him, he fell asleep in the Lord, and was, with great honor and solemnity, interred at Boston.

This year it pleased God to cause a sad dispensation of his hand to pass before us, in reference to the sudden death of Captain Davenport, who, in the month of July, was slain, as he lay on his bed, with a blow of thunder and lightning. He was a man of some eminency, being betruſted with the command of the castle in the Massachusetts; at which said castle he was slain as aforesaid. The more ought this so sad stroke of God to be considered, and laid to heart, and improved for our humiliation, and the amendment of our lives before the great and terrible God, who so aloud spake unto us in this so sad and awing a providence.

This year it pleased the Lord again to strike the wheat of this country, in a more general way, than the last year, with blasting and mildew, whereby the greatest part of it was spoiled, and the ploughman's hopes, in that respect, very much frustrated. Howbeit, the Lord still mixed with this affliction very much mercy, in sparing the other grain, whereby the country was in some good measure supplied.

1666.

This year Mr. Thomas Prence was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth. Mr. John Alden, Major Josias Winslow, Capt. Thomas Southworth, Capt. William Bradford, Mr. Thomas Hinkley, Mr. James Brown, and Lieut. John Freeman, were chosen to be his assistants in government.

This year it pleased God to go on in a manifestation of his displeasure against New England, in a very remarkable manner, by striking dead, in a moment, by a blow of thunder, three persons in the town of Marshfield, in the jurisdiction of New Plymouth, in the month of June, namely, one named William Shirliff, and a woman and a youth; which sad dispensation of God's hand, being considered, with some circumstances, gave cause to the beholders to be much astonished; the said Shirliff having his wife by the hand, and sitting by her to cheer her, in respect that the said storm was so fierce, he was slain, and she preserved, though in some measure scorched with the lightning; yea, he had one of his children in his arms, and himself slain, and the child preserved. We have likewise received intelligence of four more, that about that, time were slain by thunder and lightning, about Piscataqua, and divers more hurt. At the time of this storm of thunder and lightning, in the which those of Marshfield died, there arose likewise a very great whirlwind, that, where it came, it tore up trees by the roots, though through mercy it did little other hurt.

It was a great while, and many years spent, since the English came into these parts, before any very considerable hurt was done by thunder and lightning, to either man, or beast, appertaining to them, although, sometimes, very fierce storms of that kind, as frequently as in these times. But now, how doth the Lord go on gradually, in this, as in other judgments, here in

New England; first, by striking cattle, and then one person at a time, and this year divers, to the number of seven, besides some cattle also.

Thus God thundereth marvelously with his voice, he worketh great things which we know not, [Job 37:5, and 38:35, and 40:8.] He can send the lightnings that they may walk, and say, Lo here we are. Hath any an arm like God? Or can any thunder with a voice like him? By this his terrible voice he breaketh the cedars, and divideth the flames of fire, [Psalm 29:5, 7,] which he commissionates to do his pleasure, sometimes not only striking cedars, but great oaks, in a wonderful manner, sometimes beasts, sometimes men and women. If God's judgments have thus been abroad in the earth, how ought the inhabitants of New England to learn righteousness? [Isa. 26:9.] How easily can the Lord stain the pride of our glory with a stroke of his hand? Let not the familiarness or frequency of such providences, cause them to be neglected by us, to improve them as God would have us, to fear before him, [Eccles. 8:13,] and to turn from such iniquities, especially, as are most displeasing unto him, and to hold our lives in our hands, and, to be in a readiness for his pleasure, lest knowing not our time, as the fishes that are taken in an evil net, and as the birds that are caught in the snare, [Eccles. 9:12,] so we shall be snared in an evil time, when it falleth suddenly upon us.

This year the Lord threatened the country with that infectious and contagious disease, the smallpox, which began at Boston, whereof some few died; but through his great mercy it is stayed, and none of late have died thereof.

This year the Lord likewise threatened, and, in some measure, executed his displeasure upon the country by drought; but, through his mercy, hath, of late, sent plenty of rain, for the recovering of the fruits of the earth. Although it is to be observed, that soon after a day of humiliation was observed, by some congregations, for the blessing of rain, in the drought above mentioned, that sad stroke by the thunder and lightning, at Marshfield, fell out; so that we may say with the Psalmist unto the Lord, By terrible things in righteousness thou hast answered us, O God of our salvation.

Also this year there hath been some ground of fear of invasion by foreign enemies; but hitherto the Lord hath kept us.

This year much of the wheat is destroyed with blasting and mildew, as also some other grain, by worms, and the drought aforementioned; but the Lord hath sent much rain for the recovery of the remainder, through his great mercy.

This year, about the middle of July, Mr. Thomas Prence, governor of the jurisdiction of Plymouth, Capt. Thomas Southworth, Mr. John Eliot, Sen., Mr. John Eliot, Jr., Mr. Samuel Arnold, Mr. John Holmes, Mr. William Brimsmead, and Mr. Thomas Cushman, gave meeting to Mr. Richard Bourn, of Sandwich, in reference to the taking notice of what proficiency the Indians, under the instruction of the said Mr. Bourn, have attained unto, in the knowledge of God in Christ, and their interest in him by faith; and to make such professions or confessions as they should openly make thereof, to the glory of God, and the satisfaction of the saints, in order unto their joining into church fellowship.

And the Lord was pleased to come in unto some of them, so as they gave good satisfaction unto the said honored and judicious persons forenamed, then assembled, in reference to the premises; so that it was concluded by them, that what had passed from the Indians, in that behalf, should be drawn up in writing, and copies thereof exhibited to the churches of the jurisdiction of Plymouth, such of them as are neighboring near unto them, and if nothing should be then objected, that then, in due and convenient time, they should be permitted and encouraged to enter into church fellowship, as aforesaid. Now, although I doubt not but the passages of these

things will be, in due time, published by a better pen; yet I have made bold here to insert so much as I have been informed of them, in regard that they are the first fruits of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth, that have come on to so good perfection in this kind.

This year, in the month of December, it pleased God to take unto himself, by death, that worthy servant of Christ, Mr. William Thompson, who was a lively dispenser of the word of God, and very affectionate in the delivery thereof. It pleased God to bless his labors to the conversion of many souls. He was sometime, together with Mr. Knowles, sent unto Virginia, by the elders of the churches of the Massachusetts, being requested by a message, sent by some in Virginia, for some help in preaching God's word amongst them. The fruit and benefit of whose labors therein still remaineth upon the souls of some eminent in this land. He was elected and ordained to be pastor of the church of Christ at Braintree, in New England; in which office he served Christ many years, until old age coming upon him, and the prevailing of his melancholy distemper, did in a manner wholly disable him from that service; and Satan taking advantage thereby, he was under sad desertions and trouble of spirit. At which time the reverend elders and others of the aforesaid jurisdiction of the Massachusetts, were very officious for his recovery, and, in sense of his sad condition, offered up many prayers to God for him, and, in God's good time, they received a gracious answer; so as, in his weakness and sickness, it pleased God to come in unto his soul, and to remove the cloud of darkness that was upon his spirit, so that with much peace and comfort he fell asleep in the Lord, and was honorably buried at Braintree. "Mark the upright man, and behold the just; for the end of that man is peace."

1667.

Mr. Thomas Prence was chosen governor of the jurisdiction of New Plymouth. Mr. John Alden, Major Josias Winslow, Capt. Thomas Southworth, Capt. William Bradford, Mr. Thomas Hinkley, Mr. John Freeman, and Mr. Nathaniel Bacon, were chosen assistants to him in government.

This year, on the last day of November, being the last day of the next week, there was heard several loud noises, or reports, as if it had been guns discharged in the air, first one, distinctly, and in a short time, as it had been a volley of shot discharged. It was especially heard and observed at Nantasket, and related by sundry of them of good credit. In the spring following, in the beginning of March, there appeared a sign in the heavens, in the form of a spear, something thicker in the midst than at either end, of a whitish, bright color; it was seen, several nights together, in the west, about an hour within the night; it stood stooping, and the one end pointing to the setting of the sun, and so settled downward, by little and little, until it quite vanished, and descended beneath our horizon. God awaken us that we be not heedless spectators of his wonderful works.

This year, the seventh of August, it pleased the Lord to call home to himself, the reverend, ancient, and godly pastor of the church at Boston, Mr. John Wilson. He was a truly reverend and holy man of God. He came to New England in the year 1630. He was instrumental in the first beginnings of the church of Boston, having been the pastor of it three years before Mr. Cotton, twenty years with him; ten years with Mr. Norton, and four years after him; thirty-seven in all. And in all the changes of time that passed over him, he was full of faith and prayer, and eminent for sincerity and humility, being ever low in his own eyes, and for the grace of love, he had largeness of heart as the sand of the sea, to do good to all. He was very charitable where was any signs and hopes of good; and yet, withal, very zealous against known and manifest evils. He

was orthodox in his judgment, and very holy in his conversation. Very few that ever went out of the world so generally beloved and revered as this good man. He was a good man indeed, and full of the Holy Ghost. He lived to a good old age, and was full of days, and full of honor, being in the seventy-ninth year of his age, when the Lord took him to himself. He was interred with much honor and lamentation.

In the time of his languishing sickness, he was visited by the elders round about, especially on the sixteenth of May, the day after the court of election, when there being a general meeting of all the elders of the churches, at his house, they requested Mr. Wilson (because they knew not whether ever they should have the like opportunity to hear him speak again, and having been, from the first, a pillar amongst them, and of much experience in his observation of the state of things) that he would solemnly declare unto them, what he conceived to be those sins amongst us, which provoked the displeasure of God against the country. He then told them, that he had, divers times, and long feared these sins following, as chief, among others, which God was greatly provoked with, namely, Separation, Anabaptism, and Korahism.

This latter he did explain thus, namely, when people rise up as Korah, against their ministers or elders, as if they took too much upon them, when, indeed, they do but rule for Christ, and according to Christ; yet, saith he, it is nothing for a brother to stand up, and oppose, without Scripture or reason, the doctrine and word of the elder, saying, I am not satisfied, etc., and hence, if he do not like the administration, be it baptism, or the like, he will then turn his back upon God and his ordinances, and go away, etc. And, saith he, for our neglect of baptizing the children of the church, those that some call grandchildren, I think God is provoked by it.

Another sin I take to be, the making light of, and not subjecting to the authority of Synods, without which the churches cannot long subsist. And so for the magistrates being Gallio like, either not caring for these things, or else not using their power and authority for the maintenance of the truth, and gospel and ordinances of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, and for the bearing thorough witness against the contrary. Should the Lord leave them hereunto, how miserable a people should we be!

At night, the assembly being dismissed with prayer, Mr. Wilson did, (being desired by them so to do,) in a solemn manner, bless the elders, making a short prayer, saying, "I am not like long to be with you; the Lord pardon us, and heal us, and make us more heavenly, and take us off from the world, and make us burning and shining lights, by our heavenly doctrine and example. And I beseech the Lord, with all my heart, to bless you, and to bless his churches, and to bless all his people, and to bless all your families, and to bless your wives, and to bless all your children, and your children's children; and make us all more and more meet for our inheritance, and bring us all to it in his good time," etc. These words, with some few other, he spake with great affection, and with tears; and all the ministers wept with him, and they took their leave of him, even as children of their father, who having blessed them, was about to die.

Upon the death of that reverend, aged, ever honored, and gracious servant of Christ, Mr. John Wilson, pastor of a church in Boston. Interred August 8, 1667.

Ah! now there's none who does not know,
That this day in our Israel,
Is fall'n a great and good man too,
A Prince, I might have said as well:
A man of princely power with God,

For faith and love of princely spirit;
Our Israel's chariots, horsemen good,
By faith and prayer, though not by merit.
Renown'd for practic piety
In England's both, from youth to age;
In Cambridge, Inns-Court, Sudbury,
And each place of his pilgrimage.
As humble as a little child,
When yet in real worth high-grown:
Himself a nothing still he stil'd,
When God so much had for him done
In love, a none-such; as the sand,
With largest heart God did him fill;
A bounteous mind, an open hand,
Affection sweet, all sweet'ning still.
Love was his life; he dy'd in love;
Love doth embalm his memory;
Love is his bliss and joy, above
With God now who is love for ay:
A comprehending charity
To all, where ought appear'd of good;
And yet in zeal was none more high
Against th' apparent serpent's brood.
To truth he ever constant was,
In judgment wond'rous orthodox;
In truth's cause never fearing face,
As if he were another Knox.
The prelates and their impositions
Did never him conformist make,
But to avoid those superstitions,
Great worldly hopes did he forsake.
When in New England, error's wind
From sundry other quarters blew;
No one could him conforming find,
Naught from the line of truth him drew.
Firm stood he 'gainst the familist,
And Antinomian spirit strong;
He never lov'd the Sep'ratist,
Nor yet the Anabaptist's throng.
Neither the tolerator's strain,
Nor Quaker's spirit could he brook;
Nor bow'd to the Morellian train,
Nor children's right did overlook.
Nor did he slight our liberties,
In civil and in church concerns,
But precious were they in his eyes,

Who stood among their fixed friends.
Grave saint in England twice did give
This farewell word to him; While you
Shall in that place (New England) live,
No hurt shall happen thereunto.
Strange word, and strangely verify'd!
He this day goes to's grave in peace,
What changes sad shall us betide,
Now he is gone, we cannot guess!
What evil are we hast'ning to!
Lord spare thy people, but awaken,
When such away do from us go,
That yet we may not be forsaken!
He a first corner-stone was laid
In poor New England's Boston's wall:
Death pulls this out, the breach is wide:
Oh let it not now tumble all!
He's now at rest and reigns in bliss;
In conflicts we are left behind,
In fears and straits; how shall we miss
His faith, prayer, zeal, and peaceful mind.
Lord, pour a double portion
Of his sweet, gracious, pious spirit,
On poor survivors; let each one
Somewhat thereof at least inherit!
Gaius, our host, ah now is gone!
Can we e'er look for such another?
But yet there is a mansion,
Where we may all turn in together.
No moving inn, but resting-place,
Where his blest soul is gathered;
Where good men going are a pace
Into the bosom of their Head.
Ay, thither let us haste away,
Sure heaven will the sweeter be,
(If there we ever come to stay)
For him, and others such as he.

J. M.

Upon the death of that most reverend man of God, Mr. John Wilson, pastor of the first church in Boston, in New England; whose decease was August 7, 1667.

JOHN WILSON,
Anagr.
JOHN WILSON,

Oh change it not! No sweeter name or thing,
Throughout the world, within our ears shall ring.

Whoso of Abr'am, Moses, Samuel reads,
Or of Elijah, or Elisha's deeds,
Would surely say their spirit and power was his,
And think there were a Metempsychosis,
Yea, like John Baptist in the wilderness,
So was our John in Patmos here, no less.
John, the divine, resembling therefore rather,
And of New England's prophets was the father,
John, the divine, whose life a revelation
Of faith and love, and Christ to admiration,
John, the divine, whom Jesus lov'd most dear,
Sweet'ned with leaning on his bosom here:
This is that John, whose death who doth not moan,
Hath sure no heart of flesh, but one of stone.
He had the countries faith, and love, and zeal,
Even grace enough for church and common-weal;
Whereby was propt up all the fabric still,
That else had tumbled down our Zion hill.
Of merely men deserving glory more,
You'll find nor martyr, nor a confessor,
Inspir'd he was with the prophetic spirit
Of all the prophets, which he did inherit.
Twixt an apostle and evangelist,
His order standeth in the heavenly list.
If Paul himself among us dead had been,
More tears or sorrow could not have been seen.
They wept not more for this, that they should see
His face no more, than now we mourners be.
For heavenly poems most angelical,
Composing volumes with delight, were all
But gathered up in one, we should espy
Enough to fill an university.
And were another psalm-book made by thee,
(Mictam of John) their title it should be.
As aged John th' apostle us'd to bless
The people, which they judg'd their happiness:
So we did count it worth our pilgrimage
Unto him, for his blessing in his age;
Yet then, no babe more longing for the breast,
Than he to take within the church his rest,
To have the sincere milk of God's good word,
Which to his soul all comfort did afford.
Not heat, nor cold, nor rain, nor snow, must bar;

But everywhere becomes an auditor.
Who ever labored in the ministry,
More given, than he, to hospitality?
To strangers, widows, fatherless, and all;
To friends and foes he was most liberal.
Of all his prayers, sermons, travels, pains,
He is ascended heaven to reap the gains.
Oh for a double portion of thy spirit!
No richer treasure would we all inherit.
Mastus apposuit.

T. S.⁵⁵

1668.

This year it pleased God to visit New England with the manifestation of his displeasure, by the death of three eminent instruments; the first whereof was that worthy servant of Christ, Mr. Samuel Shepard, pastor of the church of Christ in Rowley, in New England, who deceased in the spring of this year, in the midst of his days, and in the beginning of his work in the ministry. The second, that worthy man of God, Mr. Henry Flint, teacher of the church of Christ at Braintree, in New England, who ended his mortal life the 27th of April, in this year; a man of known piety, gravity, and integrity, and well accomplished with other qualifications fit for the work of the ministry. The third and last, but not the least, that super eminent minister of the gospel, (rightly so called,) Mr. Jonathan Mitchell, pastor of the church at Cambridge, in New England, who laid down his earthly tabernacle on the ninth of July, in this year. Of whose rare endowments, and the great loss the whole land sustained by his death, take this following brief account.

Mr. Jonathan Mitchell was born at Halifax, in Yorkshire, in England, of pious and wealthy parents, who coming over to New England, brought him over young; his education in learning was perfected at Harvard College, in Cambridge, where he attained to such a degree in knowledge, that he was soon called to be a fellow of the college, and, within a few years after, his luster did so shine, that the church at Hartford, upon Connecticut river, made application to him in order to supply the place of that eminent servant of Christ, Mr. Thomas Hooker, a little before deceased; but the church at Cambridge, (by the advice of their worthy pastor, Mr. Thomas Shepard, then living,) not willing to part with so great a treasure, became competitor with Hartford, and gave him a call to them. This loving strife, between the two churches of Hartford and Cambridge, about him, was, in a short time, decided by the awful hand of God, in the death of that eminent and glorious star, Mr. Thomas Shepard, pastor at Cambridge; which place being wholly destitute, and Hartford being supplied with a teacher, namely, that worthy of the Lord, Mr. Samuel Stone, the balance was cast for Cambridge, and in the year 1650, he was called and ordained their pastor. It was an eminent favor of God to that church, to have this great breach thus made up, with a man so much of the spirit and principles of their former pastor, and so excellently qualified with respect to the College: for, reason and prudence requireth, that the minister of that place be more than ordinarily endowed with learning, gravity, wisdom, orthodoxness, ability, sweet and excellent gifts in preaching, that so the scholars which are devoted and set apart, in order to be preachers of the gospel, might be seasoned with the spirit of

⁵⁵ Rev. Thomas Shepard

such an Elijah; in which regard, this holy man of God was eminently furnished, and his labors wonderfully blessed; for very many of the scholars, bred up in his time, (as is observed,) do savor of his spirit, for grace and manner of preaching, which was most attractive. He lived pastor of the church about eighteen years, and was most intense and faithful in declaring much of the counsel of God. He went through a great part of the body of divinity; made a very excellent exposition of the book of Genesis, and part of Exodus; and delivered many fruitful and profitable sermons on the four first chapters of John; and, in his monthly lectures, which were abundantly frequented, he preached of man's misery by sin, and recovery by Christ Jesus; and died in the third part of it, namely, concerning man's obedience in Christ; besides many other excellent truths, by him taught, upon divers occasions. In all his labors, God was wonderfully present with him. He was a person that held very near communion with God; eminent in wisdom, piety, humility, love, self-denial, and of a compassionate and tender heart; surpassing in public-spiritedness; a mighty man in prayer, and eminent at standing in the gap; he was zealous for order, and faithful in asserting the truth, against all oppugners of it. In a word, he was a man whom God had richly furnished, and eminently fitted for his work; lived desired, and died lamented, by all good Christians that knew him. It pleased God upon the ninth of July, 1668, in a hot and burning season, (but much more hot in the heat of God's anger to New England,) to take him to rest and glory, about the 43d year of his age. His race was but short, but the work he did was very much. The elegies following may give the reader a further account of what esteem he was.

Upon the death of that truly godly, reverend, and faithful servant of Christ, Mr. Jonathan Mitchell, pastor of the Church at Cambridge, who deceased July 9, 1668.

What shall we say? Of sad effects what fear?
Four splendent stars extinguish'd in one year!
Two old, one young, and this of middle age;
A brightest light, most eyes who did engage,
The Lord in's temple is, earth silence keep;
Dispute not over bold this judgment deep.
A mourning great, each eye distilling streams:
Sad sighs and sobs in most men's mouths their themes.
And who can blame it? for this we well may,
If love, if fear, if temple-shakes bear sway.
The wife hath lost her head, four hopeful stems
A father; Cambridge too their crowning gems;
Neighbors, a useful light; elders, a brother,
Whose head and mouth made him, to most, a father.
Sad Cambridge, when thou lost thy Thomas dear,
God pitied thee, and gave a right compeer;
This Jonathan thy Mitchell, one in whom
Was much of EL, a Michael judged by some.
Right strong in school, in desk of brightest shine;
Artist, good linguist, high orthodox divine;
Of judgment deep; of memory how large!
Invention quick, grave, pleasant; who can charge

Thee, in thy theory or practice, with dark fail?
Humble, sincere, whose love cords did avail.
Much good by him, you Cambridge have received,
He gone, by you his relicts see reliev'd.
A royal quære, 'twas when Jonathan dead,
And royal act, Jonathan's stems to feed.

E. B.⁵⁶

*To the memory of that learned and reverend Mr. Jonathan Mitchell, late minister
of Cambridge, in New England, interred July 10, 1668.*

Quicquid agimus, quicquid patimur venit ex alto.

The country's tears, be ye my spring; my hill,
A general grave; let groans inspire my quill,
With an heart rending sense, drawn from the cries,
Of orphan churches, and the destinies
Of a bereaved house: let children weep,
They scarce know why; and let the mother's steep
Her lifeless hopes in brine; the private friend
O'erwhelmed with grief, falter, his comforts end,
By a warm sympathy let fev'rish heat
Roam through my verse unseen; and a cold sweat
Limning despair attend me; sighs diffuse
Convulsions through my language, such as use
To type a gasping fancy; lastly shroud
Religion's splendor in a mourning cloud,
Replete with vengeance for succeeding times,
Fertile in woes, more fertile in their crimes.
These are my muse, and these inspire the sails
Of fancy with their sighs instead of gales.
Reader, read rev'rend Mitchell's life, and then
Confess the world a Gordian knot again.
Read his tear-delug'd grave, and then decree
Our present woe and future misery;
Stars falling speak a storm. When Samuel dies,
Steel may expect Philistia's cruelties.
So when Jehovah's brighter glory fled
The temple, Israel was captive led.
Geneva's triple light made one divine;
But here that vast triumvirate combine
By a blest Metempsychosis, to take
One person for their larger Zodiac.
In sacred censures, Farrel's dreadful scroll
Of words, broke from the pulpit to the soul.

⁵⁶ Probably Rev. Edward Bulkley

(Indulgent parents when they spare, they spoil,
Old wounds need vinegar as well as oil.
Distasteful cates with miseries do suit;
The Paschal lamb was eat with bitter fruit);
In balmy comforts, Viret's genius came
From the wrinkled Alps to woo the western dame;
And courting Cambridge, quickly took from thence,
Her last degrees of rhetoric and sense.
Calvin's Laconics through his doctrines spread,
And children's children with their manna fed.
His exposition Genesis begun,
And fatal Exodus eclips'd his sun.
Some say that souls of sad presages give;
Death-breathing sermons taught us last to live.
One sows, another reaps, may truly be,
Our grave instruction and his elegy.
His system of religion half unheard,
Full double in his preaching life appear'd.
Happy that place where rulers deeds appear,
I' th' front of battle, and their words i' the rear.
He's gone, to whom his country owes a love,
Worthy the prudent serpent and the dove.
Religion's Panoply, the sinner's terror,
Death summon'd hence sure by writ of error,
The Quaker trembling at his thunder, fled,
And with Caligula resum'd his bed.
He by the motions of a nobler spirit,
Clear'd men, and made their notions swine inherit,
The Munster goblin by his holy flood,
Exorcis'd, like a thin Phantasma stood.
Brown's babel shatter'd by his lightning fell;
And with confused horror pack'd to hell.
The Scripture with a commentary bound,
(Like a lost calice) in his heart was found.
When he was sick, the air a fever took,
And thirsty Phabus quaft the silver brook.
When dead the spheres in thunder cloudy and rain,
Groan'd his elegium, mourn'd and wept our pain,
Let not the brazen Schismatic aspire;
Lot's leaving Sodom, left them to the fire.
'Tis true, the bee's now dead, but yet his sting,
Death's to their dronish doctrines yet may bring.

EPITAPHIUM.

Here lies within this comprehensive span,

The churches, courts, and countries Jonathan,
He that speaks Mitchell, gives the schools the lie;
Friendship in him gain'd an ubiquity.

F. D.

Vivet post funera virtus.

An epitaph upon the deplored death of that supereminent minister of the gospel, Mr. Jonathan Mitchell.

Here lies the darling of his time,
Mitchell expired in his prime;
Who four years short of forty-seven,
Was found full ripe and pluck'd for heaven.
Was full of prudent zeal and love,
Faith, patience, wisdom from above;
New England's stay, next age's story;
The churches gem; the college glory.
Angels may speak him; ah; not I,
(Whose worth's above Hyperbole)
But for our loss, wer't in my power,
I'd weep an everlasting shower.

J. S.⁵⁷

A fourth minister that died this year was Mr. John Eliot, Jr., born at Roxbury, in New England, eldest son of the Rev. Mr. John Eliot, teacher of the church there. He was educated at Cambridge, in the Latin school, and in the College, until he became master of arts; and a few years after was called to be pastor of a church within the bounds of Cambridge, upon the south side of Charles River. He was a person excellently endowed, and accomplished with gifts of nature, learning, and grace; of comely proportion, ruddy complexion, cheerful countenance; of quick apprehension, solid judgment, excellent prudence; learned both in tongues and arts for one of his time, and studiously intense in acquiring more knowledge. His abilities and acceptance in the ministry did excel; his piety, faith, love, humility, self-denial, and zeal, did eminently shine upon all occasions. He had (under the conduct of his father) by his diligence, industry, and zeal, (for the good of souls,) attained to such skill in the Indian language, that he preached to the Indians sundry years; traveling many miles in a day once a fortnight, to dispense the gospel to them. The Indians have often said, that his preaching to them was precious and desirable; and consequently their loss, and the obstruction in that work, much to be lamented. In a word, there was so much of God in him, that all the wise and godly who knew him, loved and honored him in the Lord, and bewailed his death; which fell upon the 13th day of October, 1668, and of his age about thirty-five years.

I shall close up this small history with a word of advice to the rising generation, that as now their godly predecessors have had large experience of the goodness and faithfulness of God, for the space of near forty-six years, (some of them,) and have passed under various dispensations, sometimes under great afflictions, otherwhile the sun shining upon their

⁵⁷ Perhaps Rev. John Sherman, minister of Watertown.

tabernacles in ways of peace and prosperity; and yet notwithstanding, through the grace of Christ, the most of them have held their integrity in his ways; that so, such as succeed them would follow their examples so far as they have followed Christ; that it might not be said of them, as it is to be feared it may be, by what yet appears amongst many of them, that indeed God did once plant a noble vine in New England, but it is degenerated into the plant of a strange vine, Jer. 2:21. It were well that it might be said that the rising generation did serve the Lord all the days of such as in this our Israel are as Joshua's amongst us, Josh. 24:31. And the elders that over-lived him, which have known all the works of the Lord, which he hath done for their fathers. But if yet, notwithstanding, afterwards, such shall forget, and not regard those, his great works, here presented before them, besides many more, that I hope by some others may come to their view; be they assured, he will destroy them, and not build them up, Psal. 28:5. Oh, therefore, let the truly godly in this land, be incited by the example of Moses, as the mouth of the church, to pray earnestly and incessantly unto the Lord, that his work may yet appear to his servants, and his glory unto their children, Psal. 90:16; Isa. 44:3, 4. And that he would pour out his spirit upon his church and people in New England, and his blessing upon their offspring, that they may spring up as among the grass, and as the willows by the watercourses; that so great occasion there may be thereby of taking notice thereof in succeeding generations, to the praise and glory of God. So be it.