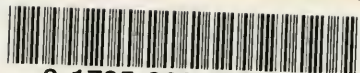




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VOL. III.  
OF THE THIRD SERIES.

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98  
99  
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DATE OF REVIEW: 11-10-01



## CONTENTS.

---

Advertisements for the unexperienced Planters of New-England, or any where. Or, the Pathway to Experience to erect a Plantation. By CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH . . . . .	1
Plain Dealing: or Newes from New-England. By THOMAS LECHFORD . . . . .	55
Instructions from the Massachusetts to John Winthrop Esq <sup>r</sup> first Governour of Connecticut to treat with the Pequots . . . . .	129
Leift. Lion Gardener his relation of the Pequot Warres . . . . .	131
Relation of the Plott—Indian . . . . .	161
Letter from the Rev. J. Davenport and Gov. Eaton “to the much honored the Governor, Deputy and Assistants, &c.” of Massachusetts . . . . .	165
Talcott’s Letter to Sir Edmund Andros . . . . .	167
Salem Witchcraft. Extracts from the Records of the Church in Danvers . . . . .	169
Vocabulary of Words in the Language of the Quoddy Indians. By the Rev. ELIJAH KELLOGG . . . . .	181
Churches and Ministers in New Hampshire. By JOHN FARMER. (Continued.) . . . . .	183
Memoir of the late Hon. Christopher Gore, of Waltham, Mass. . . . .	191
Intrusion of the Rhode-Island People upon the Indian Lands . . . . .	209
An Account of two Voyages to New-England. By JOHN JOSSELYN. . . . .	211
Chronological Observations of America, from the year of the World to the year of Christ, 1673. By JOHN JOSSELYN. . . . .	355
Note to Lechford’s “Plaine Dealing” . . . . .	397
Acknowledgment of Donations . . . . .	404
Members elected since 1824 . . . . .	408

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21. If the Parson should not rule alone ordinarily, why should the principall leaders rule ordinarily alone without the advise and assistance of a competent number of their Presbyters, who may afford them counsell? Did not the holy Apostles advise with the Elders <sup>a</sup> sometimes? is it safe a Acts 15. 6. for them or the whole?

22. But were there any Bishops superintendent, over other Bishops, or Presbyters, in the first hundred years after Christs birth? *Objection.* Did not Saint *James* write his Generall Epistle to the twelve [p. 62.] Tribes, which were then scattered abroad, no doubt, in many places, and therein mention for Rulers, onely <sup>b</sup> Elders? and *S. Peter* write his generall b James 5. 14. Epistle, and therein direct or command c 1 Pet. 5. 1, 2, 3. the <sup>c</sup> Elders not to over-rule the flock, the Lords inheritance? where was the Order of Bishops? had not the Elders the rule? might they not else have returned answer, that the command concerned not them, but a certaine Order of men, called Bishops, above us?

23. Were not the Apostles and Evangelists then living, <sup>d</sup> Bishops, and superintendent overseers? had they not the <sup>e</sup> care of *Answer.* d Acts 1. 20. all the Churches, in their lines? did not these holy Apostles, *S. James* and *S. Peter*, mention their owne names, in their e 2 Cor. 11. 23. & Chap. 10. 12 to the end. Epistles? is it not plain, that *Peter* had over-sight upon those to whom he wrote, to see that they did not over-rule, and take account of them, if they did? And did the Lord ordaine there should be such a superintendencie, onely for an 80. years, and not some equall correspondent superspection also in after-ages, when those extraordinary men should cease? If some had then the care of all the Churches, should there not be some, in after-times, to have the care of some, to a competent number of

Churches, in their fitting lines, and as they are <sup>r</sup> able?

*f* 2 Cor. 8. 12. And though this Divine right be broken through the many grosse corruptions of successions, and the like, yet is it not equall to observe the first Institution, as neere as may be, as we say the equity of some Lawes and Statutes among us is sometimes to be observed, though [p. 63.] not in the Letter? And why may not a chiefe Pastor be called a Bishop, as well as an Elder, or any other officer heretofore superiour?

24. If <sup>g</sup> Psalms, and Hymnes, and spirituall songs are to be sung in the Church, and to sing melodiously, and with good harmony, is the gift of God, and uncomely singing a kind of sin in the holy Assemblies; why should not the chiefe leaders, and rulers of the Church, appoint some, in their stead, to take care of the singings of the Church? and may not some be fitter to lead in singing, then others? and lest they may fall out of their tunes to jarring, why may they not use the help of some musicall instruments? and lest they should want able men this way, why should they not take care, that some children be trained up in Musique?

25. Whether or no Christ did not allow of a <sup>h</sup> form of Prayer, and a short one too? will not the <sup>i</sup> strong allow the weak helps in Prayer? are not the best Christians often distracted in long Prayers? is it not easier for the strong to pray, then for as strong men to hear Prayer well? should those that are strong Proficients in grace not be satisfied, without all their weak brethren come to the same pitch of high sanctification with themselves? should they not rather <sup>k</sup> condescend to the weaker? And although it be rare to tell of any actually converted by formes of Prayer, and Scriptures read; yet who can justly deny, but that much

*h* Mat. 6. 9. Sic  
ergo adorate  
vos. οὐτως.  
Luke 11. 2.  
*i* Rom. 15. 1.

*k* Rom. 12. 16.  
Idipsum in in-  
vicem sentien-  
tes; non alta  
sapientes, sed  
humilibus con-  
sentientes. ἀλλὰ  
τοῖς ταπεινοῖς  
συναπαγομένοι,  
but condescend-  
ing to the hum-  
ble.

good hath been, is, and may for ever be done by such things that way, *Sicut ultimus ictus* [p. 64.] *quercum non cædit, extrema arena clepsydræ non exhaurit*, as the last stroak fells not the oake, nor the last sand exhausts the houre-glasse?

26. Whether may not a man <sup>l</sup> and his household, a woman and her houshold, a whole <sup>m</sup> City, or Countrey, a King and his people, a whole Nation, be baptized, after they are competently instructed in the Religion of God?

*l* Act. 10. 24. 44,  
47, 48. & 16. 30.  
31, 32, 33. vers.  
14, 15.  
*m* Acts 8. 8.  
12. 14.

27. Is it certain, that all that were baptized in <sup>n</sup> *Cornelius* his house, in the <sup>o</sup> Gaolers house, in *Lydia's*, in <sup>p</sup> *Samaria*, in <sup>q</sup> *Corinth*, were such true beleevers, as now good men require all those that joyne with them, to be, before they will receive them to the Communion of their Church? Were not <sup>r</sup> hypocrites admitted & baptized in the Primitive Church, by the Apostles and Evangelists themselves, being deceived by them? Were not children circumcised in the old Testament, and baptized all along in the times of the New, so received into the bosome of the Church?

*n* Acts 10.  
*o* Acts 16.  
*p* Acts 8.  
*q* Acts 18.

*r* Acts 8. 13.  
Act. 2. 41. &  
5. 1. compared.

28. Could, or can ever any Nation, probably, be brought into the obedience of the Gospel, poll by poll, in such manner as is imagined by the leaders of separations?

29. If it be possible, let them make experience, and try whether the *Indians*, or any other Heathen people, can be so converted, before the Greek Kalendar.

30. Whether there be any direct Scripture for the peoples choice of their chiefe Pastour? Can there, ordinarily, be a better election, then when the supreame Magistrate (who hath, at most [p. 65.] times, the power of all the people, and sometimes their counsell in a regular way) joynes with a select and

competent number and company of Presbyters in the same ?

31. Whether any that have not skill, grace, and learning, to judge of the parties to be ordained, whether they be fit, and able to what they are to be ordained, may " ordaine them ?

s 1 Tim. 5. 22.  
Titus 2. 2.

32. Whether or no to maintain a desired purity or perfection in the Magistracie, by election of the people, these good men of *New-England*, are not forced to be too strict in receiving the brethren, and to run a course tending to heathenisme ?

33. Whether have not popular elections of chiefe Magistrates beene, and are they not very dangerous to States and Kingdomes ? Are there not some great mysteries of State and government ? Is it possible, convenient, or necessary, for all men to attain to the knowledge of those mysteries, or to have the like measure of knowledge, faith, mercifulnesse, wisdom, courage, magnanimity, patience ? Whence are Kings denominated, but from their skill and knowledge to rule ? whereto they are even born and educated, and by long experience, and faithfull Counsellors enabled, and the grace and blessing of God upon all ? Doe not the wise, good, ancient, and renowned Laws of *England* attribute much, yea, very much trust and confidence to the King, as to the head and supream Governour, though much be also in the rest of the great body, heart and hands, and feete, to counsell, maintain, and [p. 66.] preserve the whole, but especially the Head ?

34. Hence what government for an Englishman but an hereditary, successive, *King*, ' the *son of Nobles*, well counselled and assisted ?

v Pro. 25. 3.  
Eccles. 8. 4.  
& 10. 16, 17.

35. Whether we the posterity of the Church, and people of God, who now see the tops of things onely, may safely condemne the foundations, which we have not seen ?

36. Whether is there not a difference between bare speculation, and knowledge joyned with sound experience, and betweene the experience of Divines and people reforming from out of some deepe corruptions in Churches called Christian, and the experience of those that have conversed in and about planting, and building Churches, where there was none before, or among Heathens? what is art many times without experience?

37. Whether those Authors from *Hierome*, to Arch-Bishop *Adamson*, that alledge all Presbyters to be equall, and should alwayes have equall power and authority, had any great skill, or will, or experience, in the propagation of Churches among heathens, or barbarous Nations?

38. If not, whether their Testimony bee of that validity as is thought by some? If they had, whether they might not erre?

39. Whether messengers sent by Churches, or Ministers taking upon them to go to gather or plant Churches, and to ordain, or give the right hand of fellowship to Ministers in those [p. 67.] Churches, and to appease differences in Church affairs, are not Episcopall acts?

40. Is Episcopacie, or a superintendencie necessary at *New-England*, and is it not necessary in more populous places? Are there not some, nay many depths and " mysteries in Gods holy Word, the Scriptures, and certain Catho-  
u 1 Cor. 4. 1.  
& 2. 10.  
 lique interpretations, which transgressed, the faith is hurt? Is it possible, convenient, or necessary for all men, nay all Ministers, to attain the knowledge of those mysteries, or to have the like measure of knowledge, faith, mercifulnesse, wisdom, patience, long suffering, courage, whereby to be enabled to rule in the Church of God, whereto they are educated, tryed, chosen, and ordained? and do not the sacred rules and Laws of God, of holy Church and of this

Kingdome attribute much, yea very much trust and confidence to the chief Pastors, Leaders, and Rulers, the Fathers of the Church, especially to the Bishops of the prime and Metropolitall Churches, by the assistance of, and with, and under the supream Magistrate, the chiefe, the best cement of government, though much be also in other members of the great body, the Church, to counsell, maintaine and preserve the whole in the faith, soundnesse, peace and unity, especially the chief leaders, when need requireth? Hence what government for Christians in chief, but by pious, learned, Provinciaall and Diocesan Bishops, especially in *England* and *Ireland*?

*By the just examination of the whole, those that are pious and learned, may easily gather, what good [p. 68.] reasons I had, and have, to returne, as now humbly I doe, to the Church of England, for whose peace, purity, and prosperity, is the daily prayer of one of her most unworthy sons,*

Clements Inne,  
Novemb. 16. 1641.

Thomas Lechford.

*To a friend.*

Sir,

**H**ere is a good Land, and yeelding many good commodities, especially fish, and furs, corne, and other richer things, if well followed, and if that popular elections destroy us not. It is a good Land, I say, that instructs us to repentance, when we consider what a good Land we came from, what good lawes and government we have left, to make experiments of governing our selves here by new wayes, wherein (like young Physitians) of necessity we must hurt and spoile one another a great while, before we come to such a setled Common-wealth, or Church-government, as is in *England*.



I thank God, now I understand by experience, that there is no such government for *English* men, or any Nation, as a Monarchy; nor for Christians, as by a lawfull Ministerie, under godly Diocesan Bishops, deducing their station and calling from Christ and his Apostles, in descent or succession; a thing of greater consequence then [p. 69.] ceremonies, (would to God I had known it sooner) which while I have in my place stood for here these two years, and not agreeing to this new discipline, impossible to be executed, or long continued, what I have suffered, many here can tell; I am kept from the Sacrament, and all place of preferment in the Commonwealth, and forced to get my living by writing petty things, which scarce finds me bread; and therefore sometimes I look to planting of corne, but have not yet here an house of my owne to put my head in, or any stock going: Whereupon I was determind to come back, but by the over-entreaty of some friends, I here think to stay a while longer, hoping that the Lord will shortly give a good issue to things both in our native Country, and *Scotland*, and here, as well as in all other his Majesties dominions.

I was very glad to see my Lord Bishop of *Exeters* Book; it gave me much satisfaction. If the people may make Ministers, or any Ministers make others without an Apostolicall Bishop, what confusion will there be? If the whole Church, or every congregation, as our good men think, have the power of the keyes, how many Bishops then shall we have? If every Parish or congregation be so free and independent, as they terme it, what unity can we expect?

Glad also was I to see Master *Balls* Book of the tryall of the grounds of Separation, both which are newly come over, and I hope will work much good among us here?

[p. 70.] And whereas I was sometimes mis-led by those of opinion that Bishops, and Presbyters, & all

Ministers, are of the same authority; When I came to consider the necessary propagation of the truth, and government of the Church, by experimentall foot-steps here, I quickly saw my error: For besides, if the congregations be not united under one Diocesan in fit compasse, they are in a confusion, notwithstanding all their classically pretendments, how can the Gospel be propagated to the Indians without an Apostolicall Bishop? If any Church, or people, by the Kings leave, send forth Ministers to teach and instruct the poore Indians in the Christian Religion, they must have at least Apostolicall power to ordain Ministers or Elders in every congregation among them; and when they have so done, they have power of Visitation where they plant: Nor can they without just cause be thrust out from government without great impiety; and where they have planted, that is their line or Diocese. Thus I came to see, that of necessity a Diocese, and Bishop Diocesan, is very neere, if not altogether of Divine authority.

I am also of opinion, that it were good for our Ministers to learne how to doe this work from some of our reverend Bishops in *England*, for I feare our Ministers know not how to goe about it. Whether must not some Ministers learne their language? It is a copious language, as I am informed, and they have as many words to expresse one thing as we have. And when they teach Indians to pray, will they not teach them [p. 71.] by a forme? and how can Gods worship be maintained among ignorant persons without a forme? I am firme of opinion, that the best of us have been much beholding to the Word read, and formes of Prayer.

*From Boston in N.E.*

*Julii 28. 1640.*

## COLLECTIONS.

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ADVERTISEMENTS FOR THE UNEXPERIENCED PLANTERS OF NEW-ENGLAND, OR ANY WHERE. OR, THE PATHWAY TO EXPERIENCE TO ERECT A PLANTATION. WITH THE YEARELY PROCEEDINGS OF THIS COUNTRY IN FISHING AND PLANTING, SINCE THE YEARE 1614. TO THE YEARE 1630. AND THEIR PRESENT ESTATE. ALSO HOW TO PREVENT THE GREATEST INCONVENIENCES, BY THEIR PROCEEDINGS IN VIRGINIA, AND OTHER PLANTATIONS, BY APPROVED EXAMPLES. WITH THE COUNTRIES ARMES, A DESCRIPTION OF THE COAST, HARBOURS, HABITATIONS, LAND-MARKES, LATITUDE AND LONGITUDE: WITH THE MAP, ALLOWED BY OUR ROYALL KING CHARLES.

By CAPTAINE IOHN SMITH,

SOMETIMES GOVERNOUR OF VIRGINIA, AND ADMIRALL OF NEW-ENGLAND.

LONDON, Printed by Iohn Haviland, and are to be sold by Robert Milbovrne, at the Grey-hound in Pauls Church-yard. 1631.

[On the back of the title-leaf is a coat of arms with the following motto:—“GENS. INCOGNITA. MIHI. SERVIET.”]

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*To the Most Reverend Father in God, George Lord Arch-Bishop of Canterbvrie his Grace, Primate and Metrapolitan of all England: and the Right Reverend Father in God, Samvel Lord Arch-Bishop of Yorke his Grace, Primate and Metrapolitan of England.*

MY most Gracious Good Lords, I desire to leave testimony to the world, how highly I honour as well

the Miter as the Lance: therefore where my last Booke presented three most honourable Earles with a subject of Warre, and received from them favourable acceptance: the worke I now prosecute, concerning the Plantation of *New-England*, for the increase of Gods Church, converting Salvages, and enlarging the Kings Dominions, prostrates it selfe humbly to your Graces; who as you are in the name of Prelacy to this Kingdome, so you are to mee in goodnesse both Fathers and Protectors unexpectedly. God long preserve your Gracious lives, and continue favour

*Vnto both your Graces most*

*devoted servant,*

JOHN SMITH.

## To the Reader.

### HONEST READER,

Apelles by the proportion of a foot, could make the whole proportion of a man: were hee now living, he might goe to schoole, for now are thousands can by opinion proportion Kingdomes, Cities, and Lordships, that never durst adventure to see them. Malignancy, I expect from those, have lived 10. or 12. yeares in those actions, and returne as wise as they went, claiming time and experience for their tutor, that can neither shift Sun nor Moone, nor say their Compasse, yet will tell you of more than all the world, betwixt the Exchange, Pauls and Westminster: so it be newes, it matters not what, that will passe currant when truth must be stayed with an army of conceits that can make or marre any thing, and tell as well what all England is by seeing but Milford haven, as what Apelles was by the picture of his great toe. Now because examples give a quicker impression than arguments, I have writ this discourse to satisfie understanding, wisdom, and honesty, and not such as can doe nothing but finde fault with that they neither know nor can amend. So I rest

Your friend

John Smith.



## The Contents.

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Chapter.

- I. What people they are that begin this plantation, the bane of *Virginia*: strange misprisions of wise men.
- II. Needlesse custome, effect of flattery, cause of misery, factions, carelesse government, the dissolving the Company and Patent.
- III. A great comfort to new *England*, it is no Iland, a strange plague.
- IV. Our right to those Countries, true reasons for plantations, rare examples.
- V. My first voyage to new *England*, my returne and profit.
- VI. A description of the Coast, Harbours, Habitations, Landmarks, Latitude, Longitude, with the map.
- VII. New *Englands* yearely trials, the planting new *Plimoth*, surprisals prevented, their wonderfull industry and fishing.
- VIII. Extremity next despaire, Gods great mercy, their estate, they make good salt, an unknowne rich myne.
- IX. Notes worth observation, miserableness no good husbandry.
- X. The mistaking of Patents, strange effects, encouragements for servants.
- XI. The planting *Bastable* or *Salem* and *Charlton*, a description of the *Massachusetts*.
- XII. Extraordinary meanes for building, many caveats, increase of corne, how to spoyle the woods, for any thing, their healths.

- XIII. Their great supplies, present estate and accidents, advantage. .
- XIV. Ecclesiasticall government in *Virginia*, authority from the Arch Bishop, their beginning at *Bastable* now called *Salem*.
- XV. The true modell of a plantation, tenure, increase of trade, true examples, necessity of expert Souldiers, the names of all the first discoverers for plantations and their actions, what is requisite to be in the Governour of a plantation, the expedition of Queene *Elizabeths* Sea Captaines.
-



[Here is a seal with the inscription "SIGISMUNDVS. BATHORI. D. G. DVX. TRANSILVANIAE. WAL. †" On the right of the seal is a coat of arms.]

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## ADVERTISEMENTS :

OR,

### THE PATH-WAY TO EXPERIENCE TO ERECT A PLANTATION.

---

#### CHAPTER I.

*What people they are that beginne this plantation : the bane  
of Virginia : strange misprisions of wise men.*

THE Warres in *Europe, Asia, and Affrica*, taught me how to subdue the wilde Salvages in *Virginia* and *New-England*, in *America*; which now after many a stormy blast of ignorant contradictors, projectors, and undertakers, both they and I have beene so tossed and tortured into so many extremities, as despaire was the next wee both expected, till it pleased God now at last to stirre up some good mindes, that I hope will produce glory to God, honour to his Majesty, and profit to his Kingdomes, although all our Plantations have beene so foyled and abused, their best good willers have been for the most part discouraged, and their good intents disgraced, as the generall History of them will at large truly relate you.

Pardon me if I offend in loving that I have  
cherished truly, by the losse of my  
prime fortunes, meanes, and youth :  
If it over-glad me to see Industry her

No Brownist nor  
Separatist admit-  
ted.

selfe adventure now to make use of my aged endeavours, not by such (I hope) as rumour doth report, a many of discontented Brownists, Anabaptists, Papists, Puritans, Separatists, and such factious Humorists, for no such they will suffer among them, if knowne, as many of the chiefe of them have assured mee, and the much conferences I have had with many of them, doth confidently perswade me to write thus much in their behalfe.

I meane not the Brownists of *Leyden* and *Amsterdam* at *New-Plimoth*, who although by accident, ignorance, and wilfulnesse, have indured with a wonderfull patience, many losses and extremities; yet they subsist and prosper so well, not any of them will abandon the Country, but to the utmost of their

What they are  
that beginne this  
Plantation.

powers increase their numbers: But of those which are gone within this eighene moneths for *Cape Anne*, and the Bay of the *Massachusets*: those which are their chiefe Vndertakers are Gentlemen of good estate, some of 500, some a thousand pound land a yeere, all which they say they will sell for the advancing this harmlesse and pious worke; men of good credit and well-beloved in their country, not such as flye for debt, or any scandall at home, and are good Catholike Protestants according to the reformed Church of *England*, if not, it is well they are gone: the rest of them men of good meanes, or Arts, Occupations, and Qualities, much more fit for such a businesse, and better furnished of all necessaries if they arrive well, than was ever any Plantation went out of *England*: I will not say but some of them may be more precise than needs, nor that they all be so good as they should be, for Christ had but twelue Apostles, and one was a traitor; and if there be no dissemblers among them, it is more than a wonder: therefore doe not condemne all for some; but however they have as good authority from his Majesty

as they could desire, if they doe ill, the losse is but their owne; if well, a great glory and exceeding good to this Kingdome, to make good at last what all our former conclusions have disgraced.

Now they take not that course the *Vir-*<sup>The bane of Vir-</sup>*ginia* company did for the Planters there, their purses and lives were subject to some few here in *London* who were never there, that consumed all in Arguments, Projects, and their owne conceits, every yeere trying new conclusions, altering every thing yearely as they altered opinions, till they had consumed more than two hundred thousand pounds, and neere eight thousand mens lives.

It is true, in the yeere of our Lord 1622. they were about seven or eight thousand English indifferently well furnished with most necessaries, and many of them grew to that height of bravery, living in that plenty and excesse, that went thither not worth any thing, made the Company here thinke all the world was Oatmeale there, and all this proceeded by surviving those that died, nor were they ignorant to use as curious tricks there as here, and out of the juice of Tabacco, which at first they sold at such good rates, they regarded nothing but Tabacco; a commodity then so vendable, it provided them all things: and the loving Salvages their kinde friends, they trained so well up to shoot in a Peece, to hunt and kill them fowle, they became more expert than our owne Country-men, whose labours were more profitable to their Masters in planting Tabacco, and other businesse.

This superfluity caused my poore beginnings scorned, or to be spoken of but with much derision, that never sent Ship from thence fraught, but onely some small quantities of Wainscot, Clap-board, Pitch, Tar, Rosin, Sope-ashes, Glasse, Cedar, Cypressse, Blacke Walnut, Knees for Ships, Ash for

The differences betwixt my beginning in Virginia and the proceedings of my successors.

Pikes, Iron Ore none better, some Silver Ore, but so poore it was not regarded ; better there may be, for I was no Mineralist, [p. 4.] some Sturgion, but it was too tart of the Vinegar, which was of my owne store, for little came from them which was good ; and Wine of the Countries wilde Grapes, but it was too sowre, yet better than they sent us any : in two or three yeeres but one Hogshead of Claret. Onely spending my time to revenge my imprisonment upon the harmlesse innocent Salvages, who by my cruelty I forced to feed me with their contribution, and to send any offended my idle humour to *James* towne to punish at mine owne discretion ; or keepe their Kings and subjects in chaines, and make them worke. Things cleane contrary to my Commission ; whilst I and my company tooke our needlesse pleasures in discovering the Countries about us, building of Forts, and such unnecessary fooleries, where an Eggeshell (as they writ) had beene sufficient against such enemies ; neglecting to answer the Merchants expectations with profit, feeding the Company onely with Letters and tastes of such commodities as we writ the Country would afford in time by industry, as Silke, Wines, Oyles of Olives, Rape, and Linsed, Rasons, Prunes, Flax, Hemepe, and Iron, as for Tabacco, wee never then dreamt of it.

Now because I sent not their ships full fraught home with those commodities, they kindly writ to me, if we failed the next returne, they would leave us there as banished men, as if houses and all those commodities did grow naturally, only for us to take at our pleasure, with such tedious Letters, directions, and instructions, and most contrary to that was fitting, we did admire how it was possible such wise men could so torment themselves and us with such strange absurdities and impossibilities, making Religion their colour, when all their aime was nothing but present profit, as most

A strange mistake  
in wise men.

plainly appeared, by sending us so many Refiners, Gold-smiths, Jewellers, Lapidaries, Stone-cutters, Tobacco-pipe-makers, Imbroderers, Perfumers, Silkenmen, with all their appurtenances, but materials, and all those had great summes out of the common stocke: and so many spies and super-intendents over us, as if they supposed we would turne Rebels, all striving [p. 5.] to suppress and advance they knew not what; at last got a Commission in their owne names, promising the King custome within seven yeares, where we were free for one and twenty, appointing the Lord *De-la-ware* for Governour, with as many great and stately officers, and offices under him, as doth belong to a great Kingdome, with good summes for their extraordinary expences; also privileges for Cities, Charters, for Corporations, Universities, Free-schools, and Glebe-land, putting all those in practice before there were either people, students, or scholars to build or use them, or provision and victuall to feed them were then there: and to amend this, most of the Tradesmen in *London* that would adventure but twelue pounds ten shillings, had the furnishing the Company of all such things as belonged to his trade, such juggling there was betwixt them, and such intruding Committies their associats, that all the trash they could get in *London* was sent us to *Virginia*, they being well payed for that was good. Much they blamed us for not converting the Salvages, when those they sent us were little better, if not worse, nor did they all convert any of those we sent them to *England* for that purpose. So doating of Mines of gold, and the South Sea, that all the world could not have devised better courses to bring us to ruine than they did themselves, with many more such like strange conceits; by this you may avoid the like inconveniences, and take heed by those examples, you have not too many irons in the fire at once, neither such change of Governours, nor such a mul-

titude of Officers, neither more Masters, Gentlemen, Gentlewomen, and children, than you have men to worke, which idle charge you will find very troublesome, and the effects dangerous, and one hundred good labourers better than a thousand such Gallants as were sent me, that could doe nothing but complaine, curse, and despaire, when they saw our miseries, and all things so cleane contrary to the report in *England*, yet must I provide as well for them as for my selfe.

[p. 6.]

## CHAP. II.

*Needlesse custome, effect of flattery, cause of misery, factions, carelesse government, the dissolving the Company and Patent.*

This the Mariners and Saylers did ever all they could to conceale, who had alwayes both good fare, and good pay for the most part, and part out of our owne purses, never caring how long they stayed upon their voyage, daily feasting before our faces, when wee lived upon a little corne and water, and not halfe enough of that, the most of which we had from amongst the Salvages. Now although there be Deere in the woods, Fish in the rivers, and Fowles in abundance in their seasons; yet the woods are so wide, the rivers so broad, and the beasts so wild, and wee so unskilfull to catch them, wee little troubled them nor they us: for all this our letters that still signified unto them the plaine truth, would not be beleevd, because they required such things as was most necessary: but their opinion was otherwayes, for they desired but to packe over so many as they could, saying necessity would make them get victuals for themselves, as for good labourers they were more usefull here in *England*: but they found it other-

The effect of flattery, the cause of misery.

wayes ; the charge was all one to send a workman as a roarer, whose clamors to appease, we had much adoe to get fish and corne to maintaine them from one supply till another came with more loyterers without victuals still to make us worse and worse, for the most of them would rather starve than worke ; yet had it not beene for some few that were Gentlemen, both by birth, industry, and discretion, we could not possibly have subsisted.

Many did urge I might have forced them to it, having authority that extended so farre as death : but I say, having neither meat, drinke, lodging, pay, nor hope of any thing, or preferment ; and seeing the Merchants onely did what they listed with all they wrought for, I know not what punishment could be greater than that they indured ; which miseries caused us alwaies to be in factions, the most part striving [p. 7.] by any meanes to abandon the Country, and I with my party to prevent them and cause them stay. But indeed the cause of our factions was bred here in *England*, and grew to that maturity among themselves that spoyled all, as all the Kingdome and other nations can too well testifie : Yet in the yeare 1622. there were about seven or eight thousand *English*, as hath beene said, so well trained, secure, and well furnished, as they reported and conceited. These simple Salvages their bosome friends, I so much oppressed, had laid their plot how to cut all their throats in a morning, and upon the 22d. of March, so innocently attempted it, they slew three hundred forty seven, set their houses on fire, slew their cattell, and brought them to that distraction and confusion within lesse than a yeare, there were not many more than two thousand remaining : the which losse to repaire the company did what they could, till they had consumed all their stocke as is said ; then they broke,

Take heed of factions bred in *England*.

The massacre in *Virginia*.

not making any account, nor giving satisfaction to the Lords, Planters, Adventurers, nor any, whose noble intents had referred the managing of this intricate businesse to a few that lost not  
 How the company dissolved. by it; so that his Majesty recalled their Commission, and by more just cause: then they perswaded King *James* to call in ours, which were the first beginners without our knowledge or consent, disposing of us and all our indevours at their pleasures.

## CHAP. III.

*A great comfort to new England, it is no Iland: a strange plague.*

Notwithstanding since they have beene  
 The abundance of victuals now in Virginia. left in a manner, as it were, to themselves, they have increased their numbers to foure or five thousand, and neere as many cattell, with plenty of Goats, abundance of Swine, Poultry and Corne, that as they report, they have sufficient and to spare, to entertaine three or foure hundred people, which is much better than to have many people more than provision. Now having glutted the world with their too [p. 8.] much over-abounding Tabacco: Reason, or necessity, or both, will cause them, I hope, learne in time better to fortifie themselves, and make better use of the trials of their grosse commodities that I have propounded, and at the first sent over: and were it not a lamentable dishonour so goodly a Countrey after so much cost, losse, and trouble, should now in this estate not bee regarded and supplied. And to those of  
 A great comfort for New England by Virginia. *New-England* may it not be a great comfort to have so neere a neighbour of their owne Nation, that may furnish them with their spare cattell, swine, poultry, and other



roots and fruits, much better than from *England*. But I feare the seed of envy, and the rust of covetousnesse doth grow too fast, for some would have all men advance *Virginia* to the ruine of *New-England*; and others the losse of *Virginia* to sustaine *New-England*, which God of his mercy forbid: for at first it was intended by that most memorable Judge Sir *John Popham*, then Lord chiefe Justice of *England*, and the Lords of his Majesties Privy Councel, with divers others, that two Colonies should be planted, as now they be, for the better strengthening each other against all occurrences; the which to performe, shal ever be in my hearty prayers to Almighty God, to increase and continue that mutuall love betwixt them for ever.

By this you may perceive somewhat, what unexpected inconveniences are incident to a plantation, especially in such a multitude of voluntary contributors, superfluity of officers, and unexperienced Commissioners. But it is not so, as yet, with those for *New-England*; for they will neither beleieve nor use such officers, in that they are overseers of their owne estates, and so well bred in labour and good husbandry as any in *England*, where as few as I say was sent me to *Virginia*, but these were naught here and worse there.

The differences betwixt the beginning of *Virginia*, and them of *Salem*.

“Now when these shall have laid the foundations, and provided meanes beforehand, they may entertain all the poore artificers and laborers in *England*, and their families which are burthensome to their Parishes and Countries where they live, upon almes and benevolence for want of worke, which if they would but pay for their transportation, they [p. 9.] should never be troubled with them more; for there is vast land enough for all the people in *England*, *Scotland*, and

A necessary consideration.

*Ireland*: and it seems God hath provided this Country for our Nation, destroying the natives by the plague, it not touching one Englishman, though many traded and were conversant amongst them; for they had three plagues in three years successively neere two hundred miles along the Sea coast, that in some places there scarce remained five of a hundred, and as they report thus it began:

A fishing ship being cast away upon the coast, two of the men escaped on shore; one of them died, the other lived among the natives till he had learned their language: then he perswaded them to become Christians, shewing them a Testament, some parts thereof expounding so well as he could, but they so much derided him, that he told them hee feared his God would destroy them: whereat the King assembled all his people about a hill, himselfe

A strange plague among the Salvages.

with the Christian standing on the top, demanded if his God had so many people and able to kill all those? He answered yes, and surely would, and bring in strangers to possesse their land; but so long they mocked him and his God, that not long after such a sicknesse came, that of five or six hundred about the *Massachusetts* there remained but thirty, on whom their neighbours fell and slew twenty eight: the two remaining fled the Country till the *English* came, then they returned and surrendred their Countrey and title to the *English*: if this be not true in every particular, excuse me, I pray you, for I am not the Author: but it is most certaine there was an exceeding great plague amongst them; for where I have seene two or three hundred, within three yeares after remained scarce thirty, but what disease it was the Salvages knew not till the *English* told them, never having seene, nor heard of the like before.

[p. 10.]

## CHAP. IV.

*Our right to those Countries, true reasons for plantations, rare examples.*

Many good religious devout men have made it a great question, as a matter in conscience, by what warrant they might goe to possesse those Countries, which are none of theirs, but the poore Salvages. Which poore curiosity will answer it selfe; for God did make the world to be inhabited with mankind, and to have his name knowne to all Nations, and from generation to generation: as the people increased they dispersed themselves into such Countries as they found most convenient. And here in *Florida*, *Virginia*, *New-England*, and *Cannada*, is more land than all the people in Christendome can manure, and yet more to spare than all the natives of those Countries can use and culturate. And shall we here keepe such a coyle for land, and at such great rents, and rates, when there is so much of the world uninhabited, and as much more in other places, and as good, or rather better than any wee possesse, were it manured and used accordingly. If this be not a reason sufficient to such tender consciences; for a copper kettle and a few toyes, as beads and hatchets, they will sell you a whole Countrey; and for a small matter, their houses and the ground they dwell upon; but those of the *Massachusetts* have resigned theirs freely.

Now the reasons for plantations are many; *Adam* and *Eve* did first begin this innocent worke to plant the earth to remaine to posterity, but not without labour, trouble, and industry: *Noah* and his family began againe the second plantation, and their seed as it still increased,

By what right  
wee may possesse  
those Countries  
lawfully.

True reasons for  
those plantations.

hath still planted new Countries, and one Country another, and so the world to that estate it is; but not without much hazard, travell, mortalities, discontents, and many disasters: had those worthy Fathers and their memorable off-spring not beene more diligent for us now in those ages, than wee are to plant that yet unplanted for after-livers; had the seed of *Abraham*, our [p. 11.] Saviour Christ Jesus and his Apostles, exposed themselves to no more dangers to plant the Gospell wee so much professe, than we, even we our selves had at this present been as Salvages, and as miserable as the most barbarous Salvage, yet uncivilized. The *Hebrewes*, *Lacedemonians*, the *Goths*, *Grecians*, *Romans*, and the rest, what was it they would not undertake to inlarge their Territories, enrich their subjects, and resist their enemies. Those that were the founders of those great Monarchies and their vertues, were no silvered idle golden Pharises, but industrious honest hearted Publicans, they regarded more provisions and necessaries for their people, than jewels, ease and delight for themselves; riches was their servants, not their masters; they ruled as fathers, not as tyrants; their people as children, not as slaves; there was no disaster could discourage them; and let none thinke they incoun-tered not with all manner of incumbrances, and what hath ever beene the worke of the best great Princes of the world, but planting of Countries, and civilizing barbarous and inhumane Nations to civility and humanity, whose eternall actions fils our histories with more honour than those that have wasted and consumed them by warres.

Lastly, the *Portugals* and *Spaniards* that first began plantations in this unknowne world of *America* till within this 140. yeares, whose everlasting actions before our eyes, will testifie our idlenesse and ingratitude to all posterity, and neglect of our duty and religion

Rare examples of  
the *Spaniards*,  
*Portugals*, and  
the Ancients.

wee owe our God, our King, and Countrey, and want of charity to those poore Salvages, whose Countries we challenge, use, and possesse, except wee be but made to marre what our forefathers made, or but only tell what they did, or esteeme our selves too good to take the like paines where there is so much reason, liberty, and action offers it selfe, having as much power and meanes as others: why should English men despaire and not doe so much as any? Was it vertue in those Heros to provide that doth maintaine us, and basenesse in us to doe the like for others to come? Surely no; then seeing wee are not borne for our selves but each to helpe other, and our abilities are much alike at the [p. 12.] howre of our birth and minute of our death: seeing our good deeds or bad, by faith in Christs merits, is all wee have to carry our soules to heaven or hell: seeing honour is our lives ambition, and our ambition after death, to have an honourable memory of our life: and seeing by no means wee would be abated of the dignitie and glorie of our predecessors, let us imitate their vertues to be worthily their successors, or at least not hinder, if not further them that would and doe their utmost and best endeavour.

## CHAP. V.

### *My first voyage to new England, my returne and profit.*

To begin with the originals of the voyages to those coasts, I referre you to my generall history; for *New-England* by the most of them was esteemed a most barren rocky desart: Notwithstanding at the sole charge of foure Merchants of London and my selfe, 1614. within eight weekes sayling I arrived at *Mona-higan* an Ile in *America* in 43. degrees 39. minutes of

My first voyage to *Norumbega* now called *New-England*. 1614.

Northerly latitude. Had the fishing for Whale proved as we expected, I had stayed in the Country ; but we found the plots wee had, so false, and the seasons for fishing and trade by the unskilfulnesse of our Pylot so much mistaken, I was contented, having taken by hookes and lines with fifteene or eighteene men at most, more than 60000. Cod in lesse than a moneth : whilest my selfe with eight others of them might best be spared, by an houre glasse of three moneths, ranging the coast in a small boat, got for trilles eleven hundred Bever skins beside

We got 1500.  
pound in six  
moneths.

health in six

25000 bevers sent  
to *Francce*.

or seven moneths : But Northward the *French* returned this yeare to *France* five and twenty thousand bevers and good fures, whilest we were contending about Patents and Commissions, with such carefull incredulity that more dazeled our eyes than opened them. In this voyage I tooke the description of the coast as well by map as writing, and called [p. 13.] it *New-England* : but malicious mindes amongst Sailers and others, drowned that name with the echo of *Nusconcus*, *Canaday* and *Penaquid* ; till at my humble sute, our most gracious King *Charles*, then Prince of *Wales*, was pleased to confirme it by that title, and did change the barbarous names of their principall Harbours and habitations for such English, that posterity may say, King *Charles* was their Godfather ; and in my opinion it should seeme an unmannerly presumption in any that doth alter them without his leave.

My second voyage was to beginne a Plantation, and to doe what else I could, but by extreme tempests that bore neare all my Masts by the boord, being more than two hundred leagues at Sea, was forced to

My second and  
third voyage.  
1615.  
1616.

returne to *Plimoth* with a Jury-Mast. The third was intercepted by English and French Pyrats, by my trecherous company that betrayed me to them, who ran away with my Ship and all that I had, such enemies the Sailers were to a Plantation, and the greatest losse being mine, did easily excuse themselves to the Merchants in *England*, that still provided to follow the fishing: much difference there was betwixt the Londoners and the Westerlings to ingrosse it, who now would adventure thousands, that when I went first would not adventure a groat; yet there went foure or five good Ships, but what by their dissention, and the Turkes men of warre that tooke the best of them in the Straits, they scarce saved themselves this yeare. At my returne from *France* I did my best to have united them, but that had beene more than a worke for *Hercules*, so violent is the folly of greedy covetousnesse.

CHAP. VI.

*A description of the Coast, Harbours, Habitations, Landmarks, Latitude, Longitude, with the map.*

This Country wee now speake of, lyeth betwixt 41. and 44½ the very meane A description of the Country. for heat and cold betwixt the Equinoctiall and the North Pole, in which I have sounded about five and twenty very good Harbors; in many [p. 14.] whereof is Anorage for five hundred good ships of any burthen, in some of them for a thousand, and more than three hundred Iles overgrowne with good timber, or divers sorts of other woods; in most of them (in their seasons) plenty of wilde fruits, Fish, and Fowle, and pure springs of most excellent water pleasantly distilling from their rockie foundations. The principall habitations I saw at North-

ward, was *Pennobscot*, who are in warres with the *Terentines*, their next Northerly neighbours. South-erly up the Rivers, and along the Coast, wee found *Mecadacut*, *Segocket*, *Pemmaquid*, *Nusconcus*, *Sagadahock*, *Satquin*, *Aumugheawgen*, and *Kenabeca*: to those belong the Countries and people of *Segotago*, *Pauhuntanuck*, *Pocopassum*, *Taughtanakagnet*, *Wabigganus*, *Nassaque*, *Masherosqueck*, *Wawrigwick*, *Moshoquen*, *Waccogo*, *Pasharanack*, &c. To those are alied in confederacy, the Countries of *Aucocisco*, *Accominticus*, *Passataquak*, *Augawoam* and *Naemkeck*, all these for any thing I could perceiue differ little in language or any thing, though most of them be *Sagamos*, and Lords of themselves, yet they hold the *Bashabes* of *Pennobscot* the chiefe and greatest amongst them. The next is *Mattahunt*, *Totant*, *Massachuset*, *Paconeckick*, then *Cape Cod*, by which is *Pawmet*, the Iles *Nawset* and *Capawuck*, neere which are the shoules of Rocks and sands that stretch themselves into the maine Sea twenty leagues, and very dangerous betwixt the degrees of 40. and 41.

Now beyond *Cape Cod*, the land extendeth it selfe Southward to *Virginia*, *Florida*, the *West-Indies*, the *Amazons*, and *Brasele*, to the straits of *Magelanus*, two and fifty degrees Southward beyond the Line; all those great Countries, differing as they are in

Under the Equi-  
noctiall, twelve  
hours day, and  
twelve night.

distance North or South from the Equi-  
noctiall, in temper, heat, cold, Woods,  
Fruits, Fishes, Beasts, Birds, the increase  
and decrease of the night and day, to six  
moneths day and six moneths night. Some say,  
many of those Nations are so brute they have no  
Religion, wherein surely they may be deceived, for  
my part I never saw nor heard of any Nation in the  
world which had not Religion, Deare, [p. 15.] Bowes,  
and Arrowes. Those in *New-England*, I take it,  
beleeve much alike as those in *Virginia*, of many  
divine Powers, yet of one above all the rest; as the



Southerly *Virginians* call their chiefe God *Kewassa*, and that we now inhabit, *Okee*, but all their Kings *Werowances*. The *Massachusetts* call their great God *Kichtan*, and their Kings *Sachemes*; and that we suppose their Devill, they call *Habamouk*. The *Pennobscots*, their God, *Tantum*, their Kings, *Sagamos*. About those Countries are abundance of severall Nations and languages, but much alike in their simple curiosities, living and workemanship, except the wilde estate of their chiefe Kings, &c.

Of whose particular miserable magnificence, yet most happy in this, that they never trouble themselves with such variety of Apparell, Drinkes, Viands, Sawses, Perfumes, Preservatives, and nicities as we; yet live as long, and much more healthful and hardy: also the deities of their chiefest Gods, Priests, Conjurers, Religion, Temples, Triumphs, Physicke, and Chirurgerie, their births, educations, duty of their women, exercise for their men; how they make all their Instruments and Engines to cut downe Trees, make their Cloaths, Boats, Lines, Nets, Fish-hooks, Weres, and Traps, Mats, Houses, Pots, Platters, Morters, Bowes, Arrowes, Targets, Swords, Clubs, Jewels, and Hatchets. Their severall sorts of Woods, Serpents, Beasts, Fish, Fowle, Roots, Berries, Fruits, Stones, and Clay. Their best trade, what is most fit to trade with them. With the particulars of the charge of a fishing voyage, and all the necessaries belonging to it, their best countries to vent it for their best returns; also the particulars for every private man or family that goeth to plant, and the best seasons to goe or returne thence, with the particular description of the Salvages, Habitations, Harbours, and Land-markes, their Latitude, Longitude, or severall distance, with their old names and the new by the Map augmented. Lastly, the power of their Kings, obedience to their subjects, Lawes, executions, planting their Fields,

Huntings, Fishings, the manner of their warres and treacheries yet knowne; and in generall, their lives and conversation, and how to bridle their brute, barbarous, [p. 16.] and salvage dispositions: of all these particulars you may reade at large in the generall History of *Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles*, with many more such strange actions and accidents, that to an ordinary capacity might rather seeme miracles than wonders possibly to bee effected, which though they are but wound up as bottoms of fine silke, which with a good needle might be flourished into a far larger worke, yet the Images of great things are best discerned, contracted into smaller glasses.

#### CHAP. VII.

*New Englands yearely trials, the planting new Plimoth, surprisals prevented, their wonderful industry and fishing.*

For all those differences there went eight tall ships before I arrived in *England*, from <sup>1617.</sup> *France*, so that I spent that yeare in the Eight ships to fish. West Country, to perswade the Cities, Townes, and Gentry for a Plantation, which the Merchants very little liked, because they would have the coast free only for themselves, and the Gentlemen were doubtfull of their true accounts; oft and much it was so disputed, that at last they promised me the next yeere twenty saile well furnished, made me Admirall of the Country for my life under their hands, and the Colonels Seale for *New-England*; and in renewing their Letters Patents, to be a Patentee for my paines, yet nothing but a voluntary fishing was effected for all this aire.

In those yeares many ships made exceeding good voyages, some in six weeks, with eight and thirty

men and boyes had her fraught, which shee sold at the first penny for one and twenty hundred pounds, besides her Furrer. Six or seven more went out of the West, and some Sailers that had but a single share, had twenty pounds, and at home againe in seven moneths, which was more than such a one should have got in twenty moneths, had he gone for wages any where: yet for all this, in all this time, though I had divulged to my great [p. 17.] labour, cost, and losse, more than seven thousand Bookes and Maps, and moved the particular Companies in *London*, as also Noblemen, Gentlemen, and Merchants for a Plantation, all availed no more than to hew Rocks with Oister-shels, so fresh were the living abuses of *Virginia* and the Summer Iles in their memories.

1618.  
1619.  
1620.  
Eight and thirty men in six weeks tooke two thousand one hundred pounds worth of fish.

At last, upon those inducements, some well disposed Brownists, as they are tearmed, with some Gentlemen and Merchants of *Layden* and *Amsterdam*, to save charges, would try their owne conclusions, though with great losse and much miserie, till time had taught them to see their owne error; for such humorists will never beleeve well, till they bee beaten with their owne rod.

They were supplied with a small Ship with seven and thirty passengers, who found all them were left after they were seated, well, all but six that died, for all their poverties: in this ship they returned the value of five hundred pounds, which was taken by a French-man upon the coast of *England*.

1621.

There is gone from the West to fish five and thirty saile, two from *London* with sixty passengers for them at *New-Plimoth*, and all made good voyages.

1622.  
Seven and thirty saile to fish.

Now you are to understand, the seven and thirty

passengers miscarrying twice upon the coast of *England*, came so ill provided, they onely relyed upon that poore company they found, that had lived two yeares by their naked industry, and what the Country naturally afforded; it is true, at first there hath beene taken a thousand Bayses at a draught, and more than twelve hogsheads of Herrings in a night, of other fish when and what they would, when they had meanes; but wanting most necessaries for fishing and fowling, it is a wonder how they could subsist, fortifie themselves, resist their enemies, and plant their plants.

In Iuly, a many of stragling forlorne Englishmen, whose wants they releevd, though wanted themselves; the which to requite, destroyed their Corne and Fruits, and would have done the like to them, and have surprised what they had; the salvages also intended the like, but wisely they slew the salvage [p. 18.] Captaines, and revenged those injuries upon the fugitive English, that would have done the like to them.

#### CHAP. VIII.

*Extremity next despaire, Gods great mercy, their estate,  
they make good salt, an unknowne rich myne.*

At *New Plimoth*, having planted their Fields and  
 1623. Gardens, such an extraordinary drought  
 insued, all things withered, that they expected no harvest; and having long expected a supply, they heard no newes, but a wracke split upon their Coast, they supposed their Ship: thus in the very labyrinth of despaire, they solemnly assembled themselves together nine houres in prayer. At their departure, the parching faire skies all overcast with blacke clouds, and the next morning, such a

pleasant moderate raine continued fourteene daies, that it was hard to say, whether their withered fruits or drooping affections were most revived; not long after came two Ships to supply them, with all their Passengers well, except one, and he presently recovered; for themselves, for all their wants, there was not one sicke person amongst them: the greater Ship they returned fraught with commodities. This yeare went from *England*, onely to fish, five and forty saile, and have all made a <sup>Five and forty saile to fish.</sup> better voyage than ever.

In this Plantation there is about an 1624. hundred and fourescore persons, some Cattell, but many Swine and Poultry: their Towne containes two and thirty houses, whereof seven were burnt, with the value of five or six hundred pounds in other goods, impailed about halfe a mile, within which within a high Mount, a Fort, with a Watch-Tower, well built of stone, lome, and wood, their Ordnance well mounted, and so healthfull, that of the first Planters not one hath died this three yeares: yet at the first landing at *Cape Cod*, being an hundred passengers, besides twenty they had left behind at *Plimoth* for want of good take heed, thinking to finde all things better than I advised them, spent six or seven weekes in [p. 19.] wandering up and downe in frost and snow, wind and raine, among the woods, cricks, and swamps, forty of them died, and threescore were left in most miserable estate at *New-Plimoth*, where their Ship left them, and but nine leagues by Sea from where they landed, whose misery and variable opinions, for want of experience, occasioned much faction, till necessity agreed them. These disasters, losses, and uncertainties, made such disagreement among the Adventurers in *England*, who beganne to repent, and rather lose all, than longer continue the charge, being out of purse six or seven thousand pounds, accounting my bookes and

their relations as old Almanacks. But the Planters, rather than leave the Country, concluded absolutely to supply themselves, and to all their adventurers pay them for nine yeares two hundred pounds yearely without any other account; where more than six hundred Adventurers for *Virginia*, for more than two hundred thousand pounds, had not six pence. Since

They make store of good salt. they have made a salt worke, wherewith they preserve all the fish they take, and have fraughted this yeare a ship of an hundred and fourescore tun, living so well they desire nothing but more company, and what ever they take, returne commodities to the value.

Thus you may plainly see, although many envying I should bring so much from thence, where many others had beene, and some the same yeare returned with nothing, reported the Fish and Bevers I brought home, I had taken from the French men of *Canada*, to discourage any from beleiving me, and excuse their owne misprisions, some onely to have concealed this good Country (as is said) to their private use; others taxed me as much of indiscretion, to make my discoveries and designes so publike for nothing, which might have beene so well managed by some concealers, to have beene all rich ere any had knowne of it. Those, and many such like wise rewards, have beene my recompences, for which I am contented, so the Country prosper, and Gods name bee there praised by my Country-men, I have my desire; and the benefit of this salt and fish, for breeding Mariners and building [p. 20.] Ships, will make so many fit men to raise a Common-wealth, if but managed, as my generall history will shew you; it might well by this have beene as profitable as the best Mine the King of *Spaine* hath in his West Indies.

An incredible rich mine.

## CHAP. IX.

*Notes worth observation : miserableness no good husbandry.*

Now if you but truly consider how many strange accidents have befallen those plantations and my selfe, how oft up, how oft downe, sometimes neere despaire, and ere long flourishing; how many scandals and Spanolized English have sought to disgrace them, bring them to ruine, or at least hinder them all they could; how many have shaven and couzened both them and me, and their most honourable supporters and well-willers, cannot but conceive Gods infinite mercy both to them and me. Having beene a slave to the Turks, prisoner amongst the most barbarous Salvages, after my deliverance commonly discovering and ranging those large rivers and unknowne Nations with such a handfull of ignorant companions, that the wiser sort often gave mee for lost, always in mutinies, wants and miseries, blowne up with gun-powder; A long time prisoner among the French Pyrats, from whom escaping in a little boat by my selfe, and adrift, all such a stormy winter night when their ships were split, more than an hundred thousand pound lost, wee had taken at sea, and most of them drownd upon the Ile of *Ree*, not farre from whence I was driven on shore in my little boat, &c. And many a score of the worst of winter moneths lived in the fields, yet to have lived neere 37. yeares in the midst of wars, pestilence and famine; by which, many an hundred thousand have died about mee, and scarce five living of them went first with me to *Virginia*, and see the fruits of my labours thus well begin to prosper: Though I have but my labour for my paines, have I not much reason both privately and publikely to acknowledge it and give God

thanks, whose omnipotent power onely delivered me [p. 21.] to doe the utmost of my best to make his name knowne in those remote parts of the world, and his loving mercy to such a miserable sinner.

Had my designes beene to have perswaded men to a mine of gold, as I know many have done that knew no such matter; though few doe conceive either the charge or paines in refining it, nor the power nor care to defend it; or some new invention to passe to the South sea, or some strange plot to invade some strange Monastery; or some chargeable Fleet to take some rich Charaques, or letters of mart, to rob some poore Merchant or honest fisher men; what multitudes of both people and money would contend to be first employed. But in those noble indevours now how few, unlesse it bee to begge them as Monopolies, and those seldome seeke the common good, but the commons goods, as the 217. the 218. and the 219. pages in the generall history will shew. But only those noble Gentlemen and their associates, for whose better encouragements I have recollected those experienced memorandums, as an Apologie against all calumniating detractors, as well for my selfe as them.

Now since them called Brownists went, some few before them also having my bookes and maps, presumed they knew as much as they desired, many other directors they had as wise as themselves, but that was best that liked their owne conceits; for indeed they would not be knowne to have any knowledge of any but themselves, pretending onely Religion their governour, and frugality their counsell, when indeed it was onely their pride, and singularity, and contempt of authority; because they could not be equals, they would have no superiours: in this fooles Paradise, they so long used that good husban-

Goods ill gotten  
ill spent.

Miserableness  
no good hus-  
bandry.



dry, they have payed soundly in trying their owne follies, who undertaking in small handfulls to make many plantations, and to bee severall Lords and Kings of themselves, most vanished to nothing, to the great disparagement of the generall businesse, therefore let them take heed that doe follow their example.

[p. 22.]

CHAP. X.

*The mistaking of Patents, strange effects, encouragements for servants.*

Who would not thinke that all those certainties should not have made both me and this Country have prospered well by this? but it fell out otherwayes, for by the instigation of some, whose policy had long watched their opportunity by the assurance of those profitable returnes, procured new Letters Patents from King *Iames*, drawing in many Noblemen and others to the number of twenty, for Patentees, dividing my map and that tract of land from the North Sea to the South Sea, East and West, which is supposed by most Cosmographers at least more than two thousand miles; and from 41. degrees to 48. of Northerly latitude about 560. miles; the bounds *Virginia* to the South, the South Sea to the West, *Canada* to the North, and the maine Ocean to the East; all this they divided in twenty parts, for which they cast lots, but no lot for me but *Smiths* Iles, which are a many of barren rocks, the most overgrowne with such shrubs and sharpe whins you can hardly passe them; without either grasse or wood, but three or foure short shrubby old Cedars. Those Patentees

1625.  
1626.  
1627.  
1628.

The effect of the last great Patent.

A Proclamation  
for New-England. procured a Proclamation, that no ship should goe thither to fish but pay them for the publike, as it was pretended, five pound upon every thirty tuns of shipping, neither trade with the natives, cut downe wood, throw their balast overboard, nor plant without commission, leave and content to the Lord of that division or Mannor; some of which for some of them I beleeve will be tenantlesse this thousand yeare. Thus whereas this Country, as the contrivers of those projects, should have planted it selfe of it selfe, especially all the chiefe parts along the coast the first yeare, as they have oft told me, and chiefly by the fishing ships and some small helpe of their owne, thinking men would be glad upon any termes to be admitted under their protections: but it proved so contrary, none would [p. 23.] goe at all. So for feare to make a contempt against the Proclamation it hath ever since beene little frequented to any purpose, nor would they doe any thing but left it to it selfe.

Memorandums  
for masters. Thus it lay againe in a manner vast, till those noble Gentlemen thus voluntarily undertooke it, whom I intreat to take this as a memorandum of my love, to make your plantations so neere and great as you can; for many hands make light worke, whereas yet your small parties can doe nothing availeable; nor stand too much upon the letting, setting, or selling those wild Countries, nor impose too much upon the commonalty either by your maggazines, which commonly eat out all poore mens labours, nor any other too hard imposition for present gaine; but let every man so it bee by order allotted him, plant freely without limitation so much as hee can, be it by the halfes or otherways: And at the end of five or six yeares, or when you make a division, for every acre he hath planted, let him have twenty, thirty, forty, or an

hundred; or as you finde hee hath extraordinarily deserved, by it selfe to him and his heires for ever; all his charges being defrayed to his lord or master, and publike good: In so doing, a servant that will labour, within foure or five <sup>Incouragements for servants.</sup> yeares may live as well there as his master did here: for where there is so much land lie waste, it were a madnesse in a man at the first to buy, or hire, or pay any thing more than an acknowledgement to whom it shall be due; and hee is double mad that will leave his friends, meanes, and freedome in *England*, to be worse there than here. Therefore let all men have as much freedome in reason as may be, and true dealing, for it is the greatest comfort you can give them, where the very name of servitude will breed much ill bloud, and become odious to God and man; but mildly temper correction with mercy, for I know well you will have occasion enough to use both; and in thus doing, doubtlesse God will blesse you, and quickly triple and multiply your numbers, the which to my utmost I will doe my best indeavour.

[p. 24.]

## CHAP. XI.

*The planting Bastable or Salem and Charlton, a description of the Massachuset.*

In all those plantations, yea, of those that have done least, yet the most will say, we were the first; and so every next supply, still the next beginner: But seeing history is the memory of time, the life of the dead, and the happinesse of the living; because I have more plainly discovered, and described, and discoursed of those Countries than any as yet I know, I am the bolder to continue the story, and

1629.  
The planting  
Salem.

doe all men right so neere as I can in those new beginnings, which hereafter perhaps may bee in better request than a forest of nine dayes pamphlets.

In the yeare 1629. about March, six good ships are gone with 350. men, women, and children, people professing themselves of good ranke, zeale, meanes and quality : also 150. head of cattell, as horse, mares, and neat beasts ; 41. goats, some conies, with all provision for houshold and apparell ; six peeces of great Ordnance for a Fort, with Muskets, Pikes, Corslets, Drums and Colours, with all provisions necessary for the good of man. They are seated about 42. degrees and 38. minutes, at a place called by the natives *Naemkecke*, by our Royall King *Charles, Bastable* ; but now by the planters, *Salem* ; where they arrived for most part exceeding well, their cattell and all things else prospering exceedingly, farre beyond their expectation.

At this place they found some reasonable good provision and houses built by some few of *Dorchester*, with whom they are joyned in society with two hundred men, an hundred and fifty more they have sent to the *Massachusets*, which they call *Charlton*, or *Charles Towne* : I tooke the fairest reach in this Bay for a river, whereupon I called it *Charles river*, after the name of our Royall King *Charles* ; but they find that faire Channell to divide it selfe into so many faire branches as make forty or fifty pleasant Ilands within that excellent Bay, [p. 25.] where the land is of divers and sundry sorts, in some places very blacke and fat, in others good clay, sand and gravell, the superficies neither too flat in plaines, nor too high in hils.

Their provisions for Salem.

The planting Salem and Charlton.

A description of the Massachusets Bay.

In the Iles you may keepe your hogs, horse, cattell, conies or poultry, and secure for little or nothing, and to command when you list, onely

having a care of provision for some extraordinary cold winter. In those Iles, as in the maine, you may make your nurseries for fruits and plants where you put no cattell; in the maine you may shape your Orchards, Vineyards, Pastures, Gardens, Walkes, Parkes, and Corne fields out of the whole peece as you please into such plots, one adjoyning to another, leaving every of them invironed with two, three, foure, or six, or so many rowes of well growne trees as you will, ready growne to your hands, to defend them from ill weather, which in a champion you could not in many ages; and this at first you may doe with as much facility, as carelesly or ignorantly cut downe all before you, and then after better consideration make ditches, pales, plant young trees with an excessive charge and labour, seeing you may have so many great and small growing trees for your maineposts, to fix hedges, palisados, houses, rales, or what you will; which order in *Virginia* hath not bene so well observed as it might: where all the woods for many an hundred mile for the most part grow streight, like unto the high grove or tuft of trees, upon the high hill by the house of that worthy Knight Sir *Humphrey Mildmay*, so remarkable in *Essex* in the Parish of *Danbery*, where I writ this discourse, but much taller and greater, neither grow they so thicke together by the halfe, and much good ground betweene them without shrubs, and the best is ever knowne by the greatnesse of the trees and the vesture it beareth. Now in *New-England* the trees are commonly lower, but much thicker and firmer wood, and more proper for shipping, of which I will speake a little, being the chiefe engine wee are to use in this worke, and the rather for that within a square of twenty leagues, you may have all, or most of the chiefe materials belonging to them, were they wrought to their perfection as in other places.

[p. 26.] Of all fabricks a ship is the most excellent, requiring more art in building, rigging, sayling, trimming, defending, and moaring, with such a number of severall termes and names in continuall motion, not understood of any landman, as none would thinke of, but some few that know them; for whose better instruction I writ my *Sea-Grammar*, a booke most necessary for those plantations, because there is scarce any thing belonging to a ship but the *Sea-termes*, charge and duty of every officer is plainly expressed, and also any indifferent capacity may conceive how to direct an unskilfull Carpenter or Sailer to build Boats and Barkes sufficient to saile those coasts and rivers, and put a good workman in minde of many things in this businesse hee may easily mistake or forget. But to be excellent in this faculty is the master-peece of all the most necessary workmen in the world. The first rule or modell thereof being directed by God himselfe to *Noah* for his *Arke*, which he never did to any other building but his *Temple*, which is tossed and turned up and downe the world with the like dangers, miseries, and extremities as a ship, sometimes tasting the fury of the foure Elements, as well as shee, by unlimited tyrants in their cruelty for tortures, that it is hard to conceive whether those inhumanes exceed the beasts of the Forrest, the birds of the Aire, the fishes of the Sea, either in numbers, greatnesse, swiftnesse, fiercenesse or cruelty; whose actions and varieties, with such memorable observations as I have collected, you shall finde with admiration in my history of the Sea, if God be pleased I live to finish it.

CHAP. XII.

*Extraordinary meanes for building, many caveats, increase of corne, how to spoyle the woods, for any thing, their healths.*

For the building houses, townes, and fortresses, where shall a man finde the like conveniency, as stones of most sorts, as well lime stone, if I be not much deceived, as Iron stone, smooth stone, blew slate for covering houses, and great rockes we supposed Marble, so that one place is called [p. 27.] the marble harbour: There is grasse plenty, though very long and thicke stalked, which being neither mowne nor eaten, is very ranke, yet all their cattell like and prosper well therewith, but indeed it is weeds, herbs, and grasse growing together, which although they be good and sweet in the Summer, they will deceive your cattell in winter; therefore be carefull in the Spring to mow the swamps, and the low Ilands of *Auguan*, where you may have harsh sheare-grasse enough to make hay of, till you can cleare ground to make pasture, which will beare as good grasse as can grow any where, as now it doth in *Virginia*; and unlesse you make this provision, if there come an extraordinary winter, you will lose many of them & hazard the rest, especially if you bring them in the latter end of Summer, or before the grasse bee growne in the Spring, comming weake from Sea. All things they plant prosper exceedingly: but one man of 13. gallons of Indian corne, reaped that yeare 364. bushels London measure, as they confidently report, at which I much wonder, having planted many bushels, but no such increase.

Extraordinary  
meanes for  
buildings.

Caveats for  
cattell.

The best way wee found in *Virginia* to spoile the woods, was first to cut a notch in the barke a hand broad round about the tree, which pill off and the tree will sprout no more, and all the small boughs in a yeare or two will decay, the greatest branches in the root they spoyle with fire, but you with more ease may cut them from the body and they will quickly rot: betwixt those trees they plant their corne, whose great bodies doe much defend it from extreme gusts, and heat of the Sunne, where that in the plaines, where the trees by time they have consumed, is subject to both; and this is the most easie way to have pasture and corne fields, which is much more fertile than the other: in *Virginia* they never manure their overworne fields, which is very few, the ground for most part is so fertile: but in *New-England* they doe, sticking at every plant of corne, a herring or two, which cometh in that season in such abundance, they may take more than they know what to doe with.

Some infirmed bodies, or tender educats, com-  
 plaine of the piercing cold, especially in  
 January and February, yet the [p. 28.]  
*French in Canada, the Russians, Sweth-*  
*landers, Polanders, Germans,* and our  
 neighbour *Hollanders*, are much colder and farre  
 more Northward, for all that, rich Countreyes and  
 live well. Now they have wood enough if they will  
 but cut it, at their doores to make fires, and traine  
 oyle with the splinters of the roots of firre trees for  
 candles, where in *Holland* they have little or none  
 to build ships, houses, or any thing but what they  
 fetch from forren Countries, yet they dwell but in  
 the latitude of Yorkshire, and *New-England* is in  
 the heighth of the North cape of *Spaine*, which is  
 10. degrees, 200. leagues, or 600. miles nearer the  
 Sunne than wee, where upon the mountaines of *Bisky*

How to spoyle  
 the woods for  
 pasture and corne.

A silly complaint  
 of cold, the rea-  
 son and remedy.



I have felt as much cold, frost, and snow as in *England*, and of this I am sure, a good part of the best Countries and kingdomes of the world, both Northward and Southward of the line, lie in the same parallels of *Virginia* and *New-England*, as at large you may finde in the 201. page of the generall history.

Thus you may see how prosperously thus farre they have proceeded, in which course by Gods grace they may continue; Provisoos for passengers and saylers at sea. but great care would be had they pester not their ships too much with cattell nor passengers, and to make good conditions for your peoples diet, for therein is used much legerdemaine, therefore in that you cannot be too carefull to keepe your men well, and in health at Sea: in this case some masters are very provident, but the most part so they can get fraught enough, care not much whether the passengers live or die, for a common sailer regards not a landman, especially a poore passenger, as I have seene too oft approved by lamentable experience, although we have victualled them all at our owne charges.

### CHAP. XIII.

*Their great supplies, present estate and accidents, advantage.*

Who would not thinke but that all those trials had beene sufficient to lay a foundation for a plantation, but we <sup>1630.</sup> see many men many mindes, and still Their present estate. new Lords, new lawes: for those 350. men with all their cattell [p. 29.] that so well arived and promised so much, not being of one body, but severall mens servants, few could command and fewer obey, lived merrily of that they had, neither planting or building any thing to any purpose, but one faire house for the

Governour, till all was spent and the winter approached; then they grew into many diseases, and as many inconveniences, depending only of a supply from *England*, which expected Houses, Gardens, and Corne fields ready planted by them for their entertainment.

It is true, that Master *John Wythrop*, their now Governour, a worthy Gentleman both in estate and esteeme, went so well provided (for six or seven hundred people went with him) as could be devised, but at Sea, such an extraordinarie storme encountered his Fleet, continuing ten daies, that of two hundred Cattell which were so tossed and brused, threescore and ten died, many of their people fell sicke, and in this perplexed estate, after ten weekes, they arrived in *New-England* at severall times, where they found threescore of their people dead, the rest sicke, nothing done, but all complaining, and all things so contrary to their expectation, that now every monstrous humor began to shew it selfe. And to second this, neare as many more came after them, but so ill provided, with such multitudes of women and children, as redoubled their necessities.

This small triall of their patience, caused among them no small confusion, and put the Governour and his Councell to their utmost wits; some could not endure the name of a Bishop, others not the sight of a Crosse nor Surplesse, others by no meanes the booke of common Prayer. This absolute crue, only of the Elect, holding all (but such as themselves) reprobates and cast-awaies, now make more haste to returne to *Babel*, as they tearmed *England*, than stay to enjoy the land they called *Canaan*; somewhat they must say to excuse themselves.

Those he found Brownists, hee let goe for *New-Plimoth*, who are now betwixt foure or five hundred, and live well without want, some two hundred of the

The fruits of  
counterfeits.

rest he was content to returne for *England*, whose clamors are as variable as their [p. 30.] humours and Auditors ; some say they could see no timber of two foot diameter, some the Country is all Woods, others they drunke all the Springs and Ponds dry, yet like to famish for want of fresh water ; some of the danger of the rattell Snake ; and that others sold their provisions at what rates they pleased to them that wanted, and so returned to *England* great gainers out of others miseries ; yet all that returned are not of those humors.

Notwithstanding all this, the noble Governour was no way disanimated, neither repents him of his enterprise for all those mistakes, but did order all things with that temperance and discretion, and so releevd those that wanted with his owne provision, that there is six or seven hundred remained with him, and more than 1600. English in all the Country, with three or foure hundred head of Cattell, as for Corne they are very ignorant : If upon the coast of *America*, they doe not before the end of this October (for toies) furnish themselves with two or three thousand bushels of Indian Corne, which is better than ours, and in a short time cause the Salvages to doe them as good service as their owne men, as I did in *Virginia*, and yet neither use cruelty nor tyranny amongst them ; a consequence well worth putting in practice : and till it be effected, they will hardly doe well. I know ignorance will say it is impossible, but this impossible taske, ever since the massacre in *Virginia*, I have beene a suter to have undertaken, but with 150. men, to have got Corne, fortified the Country, and discovered them more land than they all yet know or have demonstrated : but the Merchants common answer was, necessity in time would force the Planters doe it themselves, and rather thus husbandly to lose ten sheepe, than be at the charge of a halfe penny worth of Tarre.

Who is it that knowes not what a small handfull  
 of Spaniards in the West Indies, sub-  
 Note well. dued millions of the inhabitants, so de-  
 populating those Countries they conquered, that they  
 are glad to buy *Negroes* in *Affrica* at a great rate, in  
 Countries farre remote from them, which although  
 they bee as idle and as devilish people as any in the  
 world, yet they cause them quickly to bee their best  
 servants; notwithstanding, [p. 31.] there is for every  
 foure or five naturall Spaniards, two or three hun-  
 dred Indians and Negros, and in *Virginia* and *New-  
 England* more English than Salvages, that can assem-  
 ble themselves to assault or hurt them, and it is much  
 better to helpe to plant a country than unplant it and  
 then replant it: but there Indians were in such multi-  
 tudes, the Spaniards had no other remedy; and ours  
 such a few, and so dispersed, it were nothing in a  
 short time to bring them to labour and obedience.

It is strange to me, that English men should not  
 doe as much as any, but upon every sleight affront,  
 in stead to amend it, we make it worse; notwith-  
 standing the worst of all those rumours, the better  
 sort there are constant in their resolutions, and so  
 are the most of their best friends here; and making  
 provision to supply them, many conceit they make  
 a dearth here, which is nothing so; for they would  
 spend more here than they transport thither. One  
 Ship this Summer with twenty cattell, and forty or  
 fifty passengers, arived all well, and the Ship at  
 home againe in nine weekes: another for all this  
 exclamation of want, is returned with 10000. Corfish,  
 and fourescore Kegs of Sturgion, which they did take  
 and save when the season was neare past, and in the  
 very heat of Summer, yet as good as can be. Since  
 another ship is gone from *Bristow*, and many more a  
 providing to follow them with all speed.

Thus you may plainly see for all these rumours,  
 they are in no such distresse as is supposed: as for

their mischances, misprisions, or what accidents may befall them, I hope none is so malicious, as attribute the fault to the Country nor mee; yet if some blame us not both, it were more than a wonder; for I am not ignorant that ignorance and too curious spectators, make it a great part of their profession to censure (however) any mans actions, who having lost the path to vertue, will make most excellent shifts to mount up any way; such incomparable connivency is in the Devils most punctuall cheaters, they will hazard a joint, but where God hath his Church they wil have a Chapel; a mischief so hard to be prevented, that I have thus plainly adventured to shew my affection, [p. 32.] through the weaknesse of my abilitie, you may easily know them by their absolutenesse in opinions, holding experience but the mother of fooles, which indeed is the very ground of reason, and he that contemnes her in those actions, may finde occasion enough to use all the wit and wisdom hee hath to correct his owne folly, that thinkes to finde amongst those salvages such Churches, Palaces, Monuments, and Buildings as are in *England*.

CHAP. XIV.

*Ecclesiasticall government in Virginia, authority from the Arch Bishop, their beginning at Bastable now called Salem.*

Now because I have spoke so much for the body, give me leave to say somewhat of the soule; and the rather because I have beene demanded by so many, how we beganne to preach the Gospell in *Virginia*, and by what authority, what Churches we had, our order of service, and maintenance for our Ministers, therefore I thinke it not amisse to satisfie

Ecclesiasticall  
government in  
Virginia.

their demands, it being the mother of all our Plantations, intreating pride to spare laughter, to understand her simple beginning and proceedings.

When I went first to *Virginia*, I well remember, wee did hang an awning (which is an old saile) to three or foure trees to shadow us from the Sunne, our walls were rales of wood, our seats unhewed trees, till we cut planks, our Pulpit a bar of wood nailed to two neighbouring trees, in foule weather we shifted into an old rotten tent, for we had few better, and this came by the way of adventure for new; this was our Church, till wee built a homely thing like a barne, set upon Cratchets, covered with rafts, sedge, and earth, so was also the walls: the best of our houses of the like curiosity, but the most part farre much worse workmanship, that could neither well defend wind nor raine, yet wee had daily Common Prayer morning and evening, every Sunday two Sermons, and every three moneths the holy Communion, till our Minister died, but our Prayers daily, with an Homily on Sundaies; we continued two or three yeares after till more Preachers [p. 33.] came, and surely God did most mercifully heare us, till the continuall inundations of mistaking directions, factions, and numbers of unprovided Libertines neere consumed us all, as the Israelites in the wilderness.

Notwithstanding, out of the relicks of our miseries, time and experience had brought that  
 Their estates at  
 this day. Country to a great happinesse, had they not so much doated on their Tobacco, on whose fumish foundation there is small stability: there being so many good commodities besides, yet by it they have builded many pretty Villages, faire houses, and Chapels, which are growne good Benefices of 120. pounds a yeare, besides their owne mundall industry, but *James* towne was 500. pounds a yeare, as they say, appointed by the Councill here, allowed by the Councill there, and confirmed by the

Archbishop of *Canterbury* his Grace, Primate and Metrapolitan of all *England*, *An.* 1605. to master *Richard Hachuit* Prebend of *Westminster*, who by his authority sent master *Robert Hunt*, an honest, religious, and couragious Divine; during whose life our factions were oft qualified, our wants and greatest extremities so comforted, that they seemed easie in comparison of what we endured after his memorable death.

Now in *New-England* they have all our examples to teach them how to be-  
Their order of teaching in Salem.  
 ware, and choice men, wee most ignorant in all things, or little better, therefore pre-  
 sage not the event of all such actions by our defailements: For they write, they doubt not ere long to be able to defend themselves against any indifferent enemy; in the interim, they have Preachers erected among themselves, and Gods true Religion (they say) taught amongst them, the Sabbath day observed, the common Prayer (as I understand) and Sermons performed, and diligent catechizing, with strict and carefull exercise, and commendable good orders to bring those people with whom they have to deale withall into a Christian conversation, to live well, to feare God, serve the King, and love the Country; which done, in time from both those Plantations may grow a good addition to the Church of *England*; but *Rome* was not built in one day, whose beginnings was once as unhopessfull as theirs, and to make them as eminent shall be my humble and hearty prayers.

[p. 34.] But as yet it is not well understood of any authority they have sought for the government & tranquillity of the Church, which doth cause those suspicions of factions in Religion,  
The miserable effects of faction in Religion.  
 wherein although I be no Divine, yet I hope without offence I may speake my opinion as well in this as I have done in the rest.

He that will but truly consider the greatnesse of the Turkes Empire and power here in Christendome, shall finde the naturall Turkes are generally of one religion, and the Christians in so many divisions and opinions, that they are among themselves worse enemies than the Turkes, whose dis-joyntednesse hath given him that opportunity to command so many hundred thousand of Christians as he doth, where had they beene constant to one God, one Christ, and one Church, Christians might have beene more able to have commanded as many Turkes, as now the Turkes doe poore miserable Christians. Let this example remember you to beware of faction in that nature; for my owne part, I have seene many of you here in *London* goe to Church as orderly as any.

Therefore I doubt not but you will seeke to the prime authority of the Church of *England*,  
The necessity of order and authority. for such an orderly authority as in most mens opinions is fit for you both to intreat for and to have, which I thinke will not be denied; and you have good reason, seeing you have such liberty to transport so many of his Majesties subjects, with all sorts of cattell, armes, and provision as you please, and can provide meanes to accomplish, nor can you have any certaine reliefe, nor long subsist without more supplies from *England*. Besides, this might prevent many inconveniences may insue, and would clearely take away all those idle and malicious rumours, and occasion you many good and great friends and assistance you yet dreame not of; for you know better than I can tell, that the maintainers of good Orders and Lawes is the best preservation next God of a Kingdome: but when they are stuffed with hypocrisie and corruption, that state is not doubtfull but lamentable in a well settled Common-wealth, much more in such as yours, which is but a beginning, for as the Lawes corrupt, the state consumes



[p. 35.]

CHAP. XV.

*The true modell of a plantation, tenure, increase of trade, true examples, necessity of expert Souldiers, the names of all the first discoverers for plantations and their actions, what is requisite to be in the Governour of a plantation, the expedition of Queene Elizabeths Sea Captaines.*

In regard of all that is past, it is better of those slow proceedings than lose all, and better to amend late than never; I know how hatefull it is to envy, pride, flattery, and greatnesse to be advised, but I hope my true meaning wise men will excuse, for making my opinion plaine; I have beene so often and by so many honest men intreated for the rest, the more they mislike it, the better I like it my selfe.

The effect of a Cittadell, or the true modell of a Plantation.

Concerning this point of a Cittadell, it is not the least, though the last remembred: therefore seeing you have such good meanes and power of your owne I never had, with the best convenient speed may be erect a Fort, a Castle or Cittadell, which in a manner is all one; towards the building, provision, and maintenance thereof, every man for every acre he doth culturated to pay foure pence yearely, and some small matter out of every hundred of fish taken or used within five or ten miles, or as you please about it, it being the Center as a Fortresse for ever belonging to the State, and when the charge shall be defrayed to the chiefe undertaker, in reason, let him be Governour for his life: the overplus to goe forward to the erecting another in like manner in a most convenient place, and so one after another, as your abilities can accomplish, by benevolences, forfeitures, fines, and impositions, as reason and the necessitie of the common good requireth; all men

holding their lands on those manners as they doe of Churches, Universities, and Hospitals, but all depending upon one principall, and this would avoid all faction among the Superiours, extremities from the comminalty, & none would repine at such payments, when they shall see it justly imployed for their owne defence and security; as for corruption in so small a Government, you may quickly perceive, and punish it accordingly.

[p. 36.] Now as his Majesty hath made you custome-free for seven yeares, have a care that all your Country men shall come to trade with you, be not troubled with Pilatage, Boyage, Ancorage, Wharfage, Custome, or any such tricks as hath beene lately used in most of new Plantations, where they would be Kings before their folly; to the discouragement of many, and a scorne to them of understanding, for Dutch, French, Biskin, or any will as yet use freely the Coast without controule, and why not English as well as they: Therefore use all commers with that respect, courtesie, and liberty is fitting, which in a short time will much increase your trade and shipping to fetch it from you, for as yet it were not good to adventure any more abroad with factors till you bee better provided; now there is nothing more inricheth a Common-wealth than much trade, nor no meanes better to increase than small custome, as *Holland, Genua, Ligorne*, and divers other places can well tell you, and doth most beggar those places where they take most custome, as *Turkie, the Archipelagan Iles, Cicilia, the Spanish ports*, but that their officers will connive to inrich themselves, though undoe the State.

In this your infancy, imagine you have many eyes attending your actions, some for one end, and some onely to finde fault; neglect therefore no opportunity, to informe his Majesty truly your orderly pro-

The condition of  
trade and free-  
dome.

ceedings, which if it be to his liking, and contrary to the common rumour here in *England*, doubtlesse his Majesty will continue you custome free, till you have recovered your selves, and are able to subsist; for till such time, to take any custome from a Plantation, is not the way to make them prosper, nor is it likely those Patentees shall accomplish any thing; that will neither maintaine them nor defend them, but with Countenances, Councells, and advice, which any reasonable man there may better advise himselfe, than one thousand of them here who were never there; nor will any man, that hath any wit, throw himselfe into such a kinde of subjection, especially at his owne cost and charges; but it is too oft seene that sometimes one is enough to deceive one hundred, but two hundred not sufficient to keepe one from being deceived.

[p. 37.] I speake not this to discourage any with vaine feares, but could wish every English man to carry alwaies this Motto in his heart; Why should the brave Spanish Souldiers brag, The Sunne never sets in the Spanish dominions, but ever shineth on one part or other we have conquered for our King; who within these few hundred of yeares, was one of the least of most of his neighbours; but to animate us to doe the like for ours, who is no way his inferior; and truly there is no pleasure comparable to a generous spirit; as good imploiment in noble actions, especially amongst Turks, Heathens, and Infidels, to see daily new Countries, people, fashions, governments, stratagems, relieve the oppressed, comfort his friends, passe miseries, subdue enemies, adventure upon any feazable danger for God and his Country: it is true, it is a happy thing to be borne to strength, wealth, and honour, but that which is got by prowesse and magnanimity is the truest lustre; and those can the best distinguish content, that have escaped most honoura-

ble dangers, as if out of every extremity he found himselfe now borne to a new life to learne how to amend and maintaine his age.

Those harsh conclusions have so oft plundered me in those perplexed actions, that if I could not freely expresse my selfe to them doth second them, I should thinke my selfe guilty of a most damnable crime worse than ingratitude; however some overweining capricious conceits, may attribute it to vaine-glory, ambition, or what other idle Epithete such pleased to bestow on me: But such trash I so much scorne, that I presume further to advise those, lesse advised than my selfe, that as your fish and trade increaseth, so let your forts and exercise of armes, drilling your men at your most convenient times, to ranke, file, march, skirmish, and retire, in file, manaples, battalia, or ambuskados, which service there is most proper; also how to assault and defend your forts, and be not sparing of a litle extraordinary shot and powder to make them mark-men, especially your Gentlemen, and those you finde most capable, for shot must be your best weapon, yet all this will not doe unlesse you have at least 100. or as many as you can, of expert, blouDED, approved good Souldiers, who dare boldly lead them, not to shoot a ducke, a goose, or a dead marke, but at men, from whom you must expect such as you send. The want of [p. 38.] this, and the presumptuous assurance of literall Captaines, was the losse of the *French* and *Spaniards* in *Florida*, each surprising other, and lately neare the ruine of *Mevis* and *Saint Christophers* in the Indies: also the *French* at *Port Riall*, and those at *Canada*, now your next English neighbours: Lastly, *Cape Britton* not far from you, called *New-Scotland*. Questionlesse there were some good Souldiers among them, yet somewhat was the cause they were undone by those that watched the advātage of opportunity: for as rich

Provisoos for exercise of armes.

preyes make true men theeves ; so you must not expect, if you be once worth taking and unprovided, but by some to bee attempted in the like manner : to the prevention whereof, I have not bene more willing at the request of my friends to print this discourse, than I am ready to live and dye among you, upon conditions suting my calling and profession to make good, and *Virginia* and *New-England*, my heires, executors, administrators and assignes.

Now because I cannot expresse halfe that which is necessary for your full satisfaction and instruction belonging to this businesse in this small pamphlet, I referre you to the generall history of *Virginia*, the Summer Iles, and *New-England* ; wherein you may plainly see all the discoveries, plantations, accidents, the misprisions and causes of defailments of all those noble and worthy Captaines ; Captaine *Philip Amadas*, and *Barlow* ; that most renowned Knight Sir *Richard Greenvile*, worthy Sir *Ralph Layne*, and learned Master *Hariot*, Captaine *John White*, Captaine *Bartholomew Gosnold*, Captaine *Martin Pring*, and *George Waymouth*, with mine owne observations by sea, rivers and land, and all the governours that yearely succeeded mee in *Virginia*. Also those most industrious Captaines, Sir *George Summers*, and Sir *Thomas Gates*, with all the governours that succeeded them in the Summer Iles. Likewise the plantation of *Sagadahock*, by those noble Captaines, *George Popham*, *Rawley Gilbert*, *Edward Harlow*, *Robert Davis*, *James Davis*, *John Davis*, and divers others, with the maps of those Countries : with it also you may finde the plantations of *Saint Christophers*, *Mevis*, the *Berbados*, and the great river of the *Amazons*, whose greatest defects, and the best meanes to amend them are there yearely recorded, to be warnings and examples to them that are not too wise to learne to understand.

A reference to the actions of all our prime discoverers and planters.

[p. 39.] This great worke, though small in conceit, is not a worke for every one to mannage such an affaire, as make a discovery, and plant a Colony, it requires all the best parts of art, judgement, courage, honesty, constancy, diligence, and industry, to doe but neere well; some are more proper for one thing than another, and therein best to be imployed, and nothing breeds more confusion than misplacing and misimploying men in their undertakings. *Columbus, Curtes, Pizarra, Zotto, Magellanus*, and the rest, served more than an apprenticeship to learne how to begin their most memorable attempts in the West Indies, which to the wonder of all ages, successfully they effected, when many hundreds farre above them in the worlds opinion, being instructed but by relation, scorning to follow their blunt examples, but in great state, with new inventions came to shame and confusion in actions of small moment, who doubtlesse in other matters, were both wise, discreet, generous and couragious. I say not this to detract any thing from their noblenesse, state, nor greatnesse, but to answer those questionlesse questions that keepe us from imitating the others brave spirits, that advanced themselves from poore Souldiers to great Captaines, their posterity to great Lords, and their King to be one of the greatest potentates on earth, and the fruits of their labours his greatest glory, power, and renowne.

Till his greatnesse and security made his so rich remote and dispersed plantations such great booties and honours, to the incomparable Sir *Fr. Drake*, the renowned Captain *Candish*, Sir *Richard Luson*, Sir *John Hawkins*, Captaine *Carlile*, and Sir *Martin Furbisher*, &c. and the most memorable and right honourable Earles, *Cumberland*, *Essex*, *Southampton*, and *Nottingham* that good L. Admirall, with many hun-

What is requisite to be in a Governour of a plantation.

The expeditions of Queene Elizabeths Sea-Captaines.

dreds of brave English Souldiers, Captaines and Gentlemen, that have taught the Hollanders to doe the like: Those would never stand upon a demurre who should give the first blow, when they see peace was onely but an empty name, and no sure league, but impuissance to doe hurt, found it better to buy peace by warre, than take it up at interest of those could better guide penknives than use swords; and there is no misery worse than be conducted by a foole, or commanded by a coward; for who can indure to be assaulted by any, see his men and selfe imbrued in their owne blood, for feare of a checke, [p. 40.] when it is so contrary to nature and necessity, and yet as obedient to government and their Sovereigne, as duty required. Now your best plea is to stand upon your guard, and provide to defend as they did offend, especially at landing: if you be forced to retire, you have the advantage five for one in your retreat, wherein there is more discipline, than in a brave charge; and though it seeme lesse in fortune, it is as much in valour to defend as to get, but it is more easie to defend than assault, especially in woods where an enemy is ignorant. Lastly, remember as faction, pride, and security, produces nothing but confusion, miserie and dissolution; so the contraries well practised will in short time make  
you happy, and the most admired people  
of all our plantations for your  
time in the world.

**John Smith** writ this with his owne  
hand.

FINIS.

---

Errata.

Page 3. The Company in England say 7. or 8. thousand: the Counsell in Virginia say but 2200. or thereabouts.





PLAIN DEALING:

OR,

N E V V E S

F R O M

New-England.

---

*(Vivat Rex Angliæ Carolus,  
Vivat Anglia,  
Vivantq: eorum Amici omnes.)*

---

A short view of NEW-ENGLANDS  
present Government, both Ecclesiasticall and  
Civil, compared with the anciently-received  
and established Government of ENGLAND,  
in some materiall points; fit  
for the gravest consideration  
in these times.

---

By THOMAS LECHFORD of *Clements Inne*,  
in the County of *Middlesex*, Gent.

---

*Levis est dolor, qui capere consilium potest,  
Et clepere sese; Magna non latitant mala.* Sen.

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L O N D O N,

Printed by W. E. and I. G. for Nath: Butter, at the signe of  
the pyde Bull neere S. Austins gate. 1642.

THE  
MEMOIRS

OF

[On the back of the title-leaf are the royal arms, with the legend "*Honi soit qui mal y pense.*"]

T O T H E R E A D E R .

**E**Very man is to approve himselfe, and answer to God for his actions his conscience leads him to ; and next, to good men, as much as in him lyeth. I have thus presumed to enter into publique, for these reasons :

First, because it is well knowne unto many, that heretofore I suffered imprisonment, and a kind of banishment out of this good Land, for some acts construed to oppose, and as tending to subvert Episcopacie, and the settled Ecclesiasticall government of England : therefore now I desired to purge my selfe of so great a scandall ; and wherein I have offended, to intreat all my Superiours, and others, to impute it rather to my ignorance, for the time, then any wilfull stubbornnesse.

Secondly, seeing that since my comming home, I find that multitudes are corrupted with an opinion of the unlawfullnesse of the Church-government by Diocesan Bishops, which opinion I beleeve is the root of much mischief ; having now had experience of divers governments, I see not how I could with faithfulnessse to God, my King and Countrey, be any longer silent, especially considering some of these late troubles occasioned, among other sins, I fear, much through this evill opinion. Happy shall I be, if any be made wiser by my harmes ; I wish all men to take heed, how they shake hands with the Church of God, upon any such heedlesse grounds as I almost had done.

Thirdly, that I might (though unworthy) in a fit season, acquaint the learned and pious Divines of England with these my slender observations, quæres, and experiments, to the end they may come the better pre-

## To the Reader.

pared, upon any publique occasion, for the consideration of such matters, and so at length, those good things that are shaken among us may be established, and truth confirmed.

*It is enough for me, being a Student or Practiser at Law, faithfully to put a Case, which will be this: Whether the Episcopall Government by Provinciaall and Diocesan Bishops, in number about 26. in England, being, if not of absolute Divine authority, yet nearest, and most like thereunto, and most anciently here embraced, is still safest to be continued?*

*Or a Presbyterian government, being (as is humbly conceived) but of humane authority, bringing in a numerous company of above 40000. Presbyters to have chiefe rule in the keyes, in England, be fit to be newly set up here, a thing whereof we have had no experience, and which moderate wise men think to be lesse consonant to the Divine patterne, and may prove more intolerable then the said Episcopacie?*

*Or an independent government of every congregational Church ruling it selfe, which introduceth not onely one absolute Bishop in every Parish, but in effect so many men, so many Bishops, according to New-Englands rule, which in England would be Anarchie & confusion?*

*I would entreat those that stand for this last mentioned manner of government, to be pleased to consider,*

1. *That the very terme of leading, or ruling in the Church, attributed to Elders, forbids it; for if all are Rulers, who shall be ruled?*

2. *The maine acts of Rule consist of receiving into the Church by Baptisme, or otherwise, and ejection out of the Church by censure, binding and loosing; now these are committed to the Apostles, and their successors, and not to all the members of the Church.*

3. *All have not power to baptize, therefore not to receive into the Church, nor to cast out of the Church. My brethren, be not many masters, saith S. Iames, 3. 1.*

## To the Reader.

The words of the wise are as goads, and as nayles, fastened by the masters of assemblies, which are given from one Shepheard, *Eccles. 12. 11.*

*And whereas some may say, that this power of ruling is but ministerially in the officers, and initiatively, conclusively, and virtually in the people: If so, what power ordinarily have the people to contradict the ministeriall works and acts of their Officers? Must the whole Church try all those whom their Ministers convert abroad, suppose among Indians, before they may baptize them? How can all the Church examine and try such? All have not power, warrant, leisure, pleasure, ability, for, and in such works, nor can all speake Indian language.*

*Doubtlesse the acts of rule by the Officers is the rule of the whole Church, and so to be taken ordinarily without contradiction, else there would be no end of jangling: And thus taken, the whole Church of Corinth, by S. Pauls command, (sc. by their Ministers) were to put away that wicked person, and deliver him up to Satan, 1 Cor. 5. 13. and restore him, and forgive him, 2 Cor. 2. and so all the doubt on that Text is (neer I think) resolved.*

*Now that the government at New-England seemeth to make so many Church-members so many Bishops, will be plaine by this ensuing Discourse: for you shall here find, that the Churches in the Bay governe each by all their members unanimously, or else by the major part, wherein every one hath equall vote and super-specion with their Ministers: and that in their Covenant it is expressed to be the duty of all the members, to watch over one another. And in time their Churches will be more corrupted than now they are; they cannot (as there is reason to feare) avoid it possibly. How can any now deny this to be Anarchie and confusion?*

*Nay, say some, we will keep out those that have not true grace. But how can they certainly discern that true grace, and what measure God requireth? Besides,*

To the Reader.

*by this course, they will (it is to be feared) in stead of propagating the Gospel, spread heathenisme; in stead of gaining to the Church, lose from the Church: for when the major part are unbaptized, as in twenty years undoubtedly they will be, by such a course continued, what is like to become of it, but that either they may goe among their fellow-heathens the Indians, or rise up against the Church, and break forth into many grievous distempers among themselves? which God, and the King forbid, I pray.*

*And that you (courteous reader) may perceiv I have from time to time dealt cordially in these things, by declaring them impartially to my friends, as I received light, I shall adde in the last place certaine passages out Letters, sent by me into England to that purpose, and conclude.*

*And I doe not this, God knoweth, as delighting to lay open the infirmities of these well-affected men, many of them my friends, but that it is necessary, at this time, for the whole Church of God, and themselves, as I take it: Besides, many of the things are not infirmities, but such as I am bound to protest against; yet I acknowledge there are some wise men among them, who would help to mend things, if they were able, and I hope will do their endeavours. And I think that wiser men then they, going into a wilderness to set up another strange government differing from the settled government here, might have falne into greater errors then they have done.*

*Neither have I the least ayme to retard or hinder an happy and desired reformation of things amisse either in Church or Common-wealth, but daily and earnestly pray to God Almighty, the God of Wisdome and Counsell, that he please so to direct his Royall Majesty, and his wise and honourable Counsell, the high Court of Parliament, that they may fall upon so due and faire a moderation, as may be for the glory of God, and the*

To the Reader.

*peace and safety of his Royall Majesty, and all his  
Majesties dominions, and good Subjects. Vale.*

Clements Inne,  
Jan. 17. 1641.

**Thomas Lechford.**

## A TABLE of the chiefe Heads of this DISCOURSE.

1.	<i>The Church-government and administrations in the Bay of the Mattachusets.</i>	Page 2
2.	<i>Their publique worship.</i>	16
3.	<i>Touching the government of the Common-wealth there.</i>	23
4.	<i>Certaine Propositions to the generall Court, concerning recording of Civill Causes.</i>	29
5.	<i>A Paper of the Church her liberties.</i>	31
6.	<i>A Paper intended for the Worshipfull John Winthrop, Esquire, late Governour, touching baptizing of those they terme without, and propagation of the Gospel to the Infidel Natives.</i>	34
7.	<i>The Ministers and Magistrates their names.</i>	37
8.	<i>The state of the Countrey in the Bay and thereabouts.</i>	47
9.	<i>A relation concerning the Natives or Indians.</i>	49
10.	<i>Some late occurrences touching Episcopacie.</i>	53
11.	<i>Three Questions to the Elders of Boston, and their Answers.</i>	55
12.	<i>A Paper of exceptions to their government.</i>	56
13.	<i>Forty quæres about planting and governing of Churches, and other experiments.</i>	58
14.	<i>An abstract of certaine Letters.</i>	68
15.	<i>The Conclusion.</i>	78



Plaine dealing:  
OR,  
NEWES  
FROM  
NEW-ENGLAND.

---

HAVING been forth of my native Countrey, almost for the space of foure yeeres last past, and now through the goodnesse of Almighty God returned, many of my friends desiring to know of me the manner of governments, and state of things, in the place from whence I came, *New England*; I thinke good to declare my knowledge in such things, as briefly as I may. I conceive, and hope, it may be profitable in these times of disquisition.

[p. 2.] *For the Church government, and administrations, in the Bay of the Mattachusets.*

A Church is gathered there after this manner: A convenient, or competent number of Christians, allowed by the generall Court to plant together, at a day prefixed, come together, in publique manner, in some fit place, and there confesse their sins and professe their faith, one unto another, and being satisfied of one anothers faith and repentance, they solemnly enter into a Covenant with God, and one an other (which is called their Church Covenant, and held by them to constitute a Church) to this effect: *viz.*

How Churches are gathered there.

To forsake the Devill, and all his workes, and the vanities of the sinfull world, and all their former lusts, and corruptions, they have lived and walked in, and to cleave unto, and obey the Lord Jesus Christ, as their onely King and Lawgiver, their onely Priest and Prophet, and to walke together with that Church, in the unity of the faith, and brotherly love, and to submit themselves one unto an other, in all the ordinances of Christ, to mutuall edification, and comfort, to watch over, and support one another.

*Their Church  
Covenant.*

Whereby they are called the Church of such a place, which before they say were no Church, nor of any Church except the invisible: After this, they doe at the same time, or some other, all being together, elect their own Officers, as Pastor, Teacher, Elders, Deacons, if they have [p. 3.] fit men enough to supply those places; else, as many of them as they can be provided of.

*Election of their  
Church Officers.*

Then they set another day for the ordination of their said officers, and appoint some of themselves to impose hands upon their officers, which is done in a publique day of fasting and prayer. Where there are ministers, or elders, before, they impose their hands upon the new officers: but where there is none, there some of their chieftest men, two or three, of good report amongst them, though not of the Ministry, doe, by appointment of the said Church, lay hands upon them. And after the said ordination, if there are any elders of other Churches present, (as of late I have knowne divers have been present, under the names of the Messengers of the Churches) they give the new Officers the right hand of fellowship, taking them by the right hand, every one severally, or else, sometimes, one forraine Elder, in the name of all the rest,

*Their Ordinations.*

*The right hand of  
fellowship by  
messengers of  
Churches.*

gives the right hand of fellowship, with a set speech unto them. Notice is given in divers Churches or other places, before-hand, of the gathering of every Church, divers weeks before; and so also of every ordination. And some Ministers, or others, as Messengers from other Churches, are usually present at such gatherings of Churches, and ordinations: for sometimes, Magistrates, Captains, Gentlemen, and other meaner Brethren, are made messengers of Churches, for those and other purposes, never having had imposition of hands: And at planting of a Church, or gathering, [p. 4.] as they tearme it, one of the Church messengers of forraine Churches, examines and tries the men to be moulded into a Church, discerns their faith and repentance, and their covenant being before ready made, written, subscribed, and here read and acknowledged, hee decerns and pronounceth them to be a true Church of Christ, and gives them the right hand of fellowship, and all this in the name of Christ, and of all the Church-messengers present, and their churches: so did Master *Weld* at the founding of *Weymouth* Church, or to this effect.

And the generall Court will not allow of any Church otherwise gathered.

Some Ministers have there heretofore, as I have heard, disclaimed the power of their Ministry received in *England*, but <sup>Some differ.</sup> others among them have not. Generally, for the most part, they hold the Pastors and Teachers offices to be distinct; the Teacher to minister a word of knowledg, the Pastor a word of wisdome, but some hold them all one; as in the Church of *Watertowne*, there are two Pastors, neither will that Church send any messengers to any other Church-gathering or ordination.

When a man or woman commeth to joyne unto the Church so gathered, he or shee commeth to

How members are received or added to the Church there. the Elders in private, at one of their houses, or some other place appointed, upon the weeke dayes, and make knowne their desire, to enter into Church-fellowship with that Church, and then the ruling Elders, or one of them, require, [p. 5.] or aske him or her, if he bee willing to make known unto them the worke of grace upon their soules, or how God hath beene dealing with them about their conversion: which (at *Boston*) the man declareth usually standing, the woman sitting. And if they satisfie the Elders, and the private assembly, (for divers of the Church, both men and women, meet there usually) that they are true beleevers, that they have beene wounded in their hearts for their originall sinne, and actuall transgressions, and can pitch upon some promise of free grace in the Scripture, for the ground of their faith, and that they finde their hearts drawne to beleve in Christ Jesus, for their justification and salvation, and these in the ministerie of the Word, reading or conference: and that they know competently the summe of Christian faith: And sometimes, though they be not come to a full assurance of their good estate in Christ. Then afterwards, in convenient time, in the publique assembly of the Church, notice is given by one of the ruling Elders, that such a man, or woman, by name, desireth to enter into Church-fellowship with them, and therefore if any know any thing, or matter of offence against them, for their unfitnessse to joyne with them, such are required to bring notice thereof to the Elders; else, that any who know them, or can say any thing for their fitnessse, be ready to give testimony thereof, when they shall be called forth before the whole Church.

If there be matter of offence, it is first heard [p. 6.] before the Elders, and if the party satisfie them, and the offended, in pri-

Matters of offence how heard in pri-

vate, for private offences, and promise to satisfie in publique, for publique offences; then, upon another day, one of the ruling Elders calleth forth the party, by name, in the publique assembly of the Church, and before strangers, and whomsoever present, most commonly upon the Lords day, after evening exercises, and sometimes upon a week day, when all the Church have notice to be present.

The party appearing in the midst of the Assembly, or some convenient place, the ruling Elder speaketh in this manner: Brethren

Dilatorie proceedings in admitting members.

A. B. hath been heretofore propounded to you, desiring to enter into Church-fellowship with us, and we have not, since that, heard any thing from any of you to the contrary, of the parties admittance, but that we may goe on to receive him: Therefore now, if any of you know any thing against him, why he may not be admitted, you may yet speak. Then after some silence he proceedeth, Seeing no man speaketh to the contrary of his admission, if any of you know any thing, to speak for his receiving, we desire you, give testimony thereof to the Church, as you were also formerly desired to be ready therewith, and expresse your selves as briefly as you may, and to as good hearing. Whereupon, sometimes, men do speak to the contrary, in case they have not heard of the propounding, and so stay the party for that time also, till this new offence be heard before the [p. 7.] Elders, so that sometimes there is a space of divers moneths between a parties first propounding and receiving; and some are so bashfull, as that they choose rather to goe without the Communion, then undergoe such \* publique confessions and tryals, but that is held

\* Whether Popish Auricular confession, and

these publique confessions be not extremes, and whether some private Pastorall or Presbyteriall collation, left at liberty, upon cause, and

in case of trouble of conscience, as in the Church of England is approved, be not better then those extremes, I leave to the wise and learned to judge.

But when none speaketh to the contrary, then some one, two, or three, or more of the Brethren speak their opinions of the party, giving instances in some godlinesse and good conversation of his, or some other recommendation is made, and that they are willing (if the Church thereto consent) for their part, to give him the right hand of fellowship.

Testimonials and  
Recommendations.

Which done, the Elder turneth his speech to the party to be admitted, and requireth him, or sometimes asketh him, if he be willing to make knowne to the congregation the work of grace upon his soule; and biddeth him, as briefly, and audibly, to as good hearing as he can, to doe the same.

Thereupon the party, if it be a man, speaketh himselfe; but if it be a woman, her confession made before the Elders, in private, is most usually (in *Boston* church) read by the Pastor, who registred the same.

Publique confessions of parties to be received.

At *Salem* the women speake themselves, for the most part, in the Church; but of late it is said, they doe this upon the week dayes there, and nothing is done on Sunday, but [p. 8.] their entrance into Covenant. The man in a solemne speech, sometimes a quarter of an houre long, shorter or longer, declareth the work of grace in his soule, to the same purpose, as that before the Elders formerly mentioned.

Then the Elder requireth the party to make profession of his faith; which also is done either by questions and answers, if the party be weake, or else in a solemne speech according to the summe and tenour of the Christian faith laid downe in the Scriptures, defining faith, and shewing how it is wrought by the Word, and Spirit of God, defining a Church to be a company of

Their profession of faith.

believers gathered out of the world, by the Word preached, and holy Spirit, and knit together by an holy Covenant, that there are in the Church remaining such and such officers, and members, as aforesaid: That is to say, Pastors and Teachers, ruling Elders, Deacons and Deaconesses, or Widowes; and such and such are their offices and duties in particular, *viz.* the Pastor to exhort, and besides to rule; the Teacher to instruct in knowledge, and likewise to rule; the ruling Elder to assist Pastor and Teacher in ruling, as the Levites were given to the priests for helps, and to see to whomsoever coming into, or to goe forth of the Church, by admonition, or excommunication; the Deacon to receive the contributions of the Church, and faithfully to dispose the same; the Deaconesses to shew mercie with cheerfulness, and to minister to the sick and poore brethren; the members all, to [p. 9.] watch over and support one another in brotherly love.

Officers in the Church.

Their duties or offices.

Members duties.

Notwithstanding, there was a Sermon lately made by Master Cotton in October, Anno 1640. upon 1 Cor. 11. 19, touching heresies, which was since commonly there called the Sermon of the twelve Articles, wherein was declared, that there are twelve articles of Religion, which maintained by any, the Church may receive them, and keepe fellowship with them; but the ignorant of them after instruction and scandalous sins unrepented, exclude from the fellowship of the Church. The said Articles were to this effect: First, that there are three Persons in one God, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Spirit. Secondly, that this God made, and governs all the World, and that he is a rewarder of the good, and punisher of the evill. Thirdly, that this God alone is to be worshiped. Fourthly, this

A Sermon of

twelve Articles of Religion.

worship of God is instituted in his written Word, not the precepts of men. Fifthly, that from the fall of *Adam*, we have not so worshiped God, but have all sinned, and deprived our selves of the reward promised, and therefore are under the curse by nature. Sixthly, that we are by nature utterly unable to rescue our selves from this curse. Seventhly, that Jesus Christ the eternall Sonne of God, in fulnesse of time took upon him our nature, and was made flesh for us, and by his death and sufferings, redeemed his elect from sin and death. Eighthly, that Christ Jesus, and salvation by him, is offered, and given in the [p. 10.] Gospell, unto every one that beleeveth in his name, and onely by such received. Ninthly, that no man can come unto Christ, nor beleeve on him, except the Father draw him by his Word and Spirit. Tenthly, whom the Lord draws to him by his Word and Spirit, them he justifies freely by his grace, and according to his truth, not by works. Eleventhly, where the soule is justified, it is also regenerate and sanctified. Twelfthly, this regeneration and sanctification is still imperfect in this life. And unto all is added this generall Article, That such as walke after this rule, shall arise to everlasting life; and those that walk otherwise, shall arise to everlasting condemnation, in the day of Judgement: That the knowledge and beliefe of these are of the *foundation of Religion*: But things touching the *foundation of Churches*, as Baptisme, Imposition of hands; ignorance in these may hinder the measure of our reward in heaven, not communion with the Church on earth. Exceptions against the Apostles Creed were these: That it is not of necessity to beleeve Christs descent into hell in any sense; That it is not in that Creed contained, that the Scripture is the onely rule of Gods worship; nor doth it so directly set forth the point of Justification.



And also I remember Master *Knolles*, now one of the Pastors at *Watertowne*, when he first came to be admitted at *Boston*, never made any mention in his profession of faith, of any Officers of the Church in particular, or their duties, and yet was received.

*Master Knolls*  
how admitted.

[p. 11.] The party having finished his Discourses of his confession, and profession of his faith, the Elder againe speaketh to the congregation: Brethren of the congregation, if what you have heard of, from this party, doe not satisfie you, as to move you to give him the *right hand of fellowship*, use your liberty, and declare your mindes therein: And then, after some silence, if none except against the parties expressions, (as often some members doe) then the Elder proceedeth, saying, But if you are satisfied with that you have heard of, and from him, expresse your willingnesse, and consent to receive him, by your *usuall signe*, which is *erection and extention of the right hand*.

Right hand of  
fellowship given  
to brethren.

The whole  
Church ruleth.

This done, sometimes they proceede to admit more members, all after the same manner, for the most part, two, three, foure, or five, or more together, as they have time, spending sometimes almost a whole afternoone therein. And then the Elder calleth all them, that are to be admitted, by name, and rehearseth the covenant, on their parts, to them, which they publiquely say, they doe promise, by the helpe of God, to performe: And then the Elder, in the name of the Church, promiseth the Churches part of the covenant, to the new admitted members. So they are received, or admitted.

Their entrance  
into Covenant.

Then they may receive the Sacrament of the Lords supper with them, and their children bee baptized, but not before: also till then they may not be

free men of the Common-wealth, but being received in the Church they may.

[p. 12.] Sometimes the Master is admitted, and not the servant, & *e contra*: the husband is received, and not the wife; and on the contrary, the child, and not the parent.

Severing in the family.

Also all matters of publique offence are heard & determined in publique, before all the Church, (and strangers too in *Boston*, not so in other places.) The party is called forth, and the matter declared and testified by

Offences, how heard in publique.

The whole Church ruling and usurping the keyes.

\* Whether a grave and judicious consistorie of the Bishop well assisted be not a great deale better, I leave to our superiours to determine.

they say, is

Who denounce Church censures.

Church at *Dorchester*, in the absence of their Minister.

Ordinarily, matter of offence is to be brought to the Elders in private, they may not otherwise *tell the* \* *Church* in ordinary matters, and so it hath been declared in publique, by the Pastors of *Boston*.

*Dic Ecclesiæ.*

\* This agreeth with the rule in *England*.

[† In the copy of Lechford, from which this is printed, there is the following manuscript note in the margin, against the word *Captaine*: — “In the original MS. ‘Israel Stoughton’ is inserted.”]

The admonished must, in good manners, abstain from the Communion, and must goe on to satisfie the Church, else Excommunication follows. Admonition.

[p. 13.] The excommunicate is held *as an Heathen and Publican*: Yet it hath been declared at *Boston* in divers cases, that children may eate with their parents excommunicate; that an elected Magistrate excommunicate may hold his place, but better another were chosen; that an hereditary Magistrate, though excommunicate, is to be obeyed still in civill things; that the excommunicate person may come and heare the Word, and be present at Prayer, so that he give not publique offence, by taking up an eminent place in the Assembly: But at *New-haven, alias Quinapeag*, where Master *Davenport* is Pastor, the excommunicate is held out of the meeting, at the doore, if he will heare, in frost, snow, and raine. Most an-end, in the *Bay*, they use good moderation, and forbearance in their censures: Yet I have known a Gentlewoman excommunicate, for some indiscreet words, with some stifnesse maintained, saying, A brother, and others, she feared, did conspire to arbitrate the price of Joyners worke of a chamber too high, and endeavouring to bring the same into civill cognizance, not proceeding to take two or three to convince the party, and so to tell the Church, (though the first told the party of it) and this without her husband. I feare she is not yet absolved; I am sure she was not upon the third of August last, when we loosed from *Boston*.

There hath been some difference about jurisdictions, or cognizance of causes: Some have held, that in causes betweene brethren of the Church, the matter should be first told the [p. 14.] Church, before they goe to the civill Magistrate, because all causes in difference doe

Cognizance of causes.

amount, one way or other, to a matter of offence; and that all criminall matters concerning Church members, should be first heard by the Church. But these opinionists are held, by the wiser sort, not to know the dangerous issues and consequences of such tenets. The Magistrates, and Church-leaders, labour for a just and equall correspondence in jurisdictions, not to intrench one on the other, neither the civill Magistrates to be exempt from Ecclesiasticall censure, nor the Ministers from Civill: & whether Ecclesiasticall, or Civill power first begin to lay hold of a man, the same to proceed, not barring the other to intermeddle.

Every Church hath power of government in, and by it selfe; and no Church, or Officers, have power over one another but by way of advice or counsaile, voluntarily given or besought, saving that the generall Court, now and then, over-rule some Church matters: and of late, divers of the Ministerie have had set meetings to order Church matters; whereby it is conceived they bend towards Presbyterian rule.

In *Boston*, they rule, most an-end, by unanimous consent, if they can, both in admissions, and censures, and other things. In *Salem*, they rule by the major part of the Church: You that are so minded hold up your hands; you that are otherwise minded, hold up yours.

In *Boston*, when they cannot agree in a matter, they will sometimes referre it to some select brethren [p. 15.] to heare and end, or to certifie the Church, and any brethren, that will, to be present at the discusse in private.

Some Churches have no ruling Elders, some but one, some but one teaching Elder, some have two ruling, and two teaching El-

Churches independent.

Difference of rule in Churches.

Consistory. A better Consistory is, and may be constituted in England.

Difference in number of Officers.

ders ; some one, some two or three Deacons ; some hold that one Minister is enough for a small number of people ; No Church there hath a Deaconesse, as far as I know.

Where farmes or villages are, as at *Rumney-marsh* and *Marblehead*, there a Minister, or a brother of one of the congregations of *Boston* for the *Marsh*, and of *Salem* for *Marblehead*, preacheth and exerciseth prayer every Lords day, which is called prophesying in such a place. And so it was heretofore at *Mountwoollaston* within *Boston* precincts, though since it became a Church now called of *Braintree*, but before they of the mount did, and those of the *Marsh* and *Marblehead* still come and receive the Sacrament at *Boston*, and *Salem* respectively, and some of *Braintree* still receive at *Boston*.

Chappels of ease.

These, you see, are necessary in England in some places.

Prophesying.

Also when a Minister preacheth abroad, in another congregation, the ruling Elder of the place, after the Psalme sung, saying publicly ; If this present brother hath any word of exhortation for the people, at this time, in the name of God let him say on ; this is held prophesying. Also the confessions or speeches made by members to be admitted, have beene by some held prophesying, and when a brother exerciseth in his [p. 16.] own congregation (as at *Salem* they doe sometimes) taking a text of Scripture, and handling the same according to his ability. Notwithstanding, it is generally held in the *Bay*, by some of the most grave and learned men amongst them, that none should undertake to prophesie in publique, unlesse he intend the worke of the Ministry, and so in some places, as in schooles \*, and not abroad, without they have both imposition of hands, and mis-

Prophesying, or Preaching by Licence.

It ought not to be otherwaies in England.

\* Universities, Cathedrals, and Collegiat Churches.

sion, or permission, because propheticie properly hath  
 its denomination from \**understanding*  
 1 Cor. 13. 2. *propheticall Scriptures*, which to know  
 discreetly to handle, requireth good learning, skill  
 in tongues, great fidelity, and good conscience.

*The publique worship.*

**T**HE publique worship is in as faire a *meeting*  
*house* as they can provide, wherein, in most  
 places, they have beene at great charges.  
 Every Sabbath or Lords day, they come  
 together at *Boston*, by wringing of a bell,  
 about nine of the clock or before. The  
 Pastor begins with solemn prayer continuing about a  
 quarter of an houre. The Teacher then readeth and  
 expoundeth a Chapter; Then a Psalme is sung, which  
 ever one of the ruling Elders dictates. After that the  
 Pastor preacheth a Sermon, and sometimes *ex tem-*  
*pore* exhorts. Then the Teacher concludes with  
 prayer and a blessing.

Once a moneth is a Sacrament of the Lords Sup-  
 per, whereof notice is given usually a  
 Lords Supper. fortnight [p. 17.] before, and then all  
 others departing save the Church, which is a great  
 deale lesse in number then those that goe away, they  
 receive the Sacrament, the Ministers and ruling El-  
 ders sitting at the Table, the rest in their seats, or  
 upon forms: All cannot see the Minister consecra-  
 ting, unlesse they stand up, and make a narrow shift.  
 The one of the teaching Elders prayes before, and  
 blesseth, and consecrates the Bread and Wine, ac-  
 cording to the words of Institution; the other prays  
 after the receiving of all the members: and next  
 Communion, they change turnes; he that began at  
 that, ends at this: and the Ministers deliver the  
 Bread in a Charger to some of the chiefe, and per-  
 adventure gives to a few the Bread into their hands,

and they deliver the Charger from one to another, till all have eaten; in like manner the cup, till all have drank, goes from one to another. Then a Psalme is sung, and with a short blessing the congregation is dismissed. Any one, though not of the Church, may, in *Boston*, come in, and \*see the Sacrament administred, if he will: But none of any Church in the Country may receive the Sacrament there, without leave of the congregation, for which purpose he comes to one of the ruling Elders, who propounds his name to the congregation, before they goe to the Sacrament.

\* Once I stood without one of the doores, and looked in, and saw the administration: Besides, I have had credible relation of all the particulars from some of the members.

About two in the after-noon, they reparaire to the meeting-house againe; and then the Pastor begins, as before noone, and a Psalme being [p. 18.] sung, the Teacher makes a Sermon. He was wont, when I came first, to reade and expound a Chapter also before his Sermon in the after-noon. After and before his Sermon, he prayeth.

Afternoone.

After that ensues Baptisme, if there be any, which is done, by either Pastor or Teacher, in the Deacons seate, the most eminent place in the Church, next under the Elders seate. The Pastor most commonly makes a speech or exhortation to the Church, and parents concerning Baptisme, and then prayeth before and after. It is done by washing or sprinkling. One of the parents being of the Church, the childe may be baptized, and the Baptisme is into the name of the *Father*, and of the *Sonne*, and of the *holy Ghost*. No sureties are required.

Baptisme.

Which ended, follows the contribution, one of the Deacons saying, Brethren of the congregation, now there is time left for contribution, wherefore as God hath prospered you, so freely offer. Upon some extraordinary occasions, as

Contribution.

building and repairing of Churches or meeting-houses, or other necessities, the Ministers presse a liberall contribution, with effectuall exhortations out of Scripture. The Magistrates and chiefe Gentlemen first, and then the Elders, and all the congregation of men, and most of them that are not of the Church, all single persons, widows, and women in absence of their husbands, come up one after another one way, and bring their offerings to the Deacon at his seate, and put it into a box of wood for the purpose, if it bee money or [p. 19.] papers; if it be any other chattle, they set it or lay it downe before the Deacons, and so passe another way to their seats againe. This contribution is of money, or papers, promising so much money: I have seene a faire gilt cup with a cover, offered there by one, which is still used at the Communion. Which moneys, and goods the Deacons dispose towards the maintenance of the Ministers, and the poore of the Church, and the Churches occasions, without making account, ordinarily.

But in *Salem* Church, those onely that are of the Church, offer in publique; the rest are required to give to the Ministerie, by collection, at their houses. At some other places they make a rate upon every man, as well within, as not of the Church, residing with them, towards the Churches occasions; and others are beholding, now and then, to the generall Court, to study wayes to enforce the maintenance of the Ministerie.

This done, then followes admission of members, or hearing matters of offence, or other things, sometimes till it be very late. If they have time, after this, is sung a Psalme, and then the Pastor concludeth with a Prayer and a blessing.

Upon the week dayes, there are Lectures in divers townes, and in *Boston*, upon Thursdayes, when Master *Cotton* teacheth out

Differences in contributions.

Admissions. Offences.

Lectures. Fasts & feasts.



of the *Revelation*. There are dayes of fasting, thanksgiving, [p. 20.] and prayers upon <sup>a</sup>occasions, but no <sup>b</sup>holy dayes, except the Sunday.

set Synods in the Reformed Churches? <sup>b</sup> And why not holy dayes as well as the fift of November, and the dayes of Purim among the Jews? Besides, the commemoration of the blessed and heavenly mysteries of our ever blessed Saviour, and the good examples and piety of the Saints? What time is there for the moderate recreation of youth and servants, but after divine services on most of those dayes, seeing that upon the Sunday it is justly held unlawfull? And sure enough, at New-England, the Masters will and must hold their servants to their labour more then in other Countries well planted is needfull; therefore I think even they should doe well to admit of some Holy dayes too, as not a few of the wiser sort among them hold necessary and expedient.

In some Churches, nothing is <sup>c</sup>read on the first day of the weeke, or Lords day, but a Psalm dictated before or after the Sermon, as at *Hingham*; there is no catechizing of children or others in any Church, (except in *Concord* Church, and in other places, of those admitted, in their receiving :) the reason given by some is, because when people come to be admitted, the Church hath tryall of their knowledge, faith, and repentance, and they want a direct Scripture for Ministers catechizing; as if, *Goe teach all Nations*, and *Traine up a childe in the way he should goe*, did not reach to Ministers catechizings. But, God be thanked, the generall Court was so wise, in *June* last, as to enjoyn, or take some course for such catechizing, as I am informed, but know not the way laid down in particular, how it should be done.

<sup>a</sup> And why not set fasting dayes & times, and set feasts, as well as

<sup>b</sup> And why not holy dayes as well as the fift of November, and the dayes of Purim among the Jews? Besides, the commemoration of the blessed and heavenly mysteries of our ever blessed Saviour, and the good examples and piety of the Saints? What time is there for the moderate recreation of youth and servants, but after divine services on most of those dayes, seeing that upon the Sunday it is justly held unlawfull? And sure enough, at New-England, the Masters will and must hold their servants to their labour more then in other Countries well planted is needfull; therefore I think even they should doe well to admit of some Holy dayes too, as not a few of the wiser sort among them hold necessary and expedient.

<sup>c</sup> Whereas in *England* every Sunday are read in publike, Chapters and Psalmes in every Church, besides the eleven or twelve\* Commandments, Epistle and Gospell, the Creed and other good formes and catechizings, and besides what is read upon Holy dayes and other dayes both in the parish, and Cathedral and Collegiat Churches, & in the Universities, and other Chappels, the benefit whereof, doubtlesse, all wise men will acknowledge to

be exceeding great, as well as publike preaching and expounding.

[p. 21.] They call the dayes of the weeke, beginning at the first, second, third, forth, fifth, sixth, and seventh, which is Saturday: the moneths begin at March, by

Dayes and moneths how called.

[\* In the copy from which this is reprinted, a pen has been carefully drawn through the words 'eleven or twelve,' and the color of the ink shows this to have been done early.]

the names of the first, second, and so forth to the twelfth, which is *February*: because they would *avoid all memory* of heathenish and idols *names*: And surely it is good to overthrow heathen-  
 isme by all good wayes and meanes.

Neglect of in-  
 structing the  
 Indians.

But there hath not been any sent forth by any Church to learne the Natives language, or to instruct them in the Religion; First, because they say they have not to do with them being without, unlesse they come to heare and learn English. Secondly, some say out of *Rev.* 15. last, it is not probable that any nation more can be converted, til the calling of the Jews; *till the seven plagues finished none was able to enter into the Temple*, that is, the Christian Church, and the *seventh Viall* is not yet poured forth, and God knowes when it will bee. Thirdly, because all Churches among them are equall, and all Officers equall, and so betweene many, nothing is done that way. They must all therefore equally beare the blame; for indeede I humbly conceive that by their principles, no Nation can or could ever be converted. Therefore, if so, by their principles how can any Nation be governed? They have nothing to excuse themselves in this point of not labouring with the Indians to instruct them, but their want of a staple trade, and other businesses taking them up. And it is true, this may excuse *à tanto*.

Of late some Churches are of opinion, that any  
 Charity. [p. 22.] may be admitted to Church-  
 fellowship, that are not extremely igno-  
 rant or scandalous: but this they are not very forward to practice, except at *Newberry*. Besides, many good people scruple their Church Covenant, so highly tearmed by the most of them, a part of the \* Covenant of grace; and particularly, one Master

\* The Covenant of Grace of the New Testament, it is true, makes the whole universall Church of Christ, and every part thereof, or at least belongeth thereunto: but allowing Churches a Covenant of Reformation tending to the better ordering and well-being of themselves, and for other politique respects, this is as much as they at New-England can justly make of their Covenant, and some that are judicious among themselves have acknowledged it: And yet, even this, un-

*Martin* for saying in argumentation, that their Church Covenant was an humane invention, and that they will not leave till it came to swords point, was fined ten pounds, his cow taken and sold for the money. A Minister standing upon his Ministry, as of the Church of *England*, and arguing against their Covenant, and being elected by some of *Weymouth* to be their Minister, was compelled to recant some words; one that made the election, & got hands to the paper, was fined 10. pounds, and thereupon speaking a few crosse words, 5. pound more, and payed it downe presently; Another of them for saying one of the Ministers of the Bay was a Brownist, or had a Brownisticall head, and for a supposed lie, was whipt: and all these by the generall or quarter civill Courts.

[p. 23.] *Touching the government of the Commonwealth there.*

None may now be a *Freeman* of that Commonwealth, being a Societie or Corporation, named by the name of the *Gov-<sup>Ecclesia re-</sup>ernour, Deputy Governour, and Assistants gnans.* of the Societie of the *Mattachusetts Bay in New-England*, unlesse he be a Church member amongst them. None have voice in elections of Governours, Deputy, and Assistants; none are to be Magistrates, Officers, or Jurymen, grand or petite, but *Freemen*. The Ministers give their votes in all elections of Magistrates. Now the most of the persons at *New-England* are not admitted of their Church, and therefore are not *Freemen*, and when they come to be tryed there, be it for life or limb, name or estate; or whatsoever, they must bee tryed and judged too by those of the Church, who are in a sort their adversaries: how equall that

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lesse it be made and guided by good counsell, and held with dependance and concatenation upon some chiefe Church or Churches, may tend to much division and confusion, as is obvious to the understanding of those that are but a little versed in study of these points.

hath been, or may be, some by experience doe know, others may judge.

The manner of the elections is this: At first, the chiefe Governour and Magistrates were chosen in *London*, by erection of hands, by all the *Free-men* of this *Society*. Since the transmitting of the Patent into *New-England*, the election is not by voices, nor erection of hands, but by papers, thus:

Elections of the Governour & chiefe Magistrates.

The generall Court-electory sitting, where are present in the Church, or meeting-house at [p. 24.] *Boston*, the old Governour, Deputy, and all the Magistrates, and two Deputies or Burgesses for every towne, or at least one, all the *Freemen* are bidden to come in at one doore, and bring their votes in paper, for the new Governour, and deliver them downe upon the table, before the Court, and so to passe forth at another doore. Those that are absent, send their votes by proxies. All being delivered in, the votes are counted, and according to the major part, the old Governour pronounceth, that such an one is chosen Governour for the yeare ensuing. Then the *Freemen*, in like manner, bring their votes for the Deputy Governour, who being also chosen, the Governour propoundeth the Assistants one after the other. New Assistants are, of late, put in nomination, by an order of general Court, beforehand to be considered of: If a *Freeman* give in a blanck, that rejects the man named; if the *Freeman* makes any mark with a pen upon the paper which he brings, that elects the man named; then the blancks and marked papers are numbred, and according to the major part of either, the man in nomination stands elected or rejected. And so for all the Assistants. And after every new election, which is, by their Patent, to be upon the last Wednesday in every Easter Terme, the new Governour and Officers are all new sworn. The Governour and Assistants choose the Secretary.

And all the Court consisting of Governour, Deputy, Assistants, and Deputies of towns, give their votes as well as the rest; and the *Ministers*. [p. 25.] and *Elders*, and all *Church-officers*, have their *votes* also in all these elections of chiefe Magistrates. Constables, and all other inferiour Officers, are sworn in the generall, quarter, or other Courts, or before any Assistant.

Every *Free-man*, when he is admitted, takes a strict oath, to be true to the Society, or jurisdiction: In which oath, I doe not remember expressed that ordinary saving, <sup>Freemen their oath.</sup> which is and ought to be in all oathes to other Lords, *Saving the faith and truth which I beare to our Sovereigne Lord the King*, though, I hope, it may be implied.

There are two generall Courts, one every halfe yeare, wherein they make Lawes or Ordinances: The Ministers advise in making <sup>Courts and Laws.</sup> of Lawes, especially Ecclesiasticall, and are present in Courts, and advise in some speciall causes criminall, and in framing of Fundamentall Lawes: But not many Fundamentall Lawes are yet established: which, when they doe, they must, by the words of their Charter, make according to the Lawes of *England*, or not contrary thereunto. Here they make taxes and levies.

There are besides foure quarter Courts for the whole Jurisdiction, besides other petie Courts, one every quarter, at *Boston*, *Salem*, and *Ipswich*, with their severall jurisdictions, besides every towne, almost, hath a petie Court for small debts, and trespasses under twenty shillings.

In the generall Court, or great quarter Courts, before the Civill Magistrates, are tryed [p. 26.] all actions and causes civill and <sup>Actions and causes.</sup> criminall, and also Ecclesiasticall, especially touching non-members: And they themselves

say, that in the generall and quarter Courts, they have the power of Parliament, Kings Bench, Common Pleas, Chancery, High Commission, and Star-chamber, and all other Courts of England, and in divers cases have exercised that power upon the Kings Subjects there, as is not difficult to prove. They have put to death, banished, fined men, cut off mens eares, whipt, imprisoned men, and all these for Ecclesiasticall and Civill offences, and without sufficient record. In the lesser quarter Courts are tryed, in some, actions under ten pound, in *Boston*, under twenty, and all criminall causes not touching life or member. From the petie quarter Courts, or other Court, the parties may appeale to the great quarter Courts, from thence to the generall Court, from which there is no appeale, they say: Notwithstanding, I presume their Patent doth reserve and provide for Appeales, in some cases, to the Kings Majesty.

The generall and great quarter Courts are kept  
 Grand Juries. in the Church meeting-house at *Boston*.  
 Twice a yeare, in the said great quarter  
 Courts held before the generall Courts, are two  
 grand Juries sworne for the Jurisdiction, one for one  
 Court, and the other for the other, and they are  
 charged to enquire and present offences reduced, by  
 the Governour, who gives the charge, most an-end,  
 under the Heads of the *ten Commandements*: [p. 27.]  
 And a draught of a body of fundamentall laws, ac-  
 cording to the judiciall Laws of the Jews, hath been  
 contrived by the *Ministers* and *Magistrates*, and of-  
 fered to the generall Court to be established and  
 published to the people to be considered of, and this  
 since his Majesties command came to them to send  
 over their Patent: Among which Lawes, that was  
 one I excepted against, as you may see in the paper  
 following, entituled, *Of the Church her liberties, pre-  
 sented 'o the Governour and Magistrates of the Bay,  
 4 Martii, 1639.* Notwithstanding, a by-law, to that

or the like effect, hath been made, and was held of force there when I came thence: yet I confesse I have heard one of their wisest speak of an intention to repeale the same Law.

Matters of debt, trespasse, and upon the case, and equity, yea and of heresie also, are tryed <sup>Tryals.</sup> by a Jury. Which although it may seeme to be indifferent, and the Magistrates may judge what is Law, and what is equall, and some of the chief Ministers informe what is heresie, yet the Jury may finde a generall verdict, if they please; and seldome is there any speciall verdict found by them, with deliberate arguments made thereupon, which breeds many inconveniences.

The parties are warned to challenge any Juryman before he be sworn; but because there is but one Jury in a Court for tryall of causes, and all parties not present at their swearing, the liberty of challenge is much hindred, and some inconveniences doe happen thereby. Jurors are returned (p. 28.) by the Marshall, he was at first called the Bedle of the Societie. Seldome is there any matter of record, saving the verdict many times at randome taken and entred, which is also called the judgment. And for want of proceeding duly upon record, the government is cleerely arbitrary, according to the discretions of the Judges and Magistrates for the time being. And humbly I appeale to his royall Majesty, and his honourable and great Counsell, whether or no the proceedings in such matters as come to be heard before Ecclesiasticall Judges, be not fit to be upon Record; and whether Registers, Advocates, and Procurators, be not necessary to assist the poore and unlearned in their causes, and that according to the warrant and intendment of holy Writ, and of right reason. I have knowne by experience, and heard divers have suffered wrong by default of such in *New-England*. I feare it is not a little degree of pride and danger-

ous improvidence to slight all former lawes of the Church or State, cases of experience and precedents, to go hammer out new, according to severall exigencies; upon pretence that the Word of God is sufficient to rule us: It is true, it is sufficient, if well understood. But take heede my brethren, despise not learning, nor the worthy Lawyers of either gown, lest you repent too late.

The parties in all causes, speake themselves for the most part, and some of the Magistrates where they thinke cause requireth, doe the part of Advocates without fee or reward. Most matters [p. 29.] are presently heard, and ended the same Court, the party defendant having foure dayes warning before; but some causes come to be heard again, and new suits grow upon the old.

Profane swearing, drunkennesse, and beggers, are but rare in the compasse of this Patent, through the circumspection of the Magistrates, and the providence of God hitherto, the poore there living by their labours, and great wages, proportionably, better then the rich, by their stocks, which without exceeding great care, quickly waste.

Prophanenesse  
beaten downe.

*A Paper of certaine Propositions to the generall Court, made upon request, 8. Iunii, 1639.*

1. **I**T were good, that all actions betweene parties, were entred in the Court book, by the Secretary, before the Court sits.

2. That every action be declared in writing, and the defendants answer, generall or speciall, as the case shall require, be put in writing, by a publique Notarie, before the cause be heard.

3. The Secretary to take the verdicts, and make forth the judiciall Commands or Writs.

4. The publique Notarie to record all the proceed-



ings in a fair book, and to enter executions of commands done, & satisfactions acknowledged.

5. The fees, in all these, to be no more then in an inferiour Court of Record in *England*, and to be allowed by the generall Court, or Court of Assistants.

[p. 30.] *The benefit hereof to the publike good.*

1. **I**T will give an easie and quick dispatch to all Causes: For thereby the Court and Jury will quickly see the point in hand, and accordingly give their verdict and judgement.

2. The Court shall the better know, constantly, how to judge the same things; and it is not possible, that the Judges should, alwayes, from time to time, remember clearly, or know to proceed certainly, without a faithfull Record.

3. The parties may hereby more surely, and clearly obtaine their right; for through ignorance and passion, men may quickly wrong one another, in their bare words, without a Record.

4. Hereby shall the Law of God and Justice be duly administred to the people, according to more certaine and unchangeable rules, so that they might know what is the Law, and what right they may look for at the mouthes of all their Judges.

5. Hereby the Subjects have a great part of their evidences and assurances for their proprieties, both of lands and goods.

[p. 31]. *A Paper touching the Church her liberties, delivered at Boston, 4. Martii, 1639.*

*To the Right Worshipfull the Governour, Deputy Governour, Councillers, and Assistants, for this Jurisdiction.*

**W**Hereas you have been pleased to cause me to transcribe certain Breviats of Propositions, delivered to the last generall Court, for the establishing a body of Lawes, as is intended, for the glory of God, and the wel-fare of this People and Country; and published the same, to the intent that any man may acquaint you, or the Deputies for the next Court, with what he conceives fit to be altered or added, in or unto the said lawes; I conceive it my duty to give you timely notice of some things of great moment, about the same Lawes, in discharge of my conscience, which I shall, as *Amicus curiæ*, pray you to present with all faithfulness, as is proposed, to the next generall Court, by it, and the reverend Elders, to be further considered of, as followeth :

1. It is propounded to be one chiefe part of the charge, or office of the Councill intended, to take care, that the *conversion* of the *Natives* be endeavoured.

2. It is proposed, as a liberty, that a convenient \* number of Orthodoxe Christians, allowed [p. 32.] to plant together in this Jurisdiction, may gather themselves into a Church, and elect and ordaine their Officers, men fit for their places, giving notice to seven of the next Churches, one moneth before thereof, and of their names, and that they may exercise all the ordinances of God according to his Word, and so

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\* Although some have held that three or two may make a Church, yet I have heard Master *Cotton* say, that a Church could not be without the number of sixe or seaven at least, and so was their practise while I was there, at *Weymouth*, and *New Taunton*, and at *Lin*, for *Long Island*; Because if there are but three, one that is offended with another, cannot upon cause tel the Church, but one man.

they proceede according to the rule of God, and shall not be hindered by any Civill power; nor will this Court allow of any Church otherwise gathered.

This clause (*nor will the Court allow of any Church otherwise gathered*) doth as I conceive contradict the first proposition.

My reasons are these.

1. If the *conversion of the Natives* must be endeavoured, then some wise and godly men (they should be of your *gravest and best men*) must bee sent forth to teach them to know God.

2. When such are sent, they must bee either sent immediately by the Lord, or mediately by his Churches.

3. If the Churches send men, they that are sent must be sent by imposition of *hands of the Presbyterie*.

[p. 33.] *Now when Churches are thus gathered or planted, they are gathered by Ministers, doing the works of Apostles and Euangelists, which hath ever been, and is the ordinary and regular way of gathering or planting Churches, (and not as is proposed, a convenient number of Orthodoxe Christians, gathering themselves into a Church) and yet when such a Church is gathered by Church-messengers and Ministers, this Court is advised not to allow the same; which, I conceive, is to say, The conversion of the Natives shall not be endeavoured, orderly, according to the rule of God.*

Againe, it would be considered, that when men are sent forth, whether they should not be sent forth *two*, and by *two* at least, as the Scriptures beare, and for divers good reasons, which lye not hid to your wisesdomes.

That you would be pleased to shew unto the Elders these things to be considered, and that they would well weigh, whether or no those Ministers and Messengers sent by Churches, should not visit the Churches which they plant ?

*Other things there are, wherein, I think, I could also, to good purpose, move somewhat to your Worships, which lyes more directly in the way, and calling, I have been educated, if I were required, but this thing lying upon my conscience, I could not well passe by: Wherefore I shall request it may be considered.*

1. Whether it be not fit to leave out, at least, [p. 34.] that contradictory clause, *viz. Nor will this Court allow of any Church otherwise gathered ?*

2. Whether it be not better to let the liberty run thus, in generall,

*The holy Church of God shall enjoy all her just liberties ?*

*A Paper intended for the honoured John Winthrop, Esquire, late Governour. Boston, Maii 2. 1640.*

**I**F you see a necessity of *baptizing* them without, If an ingagement of *Propagation* of the truth to the Infidel *Natives* :

Then consider, whether by the Kings leave, some Churches may not be appointed to send their chiefe Pastors, and other Ministers, to doe such works.

Also with some kind of subjection, or acknowledgement of authority of the Ministerie in *England*, if it be but by way of advice, which is cleare to me you may doe :

I make no doubt but in all things requisite for the state of the Country, they will yeeld you all faire liberties.

Nay, I am perswaded, the Kings Majesty will not send any unexperienced Governour to afflict, but

make you Patentees againe, or at least, after the manner of other Plantations, restoring not onely favour, but other benefits, whereof, under God, to us *Englishmen*, he is the Fountaine. The Kings Attorney did offer some of you this in my hearing, I meane, the renewall of your Patent.

[p. 35.] Nay further, if you would invent, and devise what the King may doe for the Country, you might obtaine.

The very conversion of these poore naked people, which is very hopefull, and much prepared for *per accidens*, or Gods owne providence, bringing good out of evill, will rejoyce the hearts of all Christians in our deare native Countrey, and here: and of it selfe (if there were no other desirable things here, as blessed be God there are many) would cause a continued confluence of more people then you can tell well where to bestow for the present.

The Fishing trade would be promoted with authority.

Hereby would you give the greater testimony to the cause of Reformation.

Hereby will you, under God and the King, make Church-work, and Common-wealth work indeed, and examples to all Countryes.

You will enrich your Countries both, in short time. The Heathens in time, I am perswaded, will become zealous Christians, then will they labour, get cloathes, and substance about them. In vaine doe some think of civillizing them, either by the sword, or otherwise, till (withall) the Word of God hath spoken to their hearts: wherein I conceive great advice is to be taken.

For which purpose a Presse is necessary, and may be obtained, I hope, so that wise men watch over it.

Consider how poorely your Schooles goe on, [p. 36.] you must depend upon *England* for help of

learned men and Schollers, bookes, commodities infinite almost.

No doubt but the King, this way, will make your authority reach even to the Dutch Southward, and to the French Northward. *New-England* indeede without fraction. A facile way, taking out the core of malice.

The conversion and subduing of a Nation, and so great a tract of ground, is a work too weighty for subjects any much longer to labour under without Royall assistance, as I apprehend, I think, in religious reason.

If any shall suggest, that your Churches may send forth men of their own authority ;

Consider, if it may be done warrantably by the Word of God, as peradventure it may be so.

Yet you will be in danger, *rebus sic stantibus*, of great imputations.

That you infringe *Regall power*,  
And Ecclesiasticall.

Whereon adversaries will sure enough make fearful worke.

And besides, some reformations (under favour) have been too deep, at least for others to follow.

They were also unexperienced of mission to convert Infidels.

Is *Geneva* without her faults? or *Holland, Rotterdam, Amsterdam*, without theirs? what experience have they of mission, or ever had?

Now I beseech you grave Sir, doe you thinke it good, honourable, safe, for us poore men here, [p. 37.] or for the Religion and Professors thereof in generall, in the whole world, that such as have the name of the most zealous, should be the first example of almost utmost provocation to our owne Sovereigne?

For my part, I disclaime *Parker*,

And encline to *Hooker, Jewel*, as to government.

Great men have great burthens, therefore they have their counsels crosse, and sometimes they use them both.

You heare enough on the other side,  
Heare now this, on this, and the Lord guide your spirit.

*Odere Reges dicta, quæ dici jubent.*

*These are the Ministers of the Bay.*

**A**T *Boston*, master *Cotton* Teacher, master *Wilson* Pastor: At *Roxbury*, master *Weld* Pastor, master *Elliott* Teacher: At *Dorchester*, master *Mather* Pastor or Teacher, and Master *Burgh* out of office: At *Braintree*, Master *Thomson* Pastor, Master *Flint* Teacher: At *Weymouth*, Master *Newman* Pastor, Master *Parker* out of office: At *Hingham*, master *Hubbard* Pastor, master *Peck* Teacher: They refuse to baptize old *Ottis* grandchildren, an ancient member of their own Church. At *Charlestowne*, Master *Symms* Pastor, master *Allen* Teacher: At *Cambridge*, master *Sheppard* Pastor, master *Dunster* School-master; divers young Schollers are there under him to the number of almost twenty: At *Watertowne*, master *Phillips* [p. 38.] Pastor, master *Knolls* Pastor: At *Dedham*, another master *Phillips* out of office, and master *Allen* Pastor or Teacher: At *Sudbury*, master *Brown* in office, master *Fordham* out of office: At *Lynne*, master *Whiting* Pastor, master *Cobbet* Teacher: At *Salem*, master *Peter* Pastor, master *Norris* Teacher, and his Sonne a Schoole-master: At *Ipswich*, master *Rogers* Pastor, master *Norton* Teacher, and master *Nathaniel Ward*, and his sonne, and one Master *Knight*, out of employment: At *Rowley*, Master *Ezek. Rogers* Pastor, Master *Miller*: At *Newberry*, Master *Noyse* Pastor, Master *Parker* Teacher: He is sonne of Master *Robert Parker*, sometime of *Wilton*, in the County of *Wiltes*, deceased, who in his life time writ

that mis-learned and mistaken Book *De Politeia Ecclesiastica*. At *Salisbury*, Master *Worster* Pastor: At *Hampton*, Master *Buchellor* Pastor, Master *Dalton* Teacher: There are other School-masters which I know not, in some of these townes.

*The Magistrates in the Bay are these:*

Master *Bellingham* the present Governour, master *Endecot* the present Deputy Governour, master *Winthrop*, master *Dudley*, master *Humfrey*, master *Saltonstall*, master *Bradstreet*, master *Stoughton*, master *Winthrop junior*, master *Nowell*, Assistants. Master *Nowell* is also Secretarie. Master *Stephen Winthrop* is Recorder, whose office is to record all Judgments, Mariages, Births, Deaths, Wills and Testaments, Bargaines and Sales, Gifts, Grants, and Mortgages. There is a *Marshall*, [p. 39.] who is as a *Sheriffe* or *Bailiffe*, and his Deputy is the *Gaoler* and executioner.

Marriages are solemnized and done by the Magistrates, and not by the Ministers. \* Probats of Testaments, and granting of Letters of Administration, are made and granted in the generall or great quarter Courts. At Burials, nothing is read, nor any Funeral Sermon made, but all the neighbourhood, or a good company of them, come together by tolling of the bell, and carry the dead solemnly to his grave, and there stand by him while he is buried. The Ministers are most commonly present.

Magistrates names.  
Marriages.  
Testaments.  
Administrat.  
Burials.

\* Causes touching Matrimonie, and Testaments, and other Ecclesiasticall causes, have been anciently by the good lawes of England, committed to the Clergie, upon better grounds then many are aware of. Breth-

ren, I pray consider well that the Apostle doth allow judgements of controversies to the Church, 1 *Cor.* 6. And so they did anciently in other Countries, as well as in England, as appears by *S. Augustines* profession thereof, cited by one lately, viz. *That he* (the said Father, and other holy men of the Church) *suffered the tumultuous perplexities of other mens causes touching secular affaires, either by determining them by judging, or in cutting them off by entreaties: Which labour* (saith he) *we endure with consolation in the Lord, for the hope of eternall life. To which molestations, the Apostle tyed us, not by his owne judgement, but by his judgement who spake in him.* Besides, should they judge these things, and labour for, and watch over us in the Lord, and not



They are very diligent in traynings of their soldiers and military exercises, and all except Magistrates, and Ministers beare Trainings or Musters. armes, or pay for to bee excused, or for speciall reasons are exempted by order of Court. The Captains, and officers are such as are admitted of the Church.

But the people begin to complain, they are ruled like *slaves*, and in short time shall have Grievances. [p. 40.] their children for the most part remain unbaptized: and so have little more privilege then Heathens, unlesse the discipline be amended and moderated.

It is feared, that Elections cannot be safe there long, either in Church or Common-wealth. So that some melancholy men thinke it a Danger. great deale safer to be in the midst of troubles in a settled Common-wealth, or in hope easily to be settled, then in mutinies there, so far off from succours.

At *New Plymouth* they have but one \* Minister, master *Rayner*; yet master *Chancey* lives there, and one master *Smith*, both Ministers, they are not in any office there; master *Chancey* stands for dipping in bap-tisme onely necessary, and some other things, concerning which there hath been much dispute, and master *Chancey* put to the worst by the opinion of the Churches advised withall.

*New Plymouth*  
Patent.  
M. *Rayner*.  
M. *Smith*.  
M. *Chancey* his  
controversie.

\* Eccles. 12. 11.  
*One shepheard*:  
James 3. 1. *Not*  
*many masters*.

Whether this be their ground, I know not; but what ever there be in others to advise and assist, the deciding, determining voice, I meane also the negative, in some cases, ought, as I think, to be in the Pastor: Be there never so many Ministers in the Church, *Doe nothing without your Pastor or Bishop*, saith *Irenæus*: for whatsoever is faulty in the Church, the Bishop is first and principally blamed, *Rev.* 2. and 3.

*Cohannet*, alias *Taunton*, is in *Plymouth Taunton*. Patent. There is a Church gathered of M. Hooke. late, and some ten or twenty of the M. Streate, their ordination.

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be recompenced as long as they doe well? I speak not to countenance undue exactions, bribes, or other corruptions. I intend brevity, and therefore make bold to refer my Reader to the many learned arguments both in Law-books and Divinity of this subject.

Church, the rest excluded. Master *Hooke* Pastor, master *Streate* Teacher. Master *Hooke* received ordination from the hands of one master *Bishop* a School-master, and one *Parker* an Husbandman, and then master *Hooke* joyned in ordaining master *Streate*. One master *Doughty*, a Minister, opposed the gathering of the [p. 41.] Church there, alleadging that according to the Covenant of *Abraham*, all mens children that were of baptized parents, and so *Abrahams* children, ought to be baptized; and spake so in publique, or to that effect, which was held a disturbance, and the Ministers spake to the Magistrate to order him: The Magistrate commanded the Constable, who dragged master *Doughty* out of the Assembly. He was forced to goe away from thence, with his wife and children.

There are also in this Patent divers other Plantations, as *Sandwich*, *Situate*, *Duxbury*, *Greenesharbour*, and *Yarmouth*. Ministers there are, master *Leveridge*, master *Blackwood*, master *Mathews*, and master *Andrew Hallet* a School-master. Master *Saxton* also, who was comming away when we did.

At the Island called *Aquedney*, are about two hundred families. There was a Church, where one master *Clark* was Elder: The place where the Church was, is called *Newport*, but that Church, I heare, is now dissolved; as also divers Churches in the Country have been broken up and dissolved through dissention. At the other end of the Island there is another towne called *Portsmouth*, but no Church: there is a meeting of some men, who there teach one another, and call it *Prophesie*. These of the Island have a pretended civill government of their owne erection, without the Kings Patent. There lately they whipt one master *Gorton*, a grave man, for denying their power, and abusing some of

M. *Doughty*, his  
controversie.

Divers other  
Towns and  
Ministers.

Island *Aqued-  
ney*.

Master *Gorton*  
whipt and  
banished.

their [p. 42.] Magistrates with uncivill tearmes; the Governour, master *Coddington*, saying in Court, *You that are for the King, lay hold on Gorton*; and he againe, on the other side, called forth, *All you that are for the King, lay hold on Coddington*; whereupon *Gorton* was banished the Island: so with his wife and children he went to *Providence*. They began about a small trespasse of swine, but it is thought some other matter was ingredient.

At *Providence*, which is twenty miles from the said Island, lives master *Williams*, and his company, of divers opinions; most are New Providence. Anabaptists; they hold there is no true visible Church in the *Bay*, nor in the world, nor any true Ministerie. This is within no Patent, as they say; but they have of late a kind of government also of their owne erection.

One master *Blakeston*, a Minister, went from *Boston*, having lived there nine or ten yeares, because he would not joyne with the M. Blakeston. Church; he lives neere master *Williams*, but is far from his opinions.

There are five or six townes, and Churches upon the River *Connecticot*, where are worthy Connecticot. master *Hooker*, master *Warham*, master *Hewel*, and divers others, and master *Fenwike* with the *Lady Boteler*, at the rivers mouth in Lady Boteler. a faire house, and well fortified, and one master *Higgison*, a young man, their Chaplain. These plantations have a Patent; the *Lady* was lately admitted of master *Hookers* Church, and thereupon her child was baptized.

[p. 43.] The *Lady Moody* lives at *Lynne*, but is of *Salem* Church, shee is (good *Lady*) Lady Moody. almost undone by buying master *Humphries* farme, *Swampscot*, which cost her nine, or eleven hundred pounds.

Beyond *Connecticott* are divers plantations, as

*New-Haven*, alias *Quinapeag*, where master *Davenport* is Pastor, and one master *James a New Haven*. Schoole-master; and another where master *Whitfield* is: and another where master *Pridgeon* is, and some others, almost reaching to the Dutch plantation southward. Among these are my old acquaintance, master *Roger Ludlow*, master *Frost*, sometime of *Nottingham*, and his sonnes, *John Grey* and *Henry Grey*; the Lord in his goodnesse provide for them; they have a Minister, whose name I have forgotten, if it be not master *Blackwell*. I do not know what Patent these have.

*Long Island* is begun to be planted, and some two Ministers are gone thither, or to goe, as one master *Peirson*, and master *Knowles*, that was at *Dover*, alias *Northam*. A Church was gathered for that Island at *Lynne*, in the *Bay*, whence some, by reason of straitnesse, did remove to the said Island; and one master *Simonds*, heretofore a servant unto a good gentlewoman whom I know, was one of the first Founders. Master *Peter* of *Salem* was at the gathering, and told me the said master *Henry Simonds* made a very cleare confession. Notwithstanding he yet dwels at *Boston*, and they proceed on but slowly. The Patent is granted to the Lord *Starling*; but the *Dutch* claime part of the Island, or the whole: for their [p. 44.] plantation is right over against, and not far from the South end of the said Isle. And one Lieutenant *Howe* pulling downe the Dutch Arms on the Isle, there was like to be a great stir, what ever may become of it. The Dutch also claime *Quinapeag*, and other parts.

At *Northam*, alias *Pascattaqua*, is master *Larkham* Pastor. One master *H. K.* was also lately Minister there, with master *Larkham*. They two fell out about baptizing children, receiving of members, buriall of the dead; and the contention was so sharp, that master *K.* and his party

rose up, and excommunicated master *Larkham*, and some that held with him: And further, master *Larkham* flying to the Magistrates, master *K.* and a Captaine raised Armes, and expected helpe from the *Bay*; master *K.* going before the troop with a Bible upon a poles top, and he, or some of his party giving forth, that their side were *Scots*, and the other *English*: Whereupon the Gentlemen of Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* plantation came in, and kept Court with the Magistrates of *Pascattaqua*, (who have also a Patent) being weake of themselves. And they fined all those that were in Armes, for a Riot, by Indictment, Jury, and Verdict, formally. Nine of them were censured to be whipt, but that was spared. Master *K.* and the *Captain* their leaders, were fined 100.l. a piece, which they are not able to pay. To this broyle came master *Peter* of *Salem*, and there gave his opinion, at *Northam*, that the said excommunication was a nullity.

*M. Larkham* excommunicated.

A broyle or riot.

Episcopacie.

[p. 45.] Master *Thomas Gorgs* sonne of *Captain Gorgs* of *Batcombe*, by *Chedder* in *Somersetshire*, is principall Commissioner for the *Province of Maigne*, under Sir *Ferdinando*, but he was not at that Court at *Northam* himselfe. Master *Wards* sonne is desired to come into the *Province of Maigne*. There is one master *Ienner* gone thither of late. There is want of good Ministers there; the place hath had an ill report by some, but of late some good acts of Justice have been done there, and divers Gentlemen there are, and it is a Countrey very plentifull for fish, fowle, and venison.

Province of *Maigne*.

Not farre from *Northam* is a place called *Excter*, where master *Wheelwright* hath a small Church.

*Excter*.

And at *Cape Anne*, where fishing is set forward, and some stages builded, there one master *Rashley* is Chaplain: for it is farre off

*Cape Anne*.  
Fishing.

from any Church: *Rashley* is admitted of *Boston* Church, but the place lyeth next *Salem*, and not very far further from *Ipswich*.

The *Isle* of *Shoales* and *Richmonds Isle*, which lie neere *Pasquattaqua*, and good fishing places.

About one hundred and fifty leagues from *Boston* Eastward is the *Isle of Sables*, whither one *John Webb*, alias *Evered*, an active man, with his company are gone with commission from the *Bay*, to get Sea-horse teeth and oyle.

Eastward off *Cape Codd* lyeth an Island called *Martins Vineyard*, uninhabited by any English, but Indians, which are very savage.

[p. 46.] Northward from the *Bay*, or Northeast, lyeth the *French* plantation, who take up bever there, and keepe strict government, boarding all vessels that come neare them, and binding the masters till the governour, who is a Noble-man, know what they are; and south of *New-England* the *Dutch* take up the bever.

Three hundred Leagues south from the *Bay* along the coasts, lyeth *Virginia*; neare to that is *Maryland*, where they are Roman Catholics, they say.

There was a speech of some *Swedes* which came to inhabit neere *Delawar Bay*, but the number or certainty I know not.

Three hundred leagues from the *Bay*, Eastward, lyeth *New-found-land*, where is a maine trade for fishing. Here we touched coming homeward.

*Florida* lyes betweene *Virginia* and the *Bay* of *Mexico*, and had been a better Country for the *English* to have planted in, according to the opinion of some, but it is so neere the *Spaniard*, that none must undertake to plant there, without good Forces.

[p. 47.] *For the state of the Country in the Bay and thereabouts.*

THE Land is reasonable fruitfull, as I think; they have cattle, and goats, and swine good store, and some horses, store of fish and fowle, venison, and \*corne, both *English* and *Indian*. They are indifferently well able to subsist for victuall. They are setting on the manufacture of linnen and cotton cloath, and the fishing trade, and they are building of ships, and have good store of barks, catches, lighters, shallops, and other vessels. They have builded and planted to admiration for the time. There are good masts and timber for shipping, planks, and boards, clap-board, pipe-staves, bever, and fures, and hope of some mines. There are Beares, Wolves, and Foxes, and many other wilde beasts, as the Moose, a kind of Deere, as big as some Oxen, and Lyons, as I have heard. The Wolves and Foxes are a great annoyance. There are Rattle snakes, which sometimes doe some harme, not much; He that is stung with any of them, or bitten, he turnes of the colour of the Snake, all over his body, blew, white, and greene spotted; and swelling, dyes, unlesse he timely get some Snake-weed; which if he eate, and rub on the wound, he may haply recover, but feele it a long while in his bones and body. Money is wanting, by reason of the failing of passengers these two last yeares, in a manner. They want help to goe [p. 48.] forward, for their subsistence in regard of cloathing: And great pity it would be, but men of estates should help them forward. It may bee, I hope, a charitable worke. The price of their cattell, and other things being fallen, they are not at present able to make such returns to *England*, as were to be wished for

State of the  
Country of  
*New-England*.

\* Wheat and Barley are thought not to be so good as those grains in *England*; but the Rye and Pease are as good as the English: the Pease have no wormes at all. Beanes also there are very good.

them: God above direct and provide for them. There are multitudes of godly men among them, and many poore ignorant soules. Of late some thirty persons went in two small Barks for the *Lords Isle of Providence*, and for the Maine thereabout, which is held to be a beter countrey and climate by some: For this being in about 46. degrees of northerne latitude, yet is very cold in winter, so that some are frozen to death, or lose their fingers or toes every yeere, sometimes by carlesnes, sometimes by accidents, and are lost in snowes, which there are very deepe sometimes, and lye long: Winter begins in October, and lasts till Aprill. Sixty leagues North-erly it is held not habitable, yet again in Summer it is exceeding hot. If shipping for conveyance were sent thither, they might spare divers hundreds of men for any good design. The jurisdiction of the *Bay Patent* reacheth from *Pascattaqua Patent* Northeast to *Plymouth Patent* Southward. And in my travailes there, I have seene the townes of *Newberry*, *Ipswich*, *Salem*, *Lynne*, *Boston*, *Charlestowne*, *Cambridge*, *Wartertowne*, *Concord*, *Roxbury*, *Dorchester*, and *Braintree* in the *Bay Patent*, *New Taunton* in *Plymouth Patent*, the Island *Aquedney*, and the two townes therein, [p. 49.] *Newport* and *Portsmouth*, and *New Providence* within the *Bay of Narhiggansets*. This for the satisfaction of some that have reported I was no Travailer in *New-England*.

*Concerning the Indians, or Natives.*

**T**hey are of body tall, proper, and straight; they goe naked, saving about their middle, somewhat to cover shame. Seldome they are abroad  
Of the Indians. in extremity of Winter, but keep in their *wigwams*, till necessity drives them forth; and then they wrap themselves in skins, or some of our English coorse cloth: and for the Winter they have boots, or



a kind of laced tawed-leather stockins. They are naturally proud, and idle, given much to singing, dancing, and playes; they are governed by *Sachems*, Kings; and *Saggamores*, petie Lords; by an absolute tyrannie. Their women are of comely feature, industrious, and doe most of the labour in planting, and carrying of burdens; their husbands hold them in great slavery, yet never knowing other, it is the lesse grievous to them. They say, *Englishman* much foole, for spoiling good working creatures, meaning women: And when they see any of our *English* women sewing with their needles, or working coifes, or such things, they will cry out, *Lazie squaes!* but they are much the kinder to their wives, by the example of the *English*. Their children, they will not part with, upon any terms, to be taught. They are of complexion swarthy and tawny; [p. 50.] their children are borne white, but they bedawbe them with oyle, and colours, presently. They have all black haire, that I saw.

In times of mourning, they paint their faces with black lead, black, all about the eye-brows, and part of their cheeks. In time of rejoycing, they paint red, with a kind of vermilion. They cut their haire of divers formes, according to their Nation or people, so that you may know a people by their cut; and ever they have a long lock on one side of their heads, and weare feathers of Peacocks, and such like, and red cloath, or ribbands at their locks; beads of *wampompeag* about their necks, and a girdle of the same, wrought with blew and white *wampom*, after the manner of chequer work, two fingers broad, about their loynes: Some of their chiefe men goe so, and pendants of *wampom*, and such toys in their ears. And their women, some of the chiefe, have faire bracelets, and chaines of *wampom*. Men and women, of them, come confidently among the *English*. Since the *Pequid* war, they are kept in very good subjec-

tion, and held to strict points of Justice, so that the *English* may travail safely among them. But the *French* in the East, and the *Dutch* in the South, sell them guns, powder and shot. They have *Powahes*, or Priests, which are Witches, and a kind of Chirurgions, but some of them, notwithstanding, are faine to be beholding to the *English* Chirurgions. They will have their times of *powaheing*, which they will, of late, have called Prayers, according to the *English* word. The [p. 51.] *Powahe* labours himselfe in his incantations, to extreame sweating and wearinesse, even to extacie. The *Powahes* cannot work their witchcrafts, if any of the *English* be by; neither can any of their incantations lay hold on, or doe any harme to the *English*, as I have been credibly informed. The *Powahe* is next the King, or *Sachem*, and commonly when he dyes, the *Powahe* marryes the *Squa Sachem*, that is, the queene. They have mariages among them; they have many wives; they say, they commit much filthinesse among themselves. But for every marriage, the *Saggamore* hath a fadome of *wampom*, which is about seven or eight shillings value. Some of them will diligently attend to any thing they can understand by any of our Religion, and are very willing to teach their language to any *English*. They live much the better, and peaceably, for the *English*; and themselves know it, or at least their *Sachems*, and *Saggamores* know so much, for before they did nothing but spoile and destroy one another. They live in *Wigwams*, or houses made of mats like little hutts, the fire in the midst of the house. They cut downe a tree with axes and hatchets, bought of the *English*, *Dutch*, or *French*, & bring in the butt-end into the *wigwam*, upon the hearth, and so burne it by degrees. They live upon parched corne, (of late, they grinde at our *English* mills.) Venison, Bevers, Otters, Oysters, Clammes, Lobsters, and other fish, Ground-nuts, Akornes, they boyle all to-

gether in a kettle. Their riches are their *wampom*, bolles, trayes, [p. 52.] kettles, and spoones, bever, fures, and canoos. He is a *Sachem*, whose wife hath her cleane spoons in a chest, for some chief *English* men, when they come on guest wise to the *wigwam*. They lye upon a mat, with a stone, or a piece of wood under their heads; they will give the best entertainment they can make to any *English* comming amongst them. They will not taste sweet things, nor alter their habit willingly; onely they are taken with tobacco, wine, and strong waters; and I have seene some of them in *English*, or *French* cloathes. Their ordinary weapons are bowes and arrowes, and long staves, or halfe pykes, with pieces of swords, daggers, or knives in the ends of them: They have Captaines, and are very good at a short mark, and nimble of foot to run away. Their manner of fighting is, most commonly, all in one fyle. They are many in number, and worship *Kitan*, their good god, or *Hobbamocco*, their evill god; but more feare *Hobbamocco*, because he doth them most harme. Some of their Kings names are *Canonicus*, *Meantinomy*, *Ovshamequin*, *Cushamequin*, *Webbacowitts*, and *Squa Sachem* his wife: She is the Queene, and he is *Powahe*, and King, in the right of his wife. Among some of these Nations, their policie is to have two Kings at a time; but, I thinke, of one family; the one aged for counsell, the other younger for action. Their Kings succeed by inheritance.

Master *Henry Dunster*, Schoolmaster of *Cambridge*, deserves commendations above many; he [p. 53.] hath the plat-forme and way of conversion of the Natives, indifferent right, and much studies the same, wherein yet he wants not opposition, as some other also have met with: He will, without doubt, prove an instrument of much good in the Countrey, being a good Scholar, and having skil in the Tongues;

*M. Dunster* a  
hopefull School-  
master.

He will make it good, that the way to instruct the *Indians*, must be in their *owne* language, not *English*; and that their language may be perfected.

*A Note of some late occurrences touching Episcopacie.*

**S**ome of the learnedst, and godliest in the *Bay*, begin to understand Governments; that it is necessary, when Ministers or People fall out to send other Ministers, or they voluntarily to goe among them, to seek by all good wayes and meanes to appease them.

Some late occurrences concerning Episcopacie.

And particularly, Master *Peter* went from *Salem* on foot to *New Dover*, alias *Pascattaqua*, alias *Northam*, to appease the difference betweene Master *Larkham* and Master *K.* when they had been up in Armes this last Winter time. He went by the sending of the *Governour*, *Counsell*, and *Assistants* of the *Bay*, and of the Church of *Salem*; and was in much danger of being lost, returning, by losing his way in the woods, and some with him, but God be blessed they returned.

Againe he went a second time, for appeasing [p. 54.] the same difference, and had a Commission to divers Gentlemen, master *Humphrey*, master *Bradstreete*, Captaine *Wiggon*, and master *Simons*, to assist, and to heare and determine all causes civill and criminall, from the *Governour of the Bay*, under his hand, and the publique seale, and then master *K.* went by the worst.

Master *Wilson* did lately ride to *Greens harbour*, in *Plymouth Patent*, to appease a broyle betweene one master *Thomas*, as I take it, his name is, and master *Blindman*, where master *Blindman* went by the worst, and Captaine *Keayne* and others went with master *Wilson* on horseback.

Also at another time, master *Wilson*, master *Ma-*

ther, and some others, going to the ordination of master *Hooke* and master *Streate*, to give them the right hand of fellowship, at *New Taunton*, there heard the difference betweene master *Hooke* and master *Doughty*, where master *Doughty* was overruled, and the matter carried somewhat partially, as is reported.

It may be, it will be said, they did these things by way of love, and friendly advise: Grant that; But were not the counselled bound to receive good counsell? If they would not receive it, was not the Magistrate ready to *assist*, and in a manner ready, according to duty, to *enforce* peace and obedience? did not the Magistrates *assist*? and was not master *K.* sent away, or compounded with, to seek a new place at *Long Island*, master *Doughty* forced to the Island *Aquedney*, and master *Blindman* to *Connecticot*?

[p. 55.] *Questions to the Elders of Boston, delivered*  
9. *Septemb.* 1640.

1. **W**HETHER a people may gather themselves into a Church, without a Minister *sent* of God?
2. Whether any People, or Congregation, may *ordaine* their owne Officers?
3. Whether the Ordination, by the hands of such as are *not Ministers*, be good?

*To the which I received an Answer the same day:*

**T**O the first, the Answer is affirmative; for though the people in this Countrey are not wont to gather themselves into a Church, but (as you would have it) with the presence and advice of sundry Ministers; yet it were lawfull for them to gather into a Church without them. For if it be the priviledge of every Church to choose their owne Ministers, then there may be a Church, before they have Ministers

of their owne ; for Ministers of another Church have no power but in their owne Church.

To the second and third ; The second and third *Questions* are coincident, and one Answer may serve for both : The Children of *Israel* did impose hands upon the *Levites*, *Num.* 8. 10. and if the people have power to elect their owne officers, they have power also to ordaine them ; for Ordination is but an Installment of a man into that [p. 56.] office, whereto election giveth him right, neverthelesse such a Church as hath a *Presbyterie*, ought to ordaine their Officers by a *Presbyterie*, according to 1 *Tim.* 4. 14.

*This Answer was brought me by Master Oliver, one of the Elders, and Master Pierce, a Brother of Boston.*

*When I was to come away, one of the chiefest in the Country wished me to deliver him a note of what things I misliked in the Country, which I did, thus :*

I doubt,

1. **W**Hether so much time should be spent in the publique Ordinances, on the Sabbath day, because that thereby some necessary duties of the Sabbath must needs be hindred, as visitation of the sick, and poore, and family.

2. Whether matters of offence should be publicly handled, either before the whole Church, or strangers.

3. Whether so much time should be spent in particular catechizing those that are admitted to the communion of the Church, either men or women ; or that they should make long speeches ; or when they come publicly to be admitted, any should speak contradictorily, or in recommendation of any, unlesse before the Elders, upon just occasion.

4. Whether the censures of the Church should be ordered, in publique, before all the Church, or

strangers, other then the denunciation of [p. 57.] the censures, and pronounciation of the solutions.

5. Whether any of our *Nation* that is not extremely ignorant or scandalous, should bee kept from the Communion, or his children from *Baptisme*.

6. That many thousands in this Countrey have forgotten the very principles of Religion, which they were daily taught in *England*, by set forms and Scriptures read, as the Psalmes, first and second Lesson, the ten Commandments, the Creeds, and publique catechizings. And although conceived Prayer be good and holy, and so publike explications and applications of the Word, and also necessary both in and out of season: yet for the most part it may be feared they dull, amaze, confound, discourage the weake and ignorant, (which are the most of men) when they are in ordinary performed too tediously, or with the neglect of the Word read, and other premeditated formes inculcated, and may tend to more ignorance and inconvenience, than many good men are aware of.

7. I doubt there hath been, and is much neglect of endeavours, to teach, civilize, and convert the *Indian Nation*, that are about the Plantations.

8. Whether by the received principles, it bee *possible* to teach, civilize, or convert them, or when they are converted, to maintain Gods worship among them.

9. That electorie courses will not long be safe here, either in Church or Common-wealth.

[p. 58.] 10. That the civill government is not so equally administred, nor can be, divers orders or by-laws considered.

11. That unlesse these things be wisely and in time prevented, many of your usefullest men will remove and scatter from you.

At *Boston* July 5. 1641.

*Certain Quæres about Church government, planting Churches, and some other Experiments.*

1. **W**Hether the people should call the Minister, or the Minister <sup>a</sup> gather the people?
2. When a Church is gathered or planted; should they not have a care in <sup>b</sup> propagating other Churches, in other places next them.
- a* Mat. 10. 1.  
Mar. 3. 13.  
Act. 1. 4. & 2. 47. & 8. 5. 6. & 9. 32, 35. & 11. 19. 20. 21. 26.  
*b* Acts 8. 14. & 9. 31. & 11. 22. 27. & 13. 2. 3. & 14. 21. to 25.  
*c* Col. 2. 5.  
Act. 11. 27. & 15. 36. & 16. 4.
3. Whether should not the first Church <sup>c</sup> visit the later Churches planted by them, to see they keepe the faith and order, as long as shee remains herselfe in purity of Doctrine and worship?
4. How shall a Church propagate, and visit other Churches? shall they do it by their members, ordinary Christians, or by their Ministers, <sup>d</sup> or Pastors? shall they <sup>e</sup> intend such propagation, or stay, till by their numbers increasing, they are necessitated to swarme, or are persecuted abroad?
- d* Acts 8. 5. 14. & 11. 22. 27. & 13. 2, 3.  
*e* Mat. 28. 19.  
Acts 13. 1, 2, 3. & 8. 1.
5. If by their Pastors, must not there bee more <sup>f</sup> Ministers then one in the first Church? how else can any be spared to goe abroad about such works upon occasion?
- f* Acts 1. 2, 3, 4. & 2. 47. & 13. 1.
6. When they have planted other Churches, [p. 59.] must not the <sup>g</sup> first Church take care for the providing of Elders or Ministers for these new planted Churches, and <sup>h</sup> ordain them, and sometimes goe <sup>i</sup> or send some to teach them, and uphold the worship of God among them?
- g* Act. 1. 25, 26.  
*h* Act. 6. 6. & 14. 23.  
*i* Act. 8. 14. & 11. 22.
7. How can any preach, unlesse he be <sup>k</sup> sent? and how can he be sent, unlesse by imposition of <sup>l</sup> hands of the Presbytery of the first Church?
- k* Rom. 10 15.  
*l* Act. 6. 6. & 13. 3. 1 Tim. 4. 14.
8. If so, hath not the first Church



and the Ministers thereof, Apostolical<sup>m</sup> power in these things?

9. But have all<sup>n</sup> Churches and Ministers this power? are they able? have they learned men enough, to<sup>o</sup> water where they have planted? If some should not be of the<sup>p</sup> *Quorum*, as it were, in ordinations, and the like, what order, peace, or unity can be expected?

*m* Eph. 4. 11.  
Act. 1. 25. & 8.  
14. & 11. 22. 27.  
*n* Rom. 16. 1.

*o* 1 Cor. 3. 6.

*p* 2 Tim. 1. 6.  
1 Tim. 4. 14.  
compared.

10. Again, if all Churches and Ministers have this power, equally, to exercise the work Apostolical; must they not all then goe, or send abroad, to convert the Indians, and plant Churches? and how can all be spared abroad? Are all<sup>q</sup> Apostles? all Euan-gelists? where were the body, if so?

*q* 1 Cor. 12.  
19, 29.

11. Will they not interfere one upon another, and trespassed upon one another's<sup>r</sup> line, rule, or portion, which blessed *S. Paul* condemned in those that entered into his labours?

*r* 2 Cor. 10. 12.  
to the end.

12. When any other<sup>s</sup> Church, besides the<sup>t</sup> first, hath power and ability to propagate and bring forth other Churches, may she not doe well so to doe? must she not? in her fitting line, observing peace, and holding communion with [p. 60.] the first, as long as they remain in purity both of them? and if a second, why not a third, and a fourth, and so forth to a competent number?

*s* Act. 13. 1. 2, 3.  
*t* Act. 1. 4. & 2.  
47.

13. Whether the first and other Churches also having power and ability thus to propagate the Gospel and plant Churches, may not be fitly called, prime, chief, or principall seats of the Church, or<sup>v</sup> chiefe Churches?

*v* As *Iherusalem*, *Antioch*, *Ephesus*, Acts 11. 26.

14. Whether those Churches so gathered, in one Kingdome, Citie, or Principality, holding communion together, may not be fitly,

in regard of their unity in Doctrine and worship, called the Church of such a Nation, or Province, <sup>u</sup> City, or Countrey?

15. Whether is it probable, that the first Church Christian, that wee reade of to be, at <sup>u</sup> Acts 11. 22. <sup>x</sup> Hierusalem, was onely one congregation, or but as many as could meete in one place? had they not among them twelve Apostles, besides Elders, three thousand, at once added, what ever number there was besides? and had they such a large Temple or meeting-houses at their command in those dayes?

16. Whether the word *Church* bee not diversly taken in holy Scripture, and sometimes for a civill or uncivill assembly or congression? <sup>y</sup> Acts 19. 40. <sup>z</sup> Acts 19. 40. *Καὶ ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπέλυσε τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*, and when he had thus spoken, he dismissed the assembly or Church?

17. Whether anciently in *England*, some small assemblies were not called Churches, Fitzherb. N. B. as every [p. 61.] presentative Rectory or Parsonage is called *Ecclesia*, when others that were greater were not so called, as no Vicaridge, Donative or Chappel is called *Ecclesia* in our Law?

18. Whether the Rector, or Parson that is a Presbyter in a Church, should, being alone, rule absolutely by himselfe, without the concurrence, advise, or superiour power of the Evangelisticall <sup>z</sup> 1 Cor. 5. 3. 4. Pastor of the Church, who had care in the plantation or erection of the Parsons Church?

19. If not; should the Vicar, Donative, Minister or Chaplain?

20. But where they have used to rule more absolutely, (as in some peculiar jurisdictions in *England*) why may they not with the peace and unity of the Church, and by good advise, stil doe the same alway, with subordination to the Evangelisticall leaders, and fit Christian, and Nationall Synods?

21. If the Parson should not rule alone ordinarily, why should the principall leaders rule ordinarily alone without the advise and assistance of a competent number of their Presbyters, who may afford them counsell? Did not the holy Apostles advise with the Elders <sup>a</sup> sometimes? is it safe <sup>a</sup> Acts 15. 6. for them or the whole?

22. But were there any Bishops superintendent, over other Bishops, or Presbyters, in the first hundred years after Christs birth? *Objection.* Did not Saint *James* write his Generall Epistle to the twelve [p. 62.] Tribes, which were then scattered abroad, no doubt, in many places, and therein mention for Rulers, onely <sup>b</sup> Elders? and *S. Peter* write his generall <sup>b</sup> James 5. 14. Epistle, and therein direct or command <sup>c</sup> 1 Pet. 5. 1, 2, 3. the <sup>c</sup> Elders not to over-rule the flock, the Lords inheritance? where was the Order of Bishops? had not the Elders the rule? might they not else have returned answer, that the command concerned not them, but a certaine Order of men, called Bishops, above us?

23. Were not the Apostles and Evangelists then living, <sup>d</sup> Bishops, and superintendent overseers? had they not the <sup>e</sup> care of <sup>d</sup> Acts 1. 20. all the Churches, in their lines? did not these holy Apostles, *S. James* and *S. Peter*, mention their owne names, in their <sup>e</sup> 2 Cor. 11. 28. & Chap. 10. 12 to the end. Epistles? is it not plain, that *Peter* had over-sight upon those to whom he wrote, to see that they did not over-rule, and take account of them, if they did? And did the Lord ordaine there should be such a superintendencie, onely for an 80. years, and not some equall correspondent superspection also in after-ages, when those extraordinary men should cease? If some had then the care of all the Churches, should there not be some, in after-times, to have the care of some, to a competent number of

Churches, in their fitting lines, and as they are <sup>f</sup> able?

<sup>f</sup> 2 Cor. 8. 12. And though this Divine right be broken through the many grosse corruptions of successions, and the like, yet is it not equall to observe the first Institution, as neere as may be, as we say the equity of some Lawes and Statutes among us is sometimes to be observed, though [p. 63.] not in the Letter? And why may not a chiefe Pastor be called a Bishop, as well as an Elder, or any other officer heretofore superiour?

24. If <sup>g</sup> Psalms, and Hymnes, and spirituall songs are to be sung in the Church, and to sing melodiously, and with good harmony, is the gift of God, and uncomely singing a kind of sin in the holy Assemblies; why should not the chiefe leaders, and rulers of the Church, appoint some, in their stead, to take care of the singings of the Church? and may not some be fitter to lead in singing, then others? and lest they may fall out of their tunes to jarring, why may they not use the help of some musicall instruments? and lest they should want able men this way, why should they not take care, that some children be trained up in Musique?

25. Whether or no Christ did not allow of a <sup>h</sup> form of Prayer, and a short one too? will not the <sup>i</sup> strong allow the weak helps in Prayer? are not the best Christians often distracted in long Prayers? is it not easier for the strong to pray, then for as strong men to hear Prayer well? should those that are strong Proficients in grace not be satisfied, without all their weak brethren come to the same pitch of high sanctification with themselves? should they not rather <sup>k</sup> condescend to the weaker? And although it be rare to tell of any actually converted by formes of Prayer, and Scriptures read; yet who can justly deny, but that much

<sup>h</sup> Mat. 6. 9. Sic ergo adorate vos. οὕτως. Luke 11. 2. <sup>i</sup> Rom. 15. 1.

<sup>k</sup> Rom. 12. 16. *Idipsum in invicem sentientes; non alta sapientes, sed humilibus consentientes.* ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀπεινοῖς συναπαγόμενοι, but condescending to the humble.

good hath been, is, and may for ever be done by such things that way, *Sicut ultimus ictus* [p. 64.] *quercum non cædit, extrema arena clepsydræ non exhaustit*, as the last stroak fells not the oake, nor the last sand exhausts the houre-glasse?

26. Whether may not a man <sup>l</sup> and his household, a woman and her houshold, a whole <sup>m</sup> City, or Countrey, a King and his people, a whole Nation, be baptized, after they are competently instructed in the Religion of God?

*l* Act. 10. 24. 44,  
47, 48. & 16. 30.  
31, 32, 33. vers.  
14, 15.  
*m* Acts 8. 8.  
12. 14.

27. Is it certain, that all that were baptized in <sup>n</sup> *Cornelius* his house, in the <sup>o</sup> *Gaolers* house, in *Lydia's*, in <sup>p</sup> *Samaria*, in <sup>q</sup> *Corinth*, were such true beleevers, as now good men require all those that joyne with them, to be, before they will receive them to the Communion of their Church? Were not <sup>r</sup> hypocrites admitted & baptized in the Primitive Church, by the Apostles and Evangelists themselves, being deceived by them? Were not children circumcised in the old Testament, and baptized all along in the times of the New, so received into the bosome of the Church?

*n* Acts 10.  
*o* Acts 16.  
*p* Acts 8.  
*q* Acts 18.

*r* Acts 8. 13.  
Act. 2. 41. &  
5. 1. compared.

28. Could, or can ever any Nation, probably, be brought into the obedience of the Gospel, poll by poll, in such manner as is imagined by the leaders of separations?

29. If it be possible, let them make experience, and try whether the *Indians*, or any other Heathen people, can be so converted, before the Greek Kalends.

30. Whether there be any direct Scripture for the peoples choice of their chiefe Pastour? Can there, ordinarily, be a better election, then when the supreme Magistrate (who hath, at most [p. 65.] times, the power of all the people, and sometimes' their counsell in a regular way) joynes with a select and

competent number and company of Presbyters in the same?

31. Whether any that have not skill, grace, and learning, to judge of the parties to be ordained, whether they be fit, and able to what they are to be ordained, may ordaine them?

s 1 Tim. 5. 22.  
Titus 2. 2.

32. Whether or no to maintain a desired purity or perfection in the Magistracie, by election of the people, these good men of *New-England*, are not forced to be too strict in receiving the brethren, and to run a course tending to heathenisme?

33. Whether have not popular elections of chiefe Magistrates beene, and are they not very dangerous to States and Kingdomes? Are there not some great mysteries of State and government? Is it possible, convenient, or necessary, for all men to attain to the knowledge of those mysteries, or to have the like measure of knowledge, faith, mercifulnesse, wisdom, courage, magnanimity, patience? Whence are Kings denominated, but from their skill and knowledge to rule? whereto they are even born and educated, and by long experience, and faithfull Counsellors enabled, and the grace and blessing of God upon all? Doe not the wise, good, ancient, and renowned Laws of *England* attribute much, yea, very much trust and confidence to the King, as to the head and supream Governour, though much be also in the rest of the great body, heart and hands, and feete, to counsell, maintain, and [p. 66.] preserve the whole, but especially the Head?

34. Hence what government for an Englishman but an hereditary, successive, *King*, *v the son of Nobles*, well counselled and assisted?

v Pro. 25. 3.  
Eccles. 8. 4.  
& 10. 16, 17.

35. Whether we the posterity of the Church, and people of God, who now see the tops of things onely, may safely condemne the foundations, which we have not seen?

36. Whether is there not a difference between bare speculation, and knowledge joyned with sound experience, and betweene the experience of Divines and people reforming from out of some deepe corruptions in Churches called Christian, and the experience of those that have conversed in and about planting, and building Churches, where there was none before, or among Heathens? what is art many times without experience?

37. Whether those Authors from *Hierome*, to Arch-Bishop *Adamson*, that alledge all Presbyters to be equall, and should alwayes have equall power and authority, had any great skill, or will, or experience, in the propagation of Churches among heathens, or barbarous Nations?

38. If not, whether their Testimony bee of that validity as is thought by some? If they had, whether they might not erre?

39. Whether messengers sent by Churches, or Ministers taking upon them to go to gather or plant Churches, and to ordain, or give the right hand of fellowship to Ministers in those [p. 67.] Churches, and to appease differences in Church affairs, are not Episcopall acts?

40. Is Episcopacie, or a superintendencie necessary at *New-England*, and is it not necessary in more populous places? Are there not some, nay many depths and " mysteries in Gods holy Word, the Scriptures, and certain Catho-  
u 1 Cor. 4. 1.  
& 2. 10.  
 lique interpretations, which transgressed, the faith is hurt? Is it possible, convenient, or necessary for all men, nay all Ministers, to attain the knowledge of those mysteries, or to have the like measure of knowledge, faith, mercifulnesse, wisdom, patience, long suffering, courage, whereby to be enabled to rule in the Church of God, whereto they are educated, tryed, chosen, and ordained? and do not the sacred rules and Laws of God, of holy Church and of this

Kingdome attribute much, yea very much trust and confidence to the chief Pastors, Leaders, and Rulers, the Fathers of the Church, especially to the Bishops of the prime and Metropolitall Churches, by the assistance of, and with, and under the supream Magistrate, the chiefe, the best cement of government, though much be also in other members of the great body, the Church, to counsell, maintaine and preserve the whole in the faith, soundnesse, peace and unity, especially the chief leaders, when need requireth? Hence what government for Christians in chief, but by pious, learned, Provinciall and Diocesan Bishops, especially in *England and Ireland*?

*By the just examination of the whole, those that are pious and learned, may easily gather, what good [p. 68.] reasons I had, and have, to returne, as now humbly I doe, to the Church of England, for whose peace, purity, and prosperity, is the daily prayer of one of her most unworthy sons,*

Clements Inne,  
Novemb. 16. 1641.

Thomas Lechford.

*To a friend.*

Sir,

**H**ERE is a good Land, and yeelding many good commodities, especially fish, and furs, corne, and other richer things, if well followed, and if that popular elections destroy us not. It is a good Land, I say, that instructs us to repentance, when we consider what a good Land we came from, what good lawes and government we have left, to make experiments of governing our selves here by new wayes, wherein (like young Physitians) of necessity we must hurt and spoile one another a great while, before we come to such a settled Common-wealth, or Church-government, as is in *England*.



I thank God, now I understand by experience, that there is no such government for *English* men, or any Nation, as a Monarchy; nor for Christians, as by a lawfull Ministerie, under godly Diocesan Bishops, deducing their station and calling from Christ and his Apostles, in descent or succession; a thing of greater consequence then [p. 69.] ceremonies, (would to God I had known it sooner) which while I have in my place stood for here these two years, and not agreeing to this new discipline, impossible to be executed, or long continued, what I have suffered, many here can tell; I am kept from the Sacrament, and all place of preferment in the Commonwealth, and forced to get my living by writing petty things, which scarce finds me bread; and therefore sometimes I look to planting of corne, but have not yet here an house of my owne to put my head in, or any stock going: Whereupon I was determind to come back, but by the over-entreaty of some friends, I here think to stay a while longer, hoping that the Lord will shortly give a good issue to things both in our native Country, and *Scotland*, and here, as well as in all other his Majesties dominions.

I was very glad to see my Lord Bishop of *Exeters* Book; it gave me much satisfaction. If the people may make Ministers, or any Ministers make others without an Apostolicall Bishop, what confusion will there be? If the whole Church, or every congregation, as our good men think, have the power of the keyes, how many Bishops then shall we have? If every Parish or congregation be so free and independent, as they terme it, what unity can we expect?

Glad also was I to see Master *Balls* Book of the tryall of the grounds of Separation, both which are newly come over, and I hope will work much good among us here?

[p. 70.] And whereas I was sometimes mis-led by those of opinion that Bishops, and Presbyters, & all

Ministers, are of the same authority ; When I came to consider the necessary propagation of the truth, and government of the Church, by experimentall foot-steps here, I quickly saw my error : For besides, if the congregations be not united under one Diocesan in fit compasse, they are in a confusion, notwithstanding all their classically pretendments, how can the Gospel be propagated to the Indians without an Apostolicall Bishop ? If any Church, or people, by the Kings leave, send forth Ministers to teach and instruct the poore Indians in the Christian Religion, they must have at least Apostolicall power to ordain Ministers or Elders in every congregation among them ; and when they have so done, they have power of Visitation where they plant : Nor can they without just cause be thrust out from government without great impiety ; and where they have planted, that is their line or Diocese. Thus I came to see, that of necessity a Diocese, and Bishop Diocesan, is very neere, if not altogether of Divine authority.

I am also of opinion, that it were good for our Ministers to learne how to doe this work from some of our reverend Bishops in *England*, for I feare our Ministers know not how to goe about it. Whether must not some Ministers learne their language ? It is a copious language, as I am informed, and they have as many words to expresse one thing as we have. And when they teach Indians to pray, will they not teach them [p. 71.] by a forme ? and how can Gods worship be maintained among ignorant persons without a forme ? I am firme of opinion, that the best of us have been much beholding to the Word read, and formes of Prayer.

*From Boston in N.E.*

*Julii 28. 1640.*

*This Gentleman to whom I wrote, kindly returned me a wise answer, wherein is this passage :*

**T**O speak in briefe, I think now that *New-England* is a perfect model and sampler of the state of us here at this time ; for all is out of joynt both in Church and Common-wealth, and when it will be better, God knoweth : To him we must pray for the amendment of it, and that he will not lay on us the merits of our nationall and particular sinnes, the true cause of all these evils.

*Dated out of Somerset-shire,  
Aprilis 27. 1641.*

*To another, thus :*

**I**N a word or two, we heare of great disturbances in our deare native Countrey ; I am heartily sorry, &c. I beseech you take my briefe opinion ; We here are quite out of the way of right government both in Church and Common-wealth, as I verily think, and as far as I can judge upon better consideration, and some pains taken [p. 72.] in searching after the bottome of some things. Some electorie wayes tend to the overthrow of Kingdomes : No such way for government of Englishmen, as a Monarchie ; of Christians, as by Diocesan Bishops in their line : Better yeeld to many pressures in a Monarchie, then for subjects to destroy, and spoile one another. If I were worthy to advise a word, I should desire you to have a care, and so all your friends, you prejudice not your estate, or posterity, by too much opposing the Regall power : For I verily beleve the Kings Majesty hath in generall a good cause touching Episcopacie : My reasons I could better deliver in presence, if haply God give opportunity to see you, or if you require it hereafter, I will be ready to present my thoughts unto you. All this, as I shall

answer before the Lord, without any by-respects. If you were here, I presume you would see more then I can, but I think you would be much of my mind.

*From Boston in N. E.*

*Septemb. 4. 1640.*

*To another of no meane rank.*

**C**omplaining of my sufferings, and shewing the reasons, desiring him to send for me, that I might declare them to his person more effectually.

*From Boston in N. E. March, 1640.*

[p. 73.] *To another.*

**Y**ou knew my condition and employment, and how ill it went with me in *England*, by reason of the trouble of our friends, and my own danger thereby. For my outward subsistence here, at this time, God knowes it is but meane; some say it is my owne fault, and that I stand in my owne light, and you, and others may so conceive; but the God of heaven is my witsse, I have endeavoured in all things to keep a good conscience, though sometimes I have failed; I have endeavoured, laying all by-respects aside, to joyne with the Church here, but cannot yet be satisfied in divers particulars, whereby I am kept from all place of employment or preferment, as I have had overtures made unto me of, if I would or could yeeld, but hitherto I have not dared to doe it, for good reasons best knowne to our heavenly Witsse. I must give you a taste.

They hold their Covenant constitutes their Church, and that implies, we that come to joyne with them, were not members of any true Church whence we came, and that I dare not professe. Againe, here is required such confessions, and professions, both in private and publique, both by men and women, before they be admitted, that three parts of the people

of the Country remaine out of the Church, so that in short time most of the people will remaine unbaptized, if this course hold, and is (we feare) of dangerous consequence, a thing not tending to the [p. 74.] propagation of the Gospel in peace: Which, though it have a colour of sanctimony and strictnesse, whereby many well-affected or affectionate people, but weak in sound experience and judgement, are the rather drawn thereunto, and they are in a manner necessitated to it, to maintaine their election of Magistrates and Ministers in their owne way of popular or Aristocraticall government; I dare not (for my part) yeeld unto neither in my own conscience, nor for the credit of those persons with whom I have been educated, and in whose causes I have been seen. A Monarchy is the best government for Englishmen; better to suffer some pressures under that kind of government, then to spoile one another with popular elections. Againe, I cannot yeeld to Lay-Elders, nor that Lay-men should impose hands upon any to the Ministerie, nor that any Minister should renounce his calling to the Ministerie which he received in *England*, as Antichristian: It is a grosse error, and palpable schisme; then our Baptisme is not right, and so there will be no end of separations. Also I beleieve there cannot be a Church, without a true Minister; nor can any gather themselves together into a Church without a true Minister; nor can they ordain their own Ministers; ordinarily, I meane; what may be done in an extraordinary case, *pro prima vice*, is another question; I hold there ought to be an Apostolicall Bishop, by succession from Christ and his Apostles, superiour in order or degree to his brethren; which Bishop ought to ordain, and [p. 75.] rule with other Presbyters, or alone, but Presbyters cannot without him. And if so be any thing in word or act passed from mee to the contrary hereof, I do professe it was in my ignorance.

Their calling is of Divine authority, or nearest thereunto, else the Church of God could not have subsisted in any tolerable way of peace, through all this by-past time of 1600. yeeres. I feare they know not what they say, that say the contrary: let them come here, they will quickly change their minde, if they study the point, and follow it home; for, besides the keeping of peace and unity, and a pure and able learned Ministry, how can the Gospell be propagated without some speciall Ministers, having the power Apostolicall, to goe forth to convert *Indians* or *Pagans*? If a Pastor, or Minister, or Christian, of any Church shall doe so, what hath he to doe with Infidels? as hee is a Pastor, he is no Pastor to them. Therefore if any are sent to convert, and establish Churches among Infidels, such as are sent are Apostolick Messengers, Bishops or Ministers to them, and ought to be sent with fasting and Prayer, and by imposition of hands of the Presbytery, and having converted Infidels, may plant Churches, and ordain Ministers among them, and afterwards visit them; and is not this Episcopacie, and their line wherein they have gone their Diocesse? These things naturally flow from, and are grounded in the Word, or equity thereof, and meere necessity. Now if all Ministers should ordinarily have this authority, to go forth to these works, [p. 76.] without mission, what quarelling there would be for division of Lines or Dioceses, let the experience of former ages tell, yea of the Apostolique times, wherein were not wanting those that quarelled with Saint *Paul* himselfe, about his Line or rule, 2 *Cor.* 10. Now unto this confusion, tends the opinion, that saith, a Bishop and Presbyter is all one and equal; it is of *Acrius*, it is false, and it is confusion. The reformed Churches and Writers that held so, had little experience of mission to convert & and plant Churches among Infidels. That reformation goes too deep that tends to

pulling downe of Cathedrall Churches, and Bishops houses: Should not Apostolick Bishops, and the chiefest Ministers have houses to dwell in, and Churches to recide and officiate in, whither all the Churches of their Line may send and come together in Councel, or Synod, and so do nothing of great moment without their Bishop, a *Timothy*, or a *Titus*? Again, Baptisme is admission and initiation into the Church; to whom Baptisme is committed, *viz.* Apostles and Apostolick Ministers, they have power of admission, that is, of loosing, and consequently of binding, excommunication or expulsion. Where is now the peoples power in the keys? are they all Apostles, and Apostolick Ministers? what confusion is this? who can yeeld to it knowingly? I beseech you pardon my zeale, and when you have considered all, pity my condition, and pray for me still. Well I am assured, that master *Prynne* & master *Burton* would never yeeld to these things, especially, [p. 77.] if they had experience of them. It is good for us to see our errours, and acknowledge them, that we may obtain peace in the day of account.

*Boston, 13. Oct. 1640.*

*To another.*

**S**orry and grieved we are at the heart, to heare of the troublous estate and condition of our native cuntry; wee here also meete with our troubles and distresses in outward things, and some in spirituall matters also. Here wants a staple commodity to maintain cloathing to the Colony. And for my own particular, hitherto I have beene much distressed here by reason I cannot yet so clearely understand the Church proceedings, as to yeeld to them, there are therein so many difficult considerations, that they have sometimes bred great confusion in my thoughts. Never since I saw you have I received

the Sacrament of the Lords Supper. I have disputed in writing, though to my great hinderance, in regard of outward things, yet blessed be the Lord, to my better satisfaction at the last. I never intended openly to oppose the godly here in any thing I thought they mistooke, but I was lately taken at advantage, and brought before the Magistrates, before whom, giving a quiet and peaceable answer, I was dismissed with favour, and respect promised me by some of the chiefe for the future. Our chiefe difference was about the foundation of the Church and Ministry, and what rigid separations [p. 78.] may tend unto, what is to be feared, in case the most of the people here should remaine unbaptized; considerations which may trouble the wisest among us. Rigid separations never did, nor can propagate the Gospell of Christ, they can do no good, they have done hurt. It is dangerous to found Church government on dark & uncertain interpretations of Prophetical, or other Scriptures; foundations ought to be full of evidence, & demonstration. Blessed be the Lord, now some of the chiefe leaders of the Churches here hold the Churches in *England* true Churches, and your Ministry lawfull, though divers corruptions there may be among you; yea some there bee of the chiefe among us that conceive the government by godly Bishops superintendent over others to be lawfull. Churches are not perfect in this world. We may not for every disagreement in opinion, or for slender pretended corruptions, separate from the Church: separate so once, and no end of separation.

*From Boston in N. E.*

*Decem. 19. 1640.*



## To conclude.

Suppose there are foure sorts of Government, which are used in Church, as in Common-wealth; Monarchicall absolute without Lawes, which is tyrannie; Monarchicall bounded by Lawes; Aristocraticall, and Democraticall: Episcopall absolute, which is Popish tyrannie; [p. 79.] Episcopall regulated by just Lawes; Presbyterian, and Congregationall: Which of these will all men like, and how long? Some have well compared the humour of the people in this kind, to a merry relation of an old man and his sonne, passing through the streets of a City, with one horse betweene them: First, the old man rode, then the people found fault with his unkindnesse, in that he did not cause his son to ride with him: then the young man gets up too, now the people say they are both unmercifull to the beast: downe comes the old man, then the young man is unmannerly to ride, and his father walk on foot: at last downe goes the young man also, and leads the horse, then they were both unwise to lead the horse, and neither of them to ride. Well, but alter the inconstant vulgar will; if so, God grant it be for the better. But then consider stories, one alteration follows another; some have altered sixe times, before they were settled againe, and ever the people have paid for it both money and bloud.

Concerning Church-government, what the Presbyterian way is, and how sutable for *Englands* Monarchie, I leave to the pious experienced Divines to set forth, and the Church and State thereof to judge.

And for the Congregationall independent government, whereof I have had some experience, give me leave instead of a better intelligencer thus to present to my deare countrey, now in a time of neede, my impartiall opinion in these confused [p. 80.] papers: And in brief thus: Although it had some small colour in Scripture, and a great pretence of holinesse, yet

no sound ground in the Scripture; Again, if it be neither fit nor possible long to bee continued in *New-England*, as not I alone, but many more eye and eare witnesses doe know, and the learned can and will judge undoubtedly, it must needs be much more unfit and impossible to be brought into *England*, or *Ireland*, or any other populous Nation.

All which upon the whole I humbly submit unto the sacred judgment and determination of holy Church, his royall Majesty, and his Highnesses great and honourable Councel, the high Court of PARLIAMENT.

*Imprimatur,*  
*Ioh: Hansley.*

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**F I N I S .**

[NOTE. — Lechford's "Plaine Dealing, or Newes from New-England," has become very rare. It has even been asserted that the copy in the possession of the Hon. Francis Baylies is the only one now in this country, excepting that belonging to the very valuable library of Harvard University. It therefore seemed to the Committee particularly deserving of early publication.]



Fac-simile of the Autographs of Sir Henry Vane  
and Gov.<sup>r</sup> Winthrop.

Massachusetts the 4<sup>th</sup> day  
of the 5<sup>th</sup> Month. 1636.

Your Loving friends

J. Vane. Gov.<sup>r</sup>

J. Winthrop Secy.

INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE MASSACHUSETTS TO JOHN WINTHROP ESQR FIRST GOVERNOUR OF CONNECTICUT TO TREAT WITH THE PEQUOTS.

[The following manuscript Letter and Commission directed to John Winthrop Jun. Esq., the first Governor of Connecticut, and signed by Sir Henry Vane, the Governor, and John Winthrop Esq. the Deputy Governor of Massachusetts, were found among the papers of the elder Gov. Trumbull of Connecticut in the year 1809, and were kindly furnished to the Publishing Committee of the Massachusetts Historical Society for publication in its Collections, by William T. Williams, Esq. of Lebanon, Con. The Society is also deeply indebted to Mr. Williams for several other manuscripts of interest published in this collection. These papers, it is understood, formerly belonged to the Connecticut branch of the Winthrop family.—*Pub. Committee.*]

“Whereas it so falls out by the good Prouidence of God, that the place of your present residence is neare adjoyning unto certaine of the Natiues who are called the Pequots, concerning whom we haue diuers things to enquire and satisfy ourselues in; our request to you therefore is, and by these presents we do giue you full power, authority, and commission to treat and conferre with the sayd Pequots, in our names according to the instructions to these annexed, as if wee ourselues were present: and to make report backe agayne unto vs of the issue and successe of the whole before the next Generall Court (which, God willing is intended in the beginning of the 7th month). Thus recommending you, and your affayres to the blessing of Allmighty God, wee rest

Your louing freinds

H Vane. Gov<sup>r</sup>

Jo: Winthrop Dep<sup>t</sup>

Massatuchets the 4<sup>th</sup> day  
Of the 5<sup>th</sup> month. 1636.”

“Massatuchets           The instructions which are re-  
Month: 5<sup>th</sup>. 4.           commended to John Winthrop Jun<sup>r</sup>  
1636.                   Esq<sup>r</sup> in his negotiation with the  
Pequots.

“1. To giue notice to the principall Sachem that you haue receaued a commission from vs to demaund a solemne meeting for conference with them in a friendly manner about matters of importance.

“2. In case they slight such a message and refuse to giue you a meeting (at such place as yourself shall apoynt) then you are in our names to returne backe their present, (which you shall receaue from vs) and to acquaint them with all, that we hold ourselues free from any peace or league with them as a people guilty of English blood.

“3. If they consent, and giue you a meeting as afore sayd, that then you lay downe vnto them how unworthily they haue requited our friendship with them; for as much as that they haue broken the very condition of the peace betwixt vs, by the not rendring into our hands the murtherers of Capt Stone, (which we desire you once agayne solemly to require of them), as also in that they so trifled with vs in their present which they made proffer of to vs, as that they did send but part of it, and put it off with this, as to say the old men did neuer consent to the giuing of it; which dealings sauour so much of dishonour and neglect, as that no people that desire friendship should put them in practice.

“4. To let them know first what credible relation hath beene given vs, that some of the cheif of them were actors in the murder of Mr Hamond and the other vpon Long Iland; and since of another Englishman there: and of their late determination to haue seized vpon a Plimouth Barke lying in their harbour for trade; as by the more large descriptions of these things, which we also send vnto you, will more distinctly appear. Of all these things we desire

you to take the relation from their owne mouths, and to informe vs particularly of their seuerall answers: giuing them to vnderstand that it is not the manner of the English to take reuenge of injury vntill the partys that are guilty haue beene called to answer fairely for themselves.

“5. To let them know that if they shall cleare themselues of these matters, we shall not refuse to hearken to any reasonable proposition from them for confirmation of the peace betwixt vs. But if they shall not giue you satisfaction according to these our instructions, or shall bee found guilty of any of the sayd murthers, and will not deliuer the actours in them into our hands, that then (as before you are directed) you returne them the present, and declare to them that we hold ourselues free from any league or peace with them, and shall reuenge the blood of our countrimen as occasion shall serue.

H: Vane Gov<sup>r</sup>

Jo: Winthrop Dep<sup>t</sup>”

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LEIFT LION GARDENER HIS RELATION OF THE PEQUOT WARRES.

[The original manuscript of this “Relation” and a copy in the handwriting of Gov. Trumbull were furnished to the Publishing Committee by William T. Williams, Esq.; the same gentleman whose kindness is mentioned on page 129 of this volume. The Committee, on account of the difficulty the printer would find in deciphering the original, have followed the orthography of the copy, excepting in the proper names, where they thought it of more importance to adhere to the ancient orthography. Mr. Williams in his interesting letters of July 19 and 23, 1832, addressed to a member of the Committee, has given some few particulars in relation to Lion Gardener; also a description of the battle-ground where the Pequots were destroyed, and of the burial place of Uncas and Miantunnomoh, together with a succinct account of the present condition of the remnant of the ancient and powerful tribes of the Pequots, Mohegans and Narragansets. These portions of the letters are of historical value, and the Committee therefore take the liberty of publishing the following extracts. — *Publishing Committee.*]

“Lion Gardener was sent over by Lords Say and Seal and Lord Brook to construct a fort at the mouth of Connecticut river, to command it, &c. He was said to be a skilful engineer, and on that account was selected. He had seen some service in the Low Countries under Gen. Fairfax. He came into this Country about the year 1633 or 1634 and erected the fort at Saybrook in Connecticut, which was so named in honour of Lords Say and Seal and Lord Brook: but how long he continued to command the fort I do not recollect. He commanded it when Capt. John Mason conquered the Pequots, for Mason in his history, you recollect, says, ‘he, Lt. Gardiner, complimented or entertained him with many big guns,’ on his arrival at the fort after the conquest of the Pequots.

\* \* \* \* \*

“Gardener continued some time in the command of the fort, but it does not appear when he left it. While he commanded it, he once very narrowly escaped being captured by the Pequots. He had five men with him, one of whom was taken and tortured; the fort was burnt down, and he and his family narrowly escaped being burnt in it. Gardener’s Island, lying in Gardener’s Bay, to which he removed and where he died, was taken possession of by him soon after his coming into this country. You will perceive he has reference to *his* island: it is a very beautiful island of good land, perhaps twenty-five hundred or three thousand acres, with a long sand point of not much value. It now wholly belongs to the family and was until the decease of the last proprietor, Jonathan Gardiner, an entailed estate; but I am told that the entail is now broken. The proprietors have always been called *Lords*.

\* \* \* \* \*

“In the mouth of Mystic river there is an island, now and always called Mason’s Island from old Capt.



Mason, containing five or six hundred acres. This island he took possession of by right of conquest, and the most of it is now possessed by his descendants. I believe it is the only spot in Connecticut claimed in that way.

\* \* \* \* \*

“Summer before last I went to the battle-ground on purpose to view it. The spot where the fort stood is in the present town of Groton, Connecticut, on the west side of Mystic river. Sassacus had this fort in the eastern part of his dominions to look after the Narragansetts. The hill is commanding and beautiful though not steep. The land is now owned by Roswell Fish, Esq. of Groton. There are no remains of the fort; Capt. Mason says it was of timber mostly, and of course when he burnt it, it must have been principally consumed. Mr. Fish told me that within his recollection (and he is about sixty) some few Indian arrow-heads and spears have been found on the ground, and also some bullets. The river is at the bottom of the hill, less than half a mile, I should think, from the site of the fort, and perhaps three miles from the head of the little village of Mystic in the town of Stonington, where the small streams that form the river meet the tide water. The river is the dividing line between the towns of Groton and Stonington. Porter's rocks, where Capt. Mason lodged, are near the village, and perhaps two miles above the site of the fort.

“Sassacus had another fort, about two miles west of the one taken by Mason, in the town of Groton, from which the one taken was recruited on the night before the attack. The whole of the shore of Mystic river, which is about six or seven miles from what is called head of Mystic, to its mouth, and particularly the west side, is rough, rugged, and rocky, but particularly pleasant, and filled with dwellings wherever they can be placed, inhabited chiefly by sailors and sea-

men. There is a pretty meeting-house among the  
 rocks. \* \* \* \* \*

“There is a remnant of the Pequots still existing. They live in the town of Groton, and amount to about forty souls, in all, or perhaps a few more or less; but do not vary much from that amount. They have about eleven hundred acres of poor land reserved to them in Groton, on which they live. They are more mixed than the Mohegans with negro and white blood, yet are a distinct tribe and still retain a hatred to the Mohegans. A short time since, I had an opportunity of seeing most of the tribe together. They are more vicious, and not so decent or so good-looking a people as the Mohegans. This however may be owing to their being more mixed with other blood. It is very rare that there are any intermarriages with either of the tribes to each other, they still, so far as circumstances admit, retaining the old grudge. The most common name among them is Meazen; nearly half call themselves by that surname.

“The Indians formerly called Ninegrate’s men, seem to be now called the Narragansetts, and live principally in Charlestown, Rhode Island. There are perhaps eighty, or more; though I am not so well informed concerning them, as of the Pequots or Mohegans.

“Considerable exertion is making now in favor of the Mohegans. A small, but neat church, has lately been erected by charity for them, and the United States have appropriated nine hundred dollars to build a school-master’s house, and for his salary. The house for the school-master is erected and a school-master hired, who also preaches to the tribe. All of the tribe are anxiously sought out, and the benevolent are trying to bring them all together to their ancient seat. There are about seventy men on their land, or perhaps a few more. They own about three thousand acres of good land in Montville, about

three miles below Norwich landing. The Trading Cove brook is their northern bound ; their eastern is the Thames river. The General Assembly of this State, immediately after the Pequot war was finished, declared, and I think unfortunately, that the name of the Pequots should become extinct ; that the river that used to be called Pequot should be called Thames ; and the place called Pequot should no longer be so called, but its name be changed to New London, in "remembrance," as the records declare, and as the Assembly say, "of the chief city in our dear native country."

"I have visited the ground where the rival chiefs, Uncas and Miantunnomoh, are buried. Uncas is buried in the royal burying ground, so called, which was appropriated to the Uncas family. It is just by the falls in the Yantic river in Norwich city ; a beautiful and romantic spot. Calvin Goddard, Esq. of Norwich, owns the ground, and has (honorably) railed it in, and keeps it appropriated to its use. I saw him a few days since ; he intends to enlarge it, and I hope to have an appropriate stone to mark the place. Miantunnomoh is buried in the east part of Norwich, at a place called Sachem's Plain, from the event of his death ; and is buried on the spot where he was slain. But a few years since a large heap of stones, thrown together by the wandering Indians, according to the custom of their country, and as a melancholy mark of the love the Narragansets had for their fallen chief, lay on his grave : but the despicable cupidity of some people in that vicinity has removed them to make common stone wall, as it saved them the trouble of gathering stones for that purpose. The spot of his sepulture is, however, yet known."

[The original manuscript consists of 12 pages folio. — *Pub. Committee.*]

“ *East Hampton, June 12, 1660.*

“ Loving Friends, Robert Chapman and Thomas Hurlburt, my love remembered to you both, these are to inform, that as you desired me when I was with you and Major Mason at Seabrooke two years and an half ago to consider and call to mind the passages of God's Providence at Seabrooke in and about the time of the Pequit [Pequot] War, wherein I have now endeavoured to answer your Desires and having rumaged and found some old papers then written it was a great help to my memory. You know that when I came to you I was an engineer or architect, whereof carpentry is a little part, but you know I could never use all the tools, for although for my necessity, I was forced sometimes to use my shifting chissel and my holdfast, yet you know I could never endure nor abide the smoothing plane; I have sent you a piece of timber scored and forehewed unfit to join to any handsome piece of work, but seeing I have done the hardest work, you must get somebody to chip it and to smooth it lest the splinters should prick some men's fingers, for the truth must not be spoken at all times, though to my knowledge I have written nothing but truth, and you may take out or put in what you please, or if you will, may throw it all into the fire; but I think you may let the Governor and Major Mason see it. I have also inserted some additions of things that were done since, that they may be considered together. And thus as I was when I was with you, so I remain still

Your loving friend,

LION GARDENER.

“ In the year 1635, I, Lion Gardener, Engineer and Master of works of Fortification in the legers of the Prince of Orange, in the Low Countries, through the persuasion of Mr. John Davenport, Mr. Hugh Peters

with some other well-affected Englishmen of Rotterdam, I made an agreement with the forenamed Mr. Peters for £ 100 per annum, for four years, to serve the company of patentees, namely, the Lord Say, the Lord Brooks [Brook,] Sir Arthur Hazilrig, Sir Mathew Bonnington [Bonighton?], Sir Richard Salt-  
ingstone [Saltonstall], Esquire Fenwick, and the rest of their company, [I say] I was to serve them only in the drawing, ordering and making of a city, towns or forts of defence. And so I came from Holland to London, and from thence to New-England, where I was appointed to attend such orders as Mr. John Winthrop, Esquire, the present Governor of Conectecott, was to appoint, whether at Pequit [Pequot] river, or Conectecott, and that we should choose a place both for the convenience of a good harbour, and also for capableness and fitness for fortification. But I landing at Boston the latter end of November, the aforesaid Mr. Winthrop had sent before one Lieut. Gibbons, Sergeant Willard, with some carpenters, to take possession of the River's mouth, where they began to build houses against the Spring; we expecting, according to promise, that there would have come from England to us 300 able men, whereof 200 should attend fortification, 50 to till the ground, and 50 to build houses. But our great expectation at the River's mouth, came only to two men, viz. Mr. Fenwick, and his man, who came with Mr. Hugh Peters, and Mr. Oldham and Thomas Stanton, bringing with them some Otter-skin coats, and Beaver, and skeins of wampum, which the Pequits [Pequots] had sent for a present, because the English had required those Pequits [Pequots] that had killed a Virginean [Virginian], one Capt. Stone, with his Bark's crew, in Conectecott River, for they said they would have their lives and not their presents; then I answered, Seeing you will take Mr. Winthrop to the Bay to see his wife, newly brought to bed of her first child, and

though you say he shall return, yet I know if you make war with these Pequits, he will not come hither again, for I know you will keep yourselves safe, as you think, in the Bay, but myself, with these few, you will leave at the stake to be roasted, or for hunger to be starved, for Indian corn is now 12s. per bushel, and we have but three acres planted, and if they will now make war for a Virginian and expose us to the Indians, whose mercies are cruelties, they, I say, they love the Virginians better than us: for, have they stayed these four or five years, and will they begin now, we being so few in the River, and have scarce holes to put our heads in? I pray ask the Magistrates in the Bay if they have forgot what I said to them when I returned from Salem? For Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Haines, Mr. Dudley, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Humfry, Mr. Belingam [Bellingham], Mr. Coddington, and Mr. Nowell;—these entreated me to go with Mr. Humfry and Mr. Peters to view the country, to see how fit it was for fortification. And I told them that Nature had done more than half the work already, and I thought no foreign potent enemy would do them any hurt, but one that was near. They asked me who that was, and I said it was Capt. Hunger that threatened them most, for, (said I,) War is like a three-footed Stool, want one foot and down comes all; and these three feet are men, victuals, and munition, therefore, seeing in peace you are like to be famished, what will or can be done if war? Therefore I think, said I, it will be best only to fight against Capt. Hunger, and let fortification alone awhile; and if need hereafter require it, I can come to do you any service: and they all liked my saying well. Entreat them to rest awhile, till we get more strength here about us, and that we hear where the seat of the war will be, may approve of it, and provide for it, for I had but twenty-four in all, men, women, and boys and girls, and not food for them for two months, unless we saved our corn-field, which

could not possibly be if they came to war, for it is two miles from our home. Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Fenwick, and Mr. Peters promised me that they would do their utmost endeavour to persuade the Bay-men to desist from war a year or two, till we could be better provided for it; and then the Pequit Sachem was sent for, and the present returned, but full sore against my will. So they three returned to Boston, and two or three days after came an Indian from Pequit, whose name was Cocommithus, who had lived at Plimoth, and could speak good English; he desired that Mr. Steven [Stephen] Winthrop would go to Pequit with an £100 worth of trucking cloth and all other trading ware, for they knew that we had a great cargo of goods of Mr. Pincheon's, and Mr. Steven Winthrop had the disposing of it. And he said that if he would come he might put off all his goods, and the Pequit Sachem would give him two horses that had been there a great while. So I sent the Shallop, with Mr. Steven Winthrop, Sergeant Tille [Tilly], (whom we called afterward Sergeant Kettle, because he put the kettle on his head,) and Thomas Hurlbut and three men more, charging them that they should ride in the middle of the river, and not go ashore until they had done all their trade, and that Mr. Steven Winthrop should stand in the hold of the boat, having their guns by them, and swords by their sides, the other four to be, two in the fore cuddie, and two in aft, being armed in like manner, that so they out of the loop-holes might clear the boat, if they were by the Pequits assaulted; and that they should let but one canoe come aboard at once, with no more but four Indians in her, and when she had traded then another, and that they should lie no longer there than one day, and at night to go out of the river; and if they brought the two horses, to take them in at a clear piece of land at the mouth of the River, two of them go ashore to help

the horses in, and the rest stand ready with their guns in their hands, if need were, to defend them from the Pequits, for I durst not trust them. So they went and found but little trade, and they having forgotten what I charged them, Thomas Hurlbut and one more went ashore to boil the kettle, and Thomas Hurlbut stepping into the Sachem's wigwam, not far from the shore, enquiring for the horses, the Indians went out of the wigwam, and Wincumbone, his mother's sister, was then the great Pequit Sachem's wife, who made signs to him that he should be gone, for they would cut off his head; which, when he perceived, he drew his sword and ran to the others, and got aboard, and immediately came abundance of Indians to the water-side and called them to come ashore, but they immediately set sail and came home, and this caused me to keep watch and ward, for I saw they plotted our destruction. And suddenly after came Capt. Endecott, Capt. Turner, and Capt. Undrill [Underhill], with a company of soldiers, well fitted, to Seabrook, and made that place their rendezvous or seat of war, and that to my great grief, for, said I, you come hither to raise these wasps about my ears, and then you will take wing and flee away; but when I had seen their commission I wondered, and made many allegations against the manner of it, but go they did to Pequit, and as they came without acquainting any of us in the River with it, so they went against our will, for I knew that I should lose our corn-field; then I entreated them to hear what I would say to them, which was this: Sirs, Seeing you will go, I pray you, if you don't load your Barks with Pequits, load them with corn, for that is now gathered with them, and dry, ready to put into their barns, and both you and we have need of it, and I will send my shallop and hire this Dutchman's boat, there present, to go with you, and if you cannot attain your end of the Pequits, yet you may



load your barks with corn, which will be welcome to Boston and to me : But they said they had no bags to load them with, then said I, here is three dozen of new bags, you shall have thirty of them, and my shallop to carry them, and six of them my men shall use themselves, for I will with the Dutchmen send twelve men well provided ; and I desired them to divide the men into three parts, viz. two parts to stand without the corn, and to defend the other one third part, that carried the corn to the water-side, till they have loaden what they can. And the men there in arms, when the rest are aboard, shall in order go aboard, the rest that are aboard shall with their arms clear the shore, if the Pequits do assault them in the rear, and then, when the General shall display his colours, all to set sail together. To this motion they all agreed, and I put the three dozen of bags aboard my shallop, and away they went, and demanded the Pequit Sachem to come into parley. But it was returned for answer, that he was from home, but within three hours he would come ; and so from three to six, and thence to nine, there came none. But the Indians came without arms to our men, in great numbers, and they talked with my men, whom they knew ; but in the end, at a word given, they all on a sudden ran away from our men, as they stood in rank and file, and not an Indian more was to be seen : and all this while before, they carried all their stuff away, and thus was that great parley ended. Then they displayed their colours, and beat their drums, burnt some wigwams and some heaps of corn, and my men carried as much aboard as they could, but the army went aboard, leaving my men ashore, which ought to have marched aboard first. But they all set sail, and my men were pursued by the Indians, and they hurt some of the Indians, and two of them came home wounded. The Bay-men killed not a man, save that one Kichomiquim [Cutshamequin], an Indian Sa-

chem of the Bay, killed a Pequit; and thus began the war between the Indians and us in these parts. So my men being come home, and having brought a pretty quantity of corn with them, they informed me (both Dutch and English) of all passages. I was glad of the corn. After this I immediately took men and went to our corn-field, to gather our corn, appointing others to come about with the shallop and fetch it, and left five lusty men in the strong-house, with long guns, which house I had built for the defence of the corn. Now these men not regarding the charge I had given them, three of them went a mile from the house a fowling; and having loaded themselves with fowl they returned. But the Pequits let them pass first, till they had loaded themselves, but at their return they arose out of their ambush, and shot them all three; one of them escaped through the corn, shot through the leg, the other two they tormented. Then the next day I sent the shallop to fetch the five men, and the rest of the corn that was broken down, and they found but three, as is above said, and when they had gotten that they left the rest; and as soon as they were gone a little way from shore, they saw the house on fire. Now so soon as the boat came home, and brought us this bad news, old Mr. Michell was very urgent with me to lend him the boat to fetch hay home from the Six-mile Island, but I told him they were too few men, for his four men could but carry the hay aboard, and one must stand in the boat to defend them, and they must have two more at the foot of the Rock, with their guns, to keep the Indians from running down upon them. And in the first place, before they carry any of the cocks of hay, to scour the meadow with their three dogs,—to march all abreast from the lower end up to the Rock, and if they found the meadow clear, then to load their hay; but this was also neglected, for they all went ashore and fell to

carrying off their hay, and the Indians presently rose out of the long grass, and killed three, and took the brother of Mr. Michell, who is the minister of Cambridge, and roasted him alive; and so they served a shallop of his, coming down the river in the Spring, having two men, one whereof they killed at Six-mile Island, the other came down drowned to us ashore at our doors, with an arrow shot into his eye through his head.

In the 22d of February, I went out with ten men, and three dogs, half a mile from the house, to burn the weeds, leaves and reeds, upon the neck of land, because we had felled twenty timber-trees, which we were to roll to the water-side to bring home, every man carrying a length of match with brimstone-matches with him to kindle the fire withal. But when we came to the small of the Neck, the weeds burning, I having before this set two sentinels on the small of the Neck, I called to the men that were burning the reeds to come away, but they would not until they had burnt up the rest of their matches. Presently there starts up four Indians out of the fiery reeds, but ran away, I calling to the rest of our men to come away out of the marsh. Then Robert Chapman and Thomas Hurlbut, being sentinels, called to me, saying there came a number of Indians out of the other side of the marsh. Then I went to stop them, that they should not get the wood-land; but Thomas Hurlbut cried out to me that some of the men did not follow me, for Thomas Rumble and Arthur Branch, threw down their two guns and ran away; then the Indians shot two of them that were in the reeds, and sought to get between us and home, but durst not come before us, but kept us in a half-moon, we retreating and exchanging many a shot, so that Thomas Hurlbut was shot almost through the thigh, John Spencer in the back, into his kidneys, myself into the thigh, two more

were shot dead. But in our retreat I kept Hurlbut and Spencer still before us, we defending ourselves with our naked swords, or else they had taken us all alive, so that the two sore wounded men, by our slow retreat, got home with their guns, when our two sound men ran away and left their guns behind them. But when I saw the cowards that left us, I resolved to let them draw lots which of them should be hanged, for the articles did hang up in the hall for them to read, and they knew they had been published long before. But at the intercession of old Mr. Michell, Mr. Higginson [Higginson], and Mr. Pell, I did forbear. Within a few days after, when I had cured myself of my wound, I went out with eight men to get some fowl for our relief, and found the guns that were thrown away, and the body of one man shot through, the arrow going in at the right side, the head sticking fast, half through a rib on the left side, which I took out and cleansed it, and presumed to send to the Bay, because they had said that the arrows of the Indians were of no force.

Anthony Dike, master of a bark, having his bark at Rhode-Island in the winter, was sent by Mr. Vane, then Governor. Anthony came to Rhode-Island by land, and from thence he came with his bark to me with a letter, wherein was desired that I should consider and prescribe the best way I could to quell these Pequits, which I also did, and with my letter sent the man's rib as a token. A few days after, came Thomas Stanton down the River, and staying for a wind, while he was there came a troop of Indians within musket shot, laying themselves and their arms down behind a little rising hill and two great trees; which I perceiving, called the carpenter whom I had shewed how to charge and level a gun, and that he should put two cartridges of musket bullets into two sakers guns that lay about; and we levelled them against the place, and I told him that he must

look towards me, and when he saw me wave my hat above my head he should give fire to both the guns; then presently came three Indians, creeping out and calling to us to speak with us: and I was glad that Thomas Stanton was there, and I sent six men down by the Garden Pales to look that none should come under the hill behind us; and having placed the rest in places convenient closely, Thomas and I with my sword, pistol and carbine, went ten or twelve pole without the gate to parley with them. And when the six men came to the Garden Pales, at the corner, they found a great number of Indians creeping behind the fort, or betwixt us and home, but they ran away. Now I had said to Thomas Stanton, Whatsoever they say to you, tell me first, for we will not answer them directly to any thing, for I know not the mind of the rest of the English. So they came forth, calling us nearer to them, and we them nearer to us. But I would not let Thomas go any further than the great stump of a tree, and I stood by him; then they asked who we were, and he answered, Thomas and Lieutenant. But they said he lied, for I was shot with many arrows; and so I was, but my buff coat preserved me, only one hurt me. But when I spake to them they knew my voice, for one of them had dwelt three months with us, but ran away when the Bay-men came first. Then they asked us if we would fight with Niantecut Indians, for they were our friends and came to trade with us. We said we knew not the Indians one from another, and therefore would trade with none. Then they said, Have you fought enough? We said we knew not yet. Then they asked if we did use to kill women and children? We said they should see that hereafter. So they were silent a small space, and then they said, We are Pequits, and have killed Englishmen, and can kill them as mosquitoes, and we will go to Conectecott and kill men, women, and children, and we will take away

the horses, cows and hogs. When Thomas Stanton had told me this, he prayed me to shoot that rogue, for, said he, he hath an Englishman's coat on, and saith that he hath killed three, and these other four have their cloathes on their backs. I said, No, it is not the manner of a parley, but have patience and I shall fit them ere they go. Nay, now or never, said he; so when he could get no other answer but this last, I bid him tell them that they should not go to Conectecott, for if they did kill all the men, and take all the rest as they said, it would do them no good, but hurt, for English women are lazy, and can't do their work; horses and cows will spoil your corn-fields, and the hogs their clam-banks, and so undo them: then I pointed to our great house, and bid him tell them there lay twenty pieces of trucking cloth, of Mr. Pincheon's, with hoes, hatchets, and all manner of trade, they were better fight still with us, and so get all that, and then go up the river after they had killed all us. Having heard this, they were mad as dogs, and ran away; then when they came to the place from whence they came, I waved my hat about my head, and the two great guns went off, so that there was a great hubbub amongst them. Then two days after, came down Capt. Mason, and Sergeant Seely, with five men more, to see how it was with us; and whilst they were there, came down a Dutch boat, telling us the Indians had killed fourteen English, for by that boat I had sent up letters to Conectecott, what I heard, and what I thought, and how to prevent that threatened danger, and received back again rather a scoff, than any thanks, for my care and pains. But as I wrote, so it fell out to my great grief and theirs, for the next, or second day after, (as Major Mason well knows,) came down a great many canoes, going down the creek beyond the marsh, before the fort, many of them having white shirts; then I commanded the carpenter

whom I had shewed to level great guns, to put in two round shot into the two sackers, and we levelled them at a certain place, and I stood to bid him give fire, when I thought the canoe would meet the bullet, and one of them took off the nose of a great canoe wherein the two maids were, that were taken by the Indians, whom I redeemed and clothed, for the Dutchmen, whom I sent to fetch them, brought them away almost naked from Pequit, they putting on their own linen jackets to cover their nakedness; and though the redemption cost me ten pounds, I am yet to have thanks for my care and charge about them: these things are known to Major Mason.

Then came from the Bay Mr. Tille, with a permit to go up to Harford [Hartford], and coming ashore he saw a paper nailed up over the gate, whereon was written, that no boat or bark should pass the fort, but that they come to an anchor first, that I might see whether they were armed and manned sufficiently, and they were not to land any where after they passed the fort till they came to Wethersfield; and this I did because Mr. Michel had lost a shallop before coming down from Wethersfield, with three men well armed. This Mr. Tille gave me ill language for my presumption, (as he called it,) with other expressions too long here to write. When he had done, I bid him go to his warehouse, which he had built before I came, to fetch his goods from thence, for I would watch no longer over it. So he, knowing nothing, went and found his house burnt, and one of Mr. Plum's with others, and he told me to my face that I had caused it to be done; but Mr. Higginson, Mr. Pell, Thomas Hurlbut and John Green can witness that the same day that our house was burnt at Cornfield-point I went with Mr. Higginson, Mr. Pell, and four men more, broke open a door and took a note of all that was in the house and gave it to Mr. Higginson to keep, and so brought all the goods to

our house, and delivered it all to them again when they came for it, without any penny of charge. Now the very next day after I had taken the goods out, before the sun was quite down, and we all together in the great hall, all them houses were on fire in one instant. The Indians ran away, but I would not follow them. Now when Mr. Tille had received all his goods I said unto him, I thought I had deserved for my honest care both for their bodies and goods of those that passed by here, at the least better language, and am resolved to order such malepert persons as you are; therefore I wish you and also charge you to observe that which you have read at the gate, 'tis my duty to God, my masters, and my love I bear to you all which is the ground of this, had you but eyes to see it; but you will not till you feel it. So he went up the river, and when he came down again to his place, which I called Tille's folly, now called Tille's point, in our sight in despite, having a fair wind he came to an anchor, and with one man more went ashore, discharged his gun, and the Indians fell upon him, and killed the other, and carried him alive over the river in our sight, before my shallop could come to them; for immediately I sent seven men to fetch the Pink down, or else it had been taken and three men more. So they brought her down, and I sent Mr. Higginson and Mr. Pell aboard to take an invoice of all that was in the vessel, that nothing might be lost. Two days after came to me, as I had written to Sir Henerie Vane, then Governor of the Bay, I say came to me Capt. Undrill [Underhill], with twenty lusty men, well armed, to stay with me two months, or 'till something should be done about the Pequits. He came at the charge of my masters. Soon after came down from Harford Maj. Mason, Lieut. Seely, accompanied with Mr. Stone and eighty Englishmen, and eighty Indians, with a commission from Mr. Ludlow



and Mr. Steel, and some others; these came to go fight with the Pequits. But when Capt. Undrill [Underhill] and I had seen their commission, we both said they were not fitted for such a design, and we said to Maj. Mason we wondered he would venture himself, being no better fitted; and he said the Magistrates could not or would not send better; then we said that none of our men should go with them, neither should they go unless we, that were bred soldiers from our youth, could see some likelihood to do better than the Bay-men with their strong commission last year. Then I asked them how they durst trust the Mohegin [Mohegan] Indians, who had but that year come from the Pequits. They said they would trust them, for they could not well go without them for want of guides. Yea, said I, but I will try them before a man of ours shall go with you or them; and I called for Uncas and said unto him, You say you will help Maj. Mason, but I will first see it, therefore send you now twenty men to the Bass river, for there went yesternight six Indians in a canoe thither; fetch them now dead or alive, and then you shall go with Maj. Mason, else not. So he sent his men who killed four, brought one a traitor to us alive, whose name was Kiswas, and one ran away. And I gave him fifteen yards of trading cloth on my own charge, to give unto his men according to their desert. And having staid there five or six days before we could agree, at last we old soldiers agreed about the way and act, and took twenty insufficient men from the eighty that came from Harford [Hartford] and sent them up again in a shallop, and Capt. Undrill [Underhill] with twenty of the lustiest of our men went in their room, and I furnished them with such things as they wanted, and sent Mr. Pell, the surgeon, with them; and the Lord God blessed their design and way, so that they returned with victory to the glory of God, and honour of our nation, having

slain three hundred, burnt their fort, and taken many prisoners. Then came to me an Indian called Wequash, and I by Mr. Higginson inquired of him, how many of the Pequits were yet alive that had helped to kill Englishmen; and he declared them to Mr. Higginson, and he writ them down, as may appear by his own hand here enclosed, and I did as therein is written. Then three days after the fight came Waiandance, next brother to the old Sachem of Long Island, and having been recommended to me by Maj. Gibbons, he came to know if we were angry with all Indians. I answered No, but only with such as had killed Englishmen. He asked me whether they that lived upon Long-Island might come to trade with us. I said No, nor we with them, for if I should send my boat to trade for corn, and you have Pequits with you, and if my boat should come into some creek by reason of bad weather, they might kill my men, and I shall think that you of Long Island have done it, and so we may kill all you for the Pequits; but if you will kill all the Pequits that come to you, and send me their heads, then I will give to you as to Weakwash [Wequash], and you shall have trade with us. Then, said he, I will go to my brother, for he is the great Sachem of all Long Island, and if we may have peace and trade with you, we will give you tribute, as we did the Pequits. Then I said, If you have any Indians that have killed English, you must bring their heads also. He answered, not any one, and said that Gibbons, my brother, would have told you if it had been so; so he went away and did as I had said, and sent me five heads, three and four heads for which I paid them that brought them as I had promised.

Then came Capt. Stoten [Stoughton] with an army of 300 men, from the Bay, to kill the Pequits; but they were fled beyond New Haven to a swamp. I sent Wequash after them, who went by night to spy them out, and the army followed him, and found

them at the great swamp, who killed some and took others, and the rest fled to the Mowhakes [Mohawks], with their Sachem. Then the Mohawks cut off his head and sent it to Harford, for then they all feared us, but now it is otherwise, for they say to our faces that our Commissioners meeting once a year, and speak a great deal, or write a letter, and there's all, for they dare not fight. But before they went to the Great Swamp they sent Thomas Stanton over to Long Island and Shelter Island to find Pequits there, but there was none, for the Sachem Waiandance, that was at Plimoth when the Commissioners were there, and set there last, I say, he had killed so many of the Pequits, and sent their heads to me, that they durst not come there; and he and his men went with the English to the Swamp, and thus the Pequits were quelled at that time. But there was like to be a great broil between Miantenomie [Miantunnomoh] and Unchus [Uncas] who should have the rest of the Pequits, but we mediated between them and pacified them; also Unchus challenged the Narraganset Sachem out to a single combat, but he would not fight without all his men; but they were pacified, though the old grudge remained still, as it doth appear. Thus far I had written in a book, that all men and posterity might know how and why so many honest men had their blood shed, yea, and some flayed alive, others cut in pieces, and some roasted alive, only because Kichamokin [Cutshamequin], a Bay Indian, killed one Pequit; and thus far of the Pequit war, which was but a comedy in comparison of the tragedies which hath been here threatened since, and may yet come, if God do not open the eyes, ears, and hearts of some that I think are wilfully deaf and blind, and think because there is no change that the vision fails, and put the evil-threatened day far off, for say they, We are now twenty to one to what we were then, and none dare meddle with us. Oh! wo be to the pride and

security which hath been the ruin of many nations, as woful experience has proved.

But I wonder, and so doth many more with me, that the Bay doth no better revenge the murdering of Mr. Oldham, an honest man of their own, seeing they were at such cost for a Virginian. The Narragansets that were at Block-Island killed him, and had £50 of gold of his, for I saw it when he had five pieces of me, and put it up into a clout and tied it up all together, when he went away from me to Block Island; but the Narragansets had it and punched holes into it, and put it about their necks for jewels; and afterwards I saw the Dutch have some of it, which they had of the Narragansets at a small rate.

And now I find that to be true which our friend Waiandance told me many years ago, and that was this; that seeing all the plots of the Narragansets were always discovered, he said they would let us alone 'till they had destroyed Uncas, and him, and then they, with the Mowquakes and Mowhakues and the Indians beyond the Dutch, and all the Northern and Eastern Indians, would easily destroy us, man and mother's son. This have I informed the Governors of these parts, but all in vain, for I see they have done as those of Wethersfield, not regarding till they were impelled to it by blood; and thus we may be sure of the fattest of the flock are like to go first, if not altogether, and then it will be too late to read Jer. xxv. — for drink we shall if the Lord be not the more merciful to us for our extreme pride and base security, which cannot but stink before the Lord; and we may expect this, that if there should be war again between England and Holland, our friends at the Dutch and our Dutch Englishmen would prove as true to us now, as they were when the fleet came out of England; but no more of that, a word to the wise is enough.

And now I am old, I would fain die a natural death,

or like a soldier in the field, with honor, and not to have a sharp stake set in the ground, and thrust into my fundament, and to have my skin flayed off by piece-meal, and cut in pieces and bits, and my flesh roasted and thrust down my throat, as these people have done, and I know will be done to the chiefest in the country by hundreds, if God should deliver us into their hands, as justly he may for our sins.

I going over to Meantacut, upon the eastern end of Long Island, upon some occasion that I had there, I found four Narragansets there talking with the Sachem and his old counsellors. I asked an Indian what they were? He said that they were Narragansets, and that one was Miannemo [Miantunnomoh], a Sachem. What came they for? said I. He said he knew not, for they talked secretly; so I departed to another wigwam. Shortly after came the Sachem Waiandance to me and said, Do you know what these came for? No, said I; then he said, They say I must give no more wampum to the English, for they are no Sachems, nor none of their children shall be in their place if they die; and they have no tribute given them; there is but one king in England, who is over them all, and if you would send him 100,000 fathom of wampum, he would not give you a knife for it, nor thank you. And I said to them, Then they will come and kill us all, as they did the Pequits; then they said No, the Pequits gave them wampum and beaver, which they loved so well, but they sent it them again, and killed them because they had killed an Englishman; but you have killed none, therefore give them nothing. Now friend, tell me what I shall say to them, for one of them is a great man. Then said I, Tell them that you must go first to the farther end of Long-Island, and speak with all the rest, and a month hence you will give them an answer. Mean time you may go to Mr. Haines, and he will tell you what to do, and I will write all this now in my book

that I have here ; and so he did, and the Narragansets departed, and this Sachem came to me at my house, and I wrote this matter to Mr. Haines, and he went up with it to Mr. Haines, who forbid him to give any thing to the Narraganset, and writ to me so. — And when they came again they came by my Island, and I knew them to be the same men ; and I told them they might go home again, and I gave them Mr. Haynes his letter for Mr. Williams to read to the Sachem. So they returned back again, for I had said to them, that if they would go to Mantacut I would go likewise with them, and that Long-Island must not give wampum to Narraganset.

A while after this came Miantenomie from Block-Island to Mantacut with a troop of men, Waiandance being not at home ; and instead of receiving presents, which they used to do in their progress, he gave them gifts, calling them brethren and friends, for so are we all Indians as the English are, and say brother to one another ; so must we be one as they are, otherwise we shall be all gone shortly, for you know our fathers had plenty of deer and skins, our plains were full of deer, as also our woods, and of turkies, and our coves full of fish and fowl. But these English having gotten our land, they with scythes cut down the grass, and with axes fell the trees ; their cows and horses eat the grass, and their hogs spoil our clam banks, and we shall all be starved ; therefore it is best for you to do as we, for we are all the Sachems from east to west, both Moquakues and Mohawks joining with us, and we are all resolved to fall upon them all, at one appointed day ; and therefore I am come to you privately first, because you can persuade the Indians and Sachem to what you will, and I will send over fifty Indians to Block-Island, and thirty to you from thence, and take an hundred of Southampton Indians with an hundred of your own here ; and when you see the three fires that will be

made forty days hence, in a clear night, then do as we, and the next day fall on and kill men, women, and children, but no cows, for they will serve to eat till our deer be increased again. — And our old men thought it was well. So the Sachem came home and had but little talk with them, yet he was told there had been a secret consultation between the old men and Miantenomie, but they told him nothing in three days. So he came over to me and acquainted me with the manner of the Narragansets being there with his men, and asked me what I thought of it; and I told him that the Narraganset Sachem was naught to talk with his men secretly in his absence, and I bid him go home, and told him a way how he might know all, and then he should come and tell me; and so he did, and found all out as is above written, and I sent intelligence of it over to Mr. Haynes and Mr. Eaton; but because my boat was gone from home it was fifteen days before they had any letter, and Miantenomie was gotten home before they had news of it. And the old men, when they saw how I and the Sachem had beguiled them, and that he was come over to me, they sent secretly a canoe over, in a moon-shine night, to Narraganset to tell them all was discovered; so the plot failed, blessed be God, and the plotter, next Spring after, did as Ahab did at Ramoth-Gilead. — So he to Mohegin, and there had his fall.

Two years after this, Ninechratt sent over a captain of his, who acted in every point as the former; him the Sachem took and bound and brought him to me, and I wrote the same to Governor Eaton, and sent an Indian that was my servant and had lived four years with me; him, with nine more, I sent to carry him to New-Haven, and gave them food for ten days. But the wind hindered them at Plum-Island; then they went to Shelter-Island, where the old Sachem dwelt — Waiandance's elder brother, and in the night

they let him go, only my letter they sent to New-Haven, and thus these two plots was discovered; but now my friend and brother is gone, who will now do the like?

But if the premises be not sufficient to prove Waiandance a true friend to the English, for some may say he did all this out of malice to the Pequits and Narragansets; now I shall prove the like with respect to the Long-Islanders, his own men. For I being at Meantacut, it happened that for an old grudge of a Pequit, who was put to death at Southampton, being known to be a murderer, and for this his friends bear a spite against the English. So as it came to pass at that day I was at Mantacut, a good honest woman was killed by them at Southampton, but it was not known then who did this murder. And the brother of this Sachem was Shinacock Sachem could or would not find it out. At that time Mr. Gosmore and Mr. Howell, being magistrates, sent an Indian to fetch the Sachem thither; and it being in the night, I was laid down when he came, and being a great cry amongst them, upon which all the men gathered together, and the story being told, all of them said the Sachem should not go, for, said they, they will either bind you or kill you, and then us, both men, women and children; therefore let your brother find it out, or let them kill you and us, we will live and die together. So there was a great silence for a while, and then the Sachem said, Now you have all done I will hear what my friend will say, for [he] knows what they will do. So they wakened me as they thought, but I was not asleep, and told me the story, but I made strange of the matter, and said, If the magistrates have sent for you why do you not go? They will bind me or kill me, saith he. I think so, said I, if you have killed the woman, or known of it, and did not reveal it; but you were here and did it not. But was any of your Mantauket



Indians there to-day? They all answered, Not a man these two days, for we have inquired concerning that already. Then said I, Did none of you ever hear any Indian say he would kill English? — No, said they all; then I said, I shall not go home 'till tomorrow, though I thought to have been gone so soon as the moon was up, but I will stay here till you all know it is well with your Sachem; if they bind him, bind me, and if they kill him, kill me. But then you must find out him that did the murder, and all that know of it, them they will have and no more. Then they with a great cry thanked me, and I wrote a small note with the Sachem, that they should not stay him long in their houses, but let him eat and drink and be gone, for he had his way before him. So they did, and that night he found out four that were consenters to it, and knew of it, and brought them to them at Southampton, and they were all hanged at Harford, whereof one of these was a great man among them, commonly called the Blue Sachem.

A further instance of his faithfulness is this; about the Pequit war time one William Hamman [Hammond], of the Bay, killed by a giant-like Indian towards the Dutch. I heard of it, and told Waiandance that he must kill him or bring him to me; but he said it was not his brother's mind, and he is the great Sachem of all Long-Island, likewise the Indian is a mighty great man, and no man durst meddle with him, and hath many friends. So this rested until he had killed another, one Thomas Farrington. After this the old Sachem died, and I spake to this Sachem again about it, and he answered, He is so cunning, that when he hears that I come that way a hunting, that his friends tell him, and then he is gone. — But I will go at some time when nobody knows of it, and then I will kill him; and so he did — and this was the last act which he did for us, for in the time of a great

mortality among them he died, but it was by poison ; also two thirds of the Indians upon Long-Island died, else the Narragansets had not made such havoc here as they have, and might not help them. — And this I have written chiefly for our own good, that we might consider what danger we are all in, and also to declare to the country that we had found an heathen, yea an Indian, in this respect to parallel the Jewish Mordecai. But now I am at a stand, for all we English would be thought and called Christians ; yet, though I have seen this before spoken, having been these twenty-four years in the mouth of the premises, yet I know not where to find, or whose name to insert, to parallel Ahasuerus lying on his bed and could not sleep, and called for the Chronicles to be read ; and when he heard Mordecai named, said, What hath been done for him ? But who will say as he said, or do answerable to what he did ? But our New-England twelve-penny Chronicle is stuffed with a catalogue of the names of some, as if they had deserved immortal fame ; but the right New-England military worthies are left out for want of room, as Maj. Mason, Capt. Undrill [Underhill], Lieut. Sielly [Seely], &c., who undertook the desperate way and design to Mistick Fort, and killed three hundred, burnt the fort and took many prisoners, though they are not once named. But honest Abraham thought it no shame to name the confederates that helped him to war when he redeemed his brother Lot ; but Uncas of Mistick, and Waiandance, at the Great Swamp and ever since your trusty friend, is forgotten, and for our sakes persecuted to this day with fire and sword, and Ahasuerus of New-England is still asleep, and if there be any like to Ahasuerus, let him remember what glory to God and honor to our nation hath followed their wisdom and valor. Awake ! awake Ahasuerus, if there be any of thy seed or spirit here, and let not Haman destroy us as he hath done our

Mordecai! And although there hath been much blood shed here in these parts among us, God and we know it came not by us. But if all must drink of this cup that is threatened, then shortly the king of Sheshack shall drink last, and tremble and fall when our pain will be past. O that I were in the countries again, that in their but twelve years truce, repaired cities and towns, made strong forts, and prepared all things needful against a time of war like Solomon. I think the soil hath almost infected me, but what they or our enemies will do hereafter I know not. I hope I shall not live so long to hear or see it, for I am old and out of date, else I might be in fear to see and hear that I think ere long will come upon us.

Thus for our tragical story, now to the comedy. When we were all at supper in the great hall, they (the Pequits) gave us alarm to draw us out three times before we could finish our short supper, for we had but little to eat, but you know that I would not go out; the reasons you know.

2ndly. You Robert Chapman, you know that when you and John Bagley were beating samp at the Garden Pales, the sentinels called you to run in, for there was a number of Pequits creeping to you to catch you; I hearing it went up to the Redoubt and put two cross-bar shot into the two guns that lay above, and levelled them at the trees in the middle of the limbs and boughs, and gave order to John Frend and his man to stand with hand-spikes to turn them this or that way, as they should hear the Indians shout, for they should know my shout from theirs for it should be very short. Then I called six men, and the dogs, and went out, running to the place, and keeping all abreast, in sight, close together. And when I saw my time I said, Stand! and called all to me saying, Look on me; and when I hold up my hand, then shout as loud as you can, and

when I hold down my hand, then leave ; and so they did. Then the Indians began a long shout, and then went off the two great guns and tore the limbs of the trees about their ears, so that divers of them were hurt, as may yet appear, for you told me when I was up at Harford this present year, '60, in the month of September, that there is one of them lyeth above Harford, that is fain to creep on all four, and we shouted once or twice more ; but they would not answer us again, so we returned home laughing. Another pretty prank we had with three great doors of ten feet long and four feet broad, being bored full of holes and driven full of long nails, as sharp as awl blades, sharpened by Thomas Hurlbut. — These we placed in certain places where they should come, fearing lest they should come in the night and fire our redoubt or battery, and all the place, for we had seen their footing, where they had been in the night, when they shot at our sentinels, but could not hit them for the boards ; and in a dry time and a dark night they came as they did before, and found the way a little too sharp for them ; and as they skipped from one they trod upon another, and left the nails and doors dyed with their blood, which you know we saw the next morning, laughing at it. — And this I write that young men may learn, if they should meet with such trials as we met with there, and have not opportunity to cut off their enemies ; yet they may, with such pretty pranks, preserve themselves from danger, — for policy is needful in wars as well as strength.

## RELATION OF THE PLOTT — INDIAN.

[The following "Relation" is without date or signature. The indorsement is in the handwriting of Gov. Winthrop of Massachusetts. The manuscript itself is in another handwriting. It was presented to the Historical Society, by W. T. Williams, Esq. of Lebanon, Connecticut, July, 1832. It was written in August, and probably in the year 1642. Wequash, who is mentioned on the next page as being dead, died in July, 1642, and the unfortunate and injured Miantunnomoh was killed by Uncas in September, 1643. In addition to this, it may be stated, that at the General Court held in Boston in September, 1642, "the letters and other intelligence" received from Connecticut, in relation to the supposed design of Miantunnomoh, "to draw the Indians into a confederation" against the English, were laid before the Court; that he was summoned to answer to the charge, that he attended, and, after a long investigation, was honorably discharged. He demanded the names of his accusers, but the General Court professed that they did not know them, and it will be seen that their names are not mentioned in the "Relation," and that one of the accusers, in Connecticut, placed Mr. Ludlow under an injunction of secrecy. The date of this paper, then, may be fairly assigned to August, 1642. Probably it was in the possession of Gov. Winthrop at the sitting of the Court in September, 1642. (Vide Savage's Winthrop, vol. ii. pp. 74, 80-83, 130 *et seq.*) *Publishing Committee.*]

A true relation of a Conspiracy of Maantanemo the greate Sachem of the Naragancetts, Soheage or Sequin the Sachem of Matebeseck, & Sasawin or Sequassen the Sachem of Sicaogg, for destruction of the english & generally throughout New England as it hath beene discovered by a Sachem living neere Mr. Ludlowe as also of another Indian of Longe Island to Mr. Eaton of New Haven and of another Indian in the river of Conectecott as followeth—(viz<sup>t</sup>.)

About the 20th of this instant August beinge the last day of the weeke towards the eveninge there came the saide Sachem that lives neere Mr. Ludlowe unto the saide Mr. Ludlowe in the field where he was with his hay makers & desired that hee might with Adam his Indian have some privatt talke, upon which the saide Mr. Ludlowe with Adam and the

saide Sachem went by themselves under a bush out of sight where the saide Sachem saide hee was gladd to finde the said Mr. Ludlowe in the fields for hee durst not come to his howse for feare of beinge suspected. And nowe he did intend to reveale a plott that was intended by the aforesaide Sachems, but hee desired a promise that his name might be concealed for if he were knowen it would cost him his life and he should be served as wequash was for beinge soe faithfull to the english, promise was made of concealinge and he related after this manner —

That Maantonemo had lately beene at Longe Island & had procured all the Sachems thereof to be in a Combination of cuttinge off the english & gave to each of them 25 fathom of Wampom, 20 of white & 5 of blacke and all the Sachems hadd accepted thereof & promised assistants & soe hadd all the Sachems upon the maine from the Dutche to the Bay & all the Indian Sachems from the Eastward, And that the chiefe sticklers in the business were the Sachems above mentioned. There were divers objections made at first by the Indians against the possibility of the plott, As that the English were too stronge for them, the answeare was by Maantonemo It is true if they did not all joine they should be too weake but if all joine then they should be stronge enough. Then it was saide But these Massachusetts & that waye are full of people & they shall not be able to grapple with them, As for that sayes Maantonemo lett me alone with them if you can deale with the others, uppon this they consented, And therefore nowe the next thinge to be dealt in was howe they might compasse Uncas, for they feared he would not be gayned, & then to gayne the Mohawkes was to be attempted which beinge done all the Indians were as one man. Then it was demanded what was the reason why Maantonemo should plodd against the english beinge soe greate correspond-

ency, Answer was made the reason was because the Narragancetts were guilty of Mr. Oldam's death and they were afraide that the english did beare it in minde & would take a tyme to be revenged, As also about 2 winters since there was some meale cast away uppon an Iland by the Naragancett and the Indians takeing away some of it there was an Englishman alone that reproved them for it & he was presently stabbed by a Naragancett Indian & left for deade, & the english findinge him deade thought he had runn himself against some piked thinge or other & soe came by his death, but he was killed as aforesaide & they were afraide this would be knowen alsoe. And therefore Maantonemo thought it best to begin first to prevent the english as alsoe the saide Maantonemo declared they sawe the english did gett possession of all the best place in the countrey & did drive the Indians awaye & were likely to take awaye the countrey from them, These & such like reasons were the motive causes of the intended conspiracy & the saide Sachem tould the saide Mr. Ludlowe divers reasons howe he should knowe it to be true & wished withall that the english in generall would beleive it to be true & make good provision against it, Then the saide Mr. Ludlowe asked how this designe should be executed, The saide Sachem replied it should be the next winter after this manner every Indian Plantation that was next adjoininge to the english should undertake to doe execution & if there were more english then Indians they should have some forraine Indians assigned to helpe them it should be generally att one tyme after this manner there should come unto the chiefe howses of the english as many Indians by waye of tradeinge as were able to master the saide howse & soe should kill all in the howse & depart & when the chiefe were killed they thought the rest would be soe distracted that they would be easily vanquished, After

this relation as soone as the Sabbath was past the saide Mr. Ludlowe roade to new haven & there intended to take advice with them & soe to proceed to Conectecott, But when he came to new haven & procured Mr. Eaton Mr. Goodier & Mr. Dampport [Davenport] to give him meetinge & opened thinges unto them they presently declared there was an Indian from Longe Iland that had declared the same to them verbatim with this that their Indian said and justified before the Sachems face that it was true & that Maantonemo had given them this token that when the designe should be putt in execution he would kill an Englishman & send his heade & handes to Longe Iland & they should send it abroad amonge the Indians, And that the Indians of Longe Iland should presently kill an Englishman with them & send the heade & the handes to them of Naragancetts & they would send to the Indians abroad & this would be a meanes to knitt them together, And after this conference the next day the saide Mr. Ludlowe jorneyed to Conectecott & there alsoe was another Indian of noate that haveinge received some hurt that he was in danger of death & did nor doth thinke noe other but he shall dye pretended that he could not die before he had revealed some thinge to the english & soe sent for Tho: Staunton & declared the aforesaide matter unto him alsoe to the very same purpose as aforesaide soe that god hath as it were with a threefold testimony confirmed the thinge that the English may easily see it is a truth & soe to be considered of It was alsoe related which is above forgotten that the Massachusetts as Maantonemo saide to the rest of the Indians had of late possessed in the Naragancetts & to beginn to spreade themselves there alsoe that he thought ere longe they should have their Countrey possessed & they should be abridged of their huntinge & fishinge.





or rather they are joynd  
together, as Hippocrates his twinnes, to stand, and fall  
to growe & decay, to flourish, & wither, to live & dye—  
together. In witness ~~whereof~~ <sup>the presence</sup> of a most fruitful & happy

The 12<sup>th</sup> day  
of the first month  
Anno 1638.

John Davenport.  
Joseph: Eaton.



LETTER FROM THE REV. J. DAVENPORT AND GOV. EATON  
 "TO THE MUCH HONORED THE GOVERNOR, DEPUTY AND  
 ASSISTANTS, &c." OF MASSACHUSETTS.

[The following Letter is copied from the original, in the possession of Francis Bayard Winthrop, Esq., at New Haven. The handwriting of the Letter is that of Mr. Davenport; the superscription that of Gov. Eaton. Mr. Davenport generally, if not always, spells his name with a final *e*.]

"It may please the worthy and much Honored Governor, Deputy & Assistants, &, with them, the present Courte, to take knowledge that our desire of staying within this patent was Reall & strong, if the eye of Gods providence (to whom we have committed our waies especially in so important an enterprize as this, which, we confess, is farr above our Capacities) had guided us to a place convenient for our families, & for our freinds. Which as our words have often expressed, so, we hope, the trueth thereof is sufficiently declared by our almost nine moneths patient wayting in expectac̃on of some opportunity to be offered us, for that end, to our great charge & hindrance, many waies.

"In all which time we have, in many prayers commended the guidance of our apprehensions, judgments, spirits, resoluç̃ons & wayes into the good hand of the onely wise God, whose prerogative it is to determine the bounds of our habitac̃ons according to the ends for which he hath brought us into these countryes, & we have considered, as we were able, by his helpe, whatsoever place hath bene propounded to us, being ready to have, with contentment accepted (if by our stay any publick good might be promoted) smaller accommodac̃ons, & upon dearer termes (if they might be moderately commodious) then, we believe, most men, in the same case with us, in all respects, would have done. And whereas

a place for an Inland plantac̃on, beyond Watertowne was propounded to us, & pressed with much importunity by some, whose words have the power of a law with us, in any way of God, we did speedily, & seriously deliberate thereupon, it being the subject of the greatest part of a dayes discourse. The conclusion was, that, if the upland should answer the meddow ground in goodnes & desirablenes (whereof yet there is some ground of doubting) yet, considering that a Boate cannot pass from the Bay thither, nearer then 8 or 10 miles distance, & that it is so remote from the Bay, & from any towne, we could not see how our dwelling there would be advantageous to these plantations, or compatible with our conditions, or commodious for our familyes, or for our freinds.

“Nor can we satisfye ourselves that it is expedient, for ourselves, or for our freinds, that we chuse such a condition, wherein we must be compelled to have our dwelling houses so farr distant from our Farmes, as Boston, or Charlestowne is from that place, few of our freinds being able to beare the charge thereof (whose cases nevertheless we are bound to consider) & some of them that are able not being persuaded that it is lawfull for them to live continually from the greatest part of theyre familyes, as, in this case, they would be necessitated to doe. The season of the yeare, & other weighty considerations, compelled us to hasten to a full & finall conclusion which we are, at last, come unto, by Gods appointment & direction, we hope in mercy, & have sent letters to Connecticutt for a speedy transacting the purchase of the parts about Quillypieck from the Natives which may pretend title thereunto. By which Act we are Absolutely, & irrevocably ingaged that way, & we are persuaded that God will order it for good unto these plantations, whose love so abundantly, above our desarts, or expectac̃ons, expressed, in your desire of

our abode in these parts, as we shall ever retaine in thanckfull memory, so we shall account ourselves thereby obliged to be any way instrumentall, & serviceable for the common good of these plantac̃ons as well as of those; which the Divine providence hath combined together in as strong a bond of Brotherly affection, by the samenes of theyre condition, as Joab & Abishai were, whose severall armyes did mutually strengthen them boath against severall enemyes — 2 Sam. 10. 9. 10. 11. or rather they are joyned together, as Hippocrates his Twinnes, to stand, & fall, to growe & decay, to flourish, & wither, to live & dye together. In witnes of the premises we subscribe our names.

John Davenporte.  
Theoph: Eaton.

The 12th day of the first moneth  
Anno 1638 ” [= 12 March 1639].

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TALCOTT'S LETTER TO SIR EDMUND ANDROS.

[A copy of this letter, probably in the handwriting of Talcott, was presented to the Historical Society by W. T. Williams, Esq. of Lebanon, Con. *Publishing Committee.*]

[The Letter is superscribed thus:] — “ These for his Excellencye Sr Edmund Andross Knt Cap<sup>tn</sup> Gen<sup>ll</sup> and Gov<sup>r</sup> in cheife of his Ma<sup>tes</sup> Territory in New England at Boston humbly present.”

“ *Hartford Dec: 5. 1687.*

“ Right Hono<sup>able</sup> Sr

Being enformed p<sup>r</sup> Capt<sup>n</sup> Allyn that a letter was sent from Albany by order of Gov<sup>r</sup> Dongan's Excellency, with an express for 200 foot Soul<sup>dr's</sup> and 50 troopers, to be raysed out of this western part of y<sup>e</sup> king's territory under your Excellencyes Gov<sup>rt</sup> to be

at Albany the latter end of Aprill next, the officers to have money to discharg what shall be necessary for their sould<sup>r</sup> expences. May it pleas yo<sup>r</sup> Excellency this motion at this juncture seems to be the product of irritation if judgment may be given upon the first blush of matters: altho' it is a matter too high for me to give advice, if I had known the grounds of that unhappy rupture that is happened twixt the English and French Governments; yet with leave humbly profer my poor raged notions at yo<sup>r</sup> Excellencyes feet. Myselfe being a person all together a strang<sup>r</sup> to y<sup>e</sup> cause of the war, desireing in generall to propose to yo<sup>r</sup> Excellency whether it may not be a good expedient to send advice to Gov<sup>r</sup> Dongan to move the French Generall for a sussasion of armes, and so a truce for 8 or 9 moneths, that a dispatch may be made to his Ma<sup>ty</sup> that the crown of England and France may give their just resolves on y<sup>e</sup> case; that those poor subjects that are but the skirts of two Christian Nations may not proceed in a War, at their own pleasure, in which if this his Ma<sup>ty</sup>'s territory should be esspoused, may expect great expences, a devastation of o<sup>r</sup> plantations, and the effusion of much Christian blood, and the Country brought into poverty, as was o<sup>r</sup> case in the last Indian war, in which yo<sup>r</sup> Excellency did very honourably and wisely prevent the barbarous heathen from drawing the sword against his Ma<sup>ty</sup>'s subjects in the territory of New York, and then under yo<sup>r</sup> governm<sup>t</sup>; Wherefore as o<sup>r</sup> eyes are upon yo<sup>r</sup> Excellency for good conduct and gov<sup>r</sup>m<sup>t</sup> we cannot but beleive you will protect and defend us in all things so far as is just to be done. And that we may not be engaged in a bloody war for y<sup>e</sup> may'tey'ing litigious boundaryes twixt English and French, (I desire to speake without reflection upon y<sup>e</sup> meanest man, much less upon any Gent<sup>m</sup> or person of hono<sup>r</sup>) for the sake of a bever trade, to be upheild by the point of the sword,

for y<sup>o</sup> enriching a few mercenary spirited men. I haveing formerly been under the sorrowfull circumstances of a sad war with the heathen : makes me y<sup>o</sup> more bold with yo<sup>r</sup> Excellency : The old proverb being true, the burnt child dreads the fire, and therefore hope I shall be y<sup>o</sup> more excusable. I am sorry that I have occasioned this trouble to yo<sup>r</sup> patience ; beging pardon for my rudeness, shall only desire and pray that the God of Gods, y<sup>o</sup> Lord of Lords, the Wonderfull Counciller may be with your Excellency, in all yo<sup>r</sup> weighty affaires, and with yo<sup>r</sup> Hono<sup>abl</sup> Council that all yo<sup>r</sup> issues may be peace and safety to o<sup>r</sup> N : England Israel.

The post has a letter for yo<sup>r</sup> Excellency to y<sup>o</sup> same purposce to rayes sould<sup>rs</sup> there.

Right hono<sup>rabl</sup> Sr give me leave to subscribe myselfe yo<sup>r</sup> Excellencye's most humbly devoted, and faithful Ser<sup>t</sup>

John Talcott."

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### SALEM WITCHCRAFT.

[The following are extracts from the records of the church in Danvers, lately under the care of the Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth, D. D., deceased, relative to the dissensions which were occasioned in that church by the prosecutions for witchcraft while the church was under the care of the Rev. Samuel Parris, and while it was within the bounds of Salem. They were copied by the Rev. Joseph B. Felt of Hamilton, in 1821, from the records at Dr. Wadsworth's house ; and are portions that were not printed by Calef in his 3d Part. As may be seen on a perusal of them, there are some grammatical errors, and a few phrases not easily understood.]

This church was formed the 19th of November, 1689.

" 27 March, Sab. 169 $\frac{1}{2}$ . *Sacrament day.* — After the common auditory was dismissed, and before the church communion at the Lord's Table, the follow-

ing testimony against the error of our sister, Mary Sibly, who had given direction to my Indian man in an unwarrantable way to find out witches, was read by the Pastor. It is altogether undeniable, that our great and blessed God, for wise and holy ends, hath suffered many persons in several families of this village, to be grievously vexed and tortured in body, and to be deeply tempted to the endangering of the destruction of their souls, and all these amazing feats (well known to many of us) to be done by witchcraft and diabolical operations. It is also well known, that when these calamities first began, which was in my own family, the affliction was several weeks before such hellish operations, as witchcraft, were suspected. Nay, it never brake forth to any considerable light until diabolical means was used, by the making of a cake by my Indian man, who had his direction from this our sister, Mary Sibly; since which apparitions have been plenty, and exceeding much mischief hath followed. But by this means (it seems) the Devil hath been raised amongst us, and his rage is vehement and terrible, and when he shall be silenced, the Lord only knows. But now that this our sister should be instrumental to such distress, is a great grief to myself, and our godly, honored, and reverend neighbours, who have had the knowledge of it. Nevertheless, I do truly hope and believe, that this our sister doth truly fear the Lord, and am well satisfied from her, that what she did, she did it ignorantly, from what she had heard of this nature from other ignorant or worse persons. Yet we are in duty bound to protest against such actions, as being indeed a going to the Devil for help against the Devil, we having no such directions from nature, or God's word; it must, therefore, be, and is accounted by godly Protestants, who write or speak of such matters, as diabolical, and therefore, call this our sister to deep humiliation for what she has done, and all of us



to be watchful against Satan's wiles and devices. Therefore, as we in duty, as a church of Christ, are deeply bound to protest against it, as most directly contrary to the Gospel, yet inasmuch, as this our sister did it in ignorance, as she professeth, and we believe, we can continue her in our holy fellowship upon her serious promise of future better advisedness and caution, and acknowledging, that she is indeed sorrowful for her rashness herein. Brethren, if this be your mind, that this iniquity be thus borne witness against, manifest it by your usual sign of lifting up your hands. — The brethren voted generally. None made any exceptions.

“ Sister Sibly, if you are convinced, that you herein did sinfully, and are sorry for it, let us hear it from your mouth. She did manifest to satisfaction her error and grief for it. Brethren, if herein you have received satisfaction, testify by lifting up your hands. A general vote passed. No exception made.

“ Note. 25 *March*, 169 $\frac{1}{2}$ . I discoursed said sister in my study about the grand error above said, and also, then read to her what I had written as above to read to the church, and said sister Sibly assented to the same with tears and sorrowful confession.

“ *Sabbath-day*, 14th *Aug.* 1692. The church was stayed after the congregation was dismissed, and the Pastor spoke to the church after this manner. — Brethren, you all have taken notice, that several Sacrament days past, our brother, Peter Cloyes, and Sam. Nurse and his wife, and John Tarbell and his wife, have absented [themselves] from Communion with us at the Lord's Table, yea, have very rarely, except our brother Samuel Nurse, been with us in common public worship; now it is needful, that the church send some persons to them, to know the reason of their absence.

“ Therefore, if you be so minded, express yourselves. — None objected; but a general or universal

vote, after some discourse, passed, that Bro. Nathaniel Putman and the two Deacons should join with the Pastor to discourse with the said absenters about it."

"31st August. Bro. Tarbell proves sick, unfit for discourse. Bro. Cloyes hard to be found at home, being often with his wife in prison, at Ipswich for witchcraft, and Bro. Nurse and sometimes his wife attend our public meeting, and he the Sacrament. — 11th September. Upon all which, we choose to wait further.

"11th September, Lord's day. Sister Martha Kory, taken into the church 27th April 1690, was after examination upon suspicion of witchcraft, 21st March 169 $\frac{1}{2}$  committed to prison for that fact, and was condemned to the gallows for the same yesterday; and was this day in public, by a general consent, voted to be excommunicated out of the church; and Lieut. Nathaniel Putman and the two Deacons [were] chosen to signify to her, with the Pastor, the mind of the church herein. Accordingly this 14th September 1692, the aforesaid brethren went with the Pastor to her in Salem prison, whom we found very obstinate, justifying herself, and condemning all, that had done any thing to her just discovery or condemnation; whereupon, after a little discourse (for her imperiousness would not suffer much), and after prayer (which she was willing to decline), the dreadful sentence of excommunication was pronounced against her."

"Sabbath, 5 February 169 $\frac{2}{3}$ . In the evening, the church was stayed, and upon discourse, the Pastor and two deacons, and Bro. Nathaniel Putman, and Bro. John Putman sen., and Bro. Bray Wilkin's wife, [were] chosen by a general vote of the Brotherhood, to discourse with brother Thomas Wilkins, Bro. Samuel Nurse, and Bro. John Tarbell, about their withdrawing of late from the Lord's Table, and public worship of God among us.

*7th February 169 $\frac{2}{3}$ .* The abovesaid brethren, chosen for debate with the abovementioned brethren, met about one o'clock at the Pastor's house; and after prayer, the Pastor applied himself to the three dissenting brethren, telling them, that we were appointed by the church, to inquire into the grounds of their declining religious communion with us of late. After some pause, they each one, one after another, desired further time to consider of our demands. The Pastor replied, You know, brethren, of your dissent, and doubtless, *you* cannot be to seek of the reasons of it. But after some words more, some of us looking upon such pleas needless, others being willing to concede to them, it was concluded, that they should meet us again the 16th inst., and then give in their reasons; and also, if they saw good, to bring their dissenting wives with them, or to leave them to another season, as they pleased, with this proviso, that they acquaint the Pastor timely of it, that he may acquaint the church likewise, that so we may be commissioned to treat with them also, for as yet we were only sent to the brethren, and not to the sisters.

*“ 16th February 169 $\frac{2}{3}$ .* According to the aforesaid, we, the abovesaid, met again at the Pastor's house, to receive answer from the dissenting brethren abovesaid, as to the reasons of their dissent; when they gave in a paper containing the matter following, viz. — Whereas we, Thomas Wilkins, and John Tarbell, and Samuel Nurse, having a long time gone under the burden of great grievances, by reason of some unwarrantable actings of Mr. Parris, as we esteem them, and were proceeding in an orderly way to obtain satisfaction from him, and had taken some steps thereunto, according to the advice of some neighbouring elders. But obstructive to our proceeding therein, Mr. Parris and some brethren of the church, were appointed by the church, to demand

a reason of us of our withdrawing from communion. The regularity of which, the proceeding, we do not understand, because in this case, we esteem ourselves to be plaintiffs and parties offended, and in an orderly way, seeking satisfaction, tho' hitherto denied. Our answer to the church is, that we esteem ourselves hereby prevented in our duty, which we account a grievance, seeing we were first in prosecution of the rule of our Lord Jesus Christ, laid down in Matth. 18 c. 15, 16 vs. Wherefore, if the church give us the liberty and freedom of attending our duty, as according to rule bound, possibly then further trouble may be prevented, or otherwise, the case will necessarily and regularly come before them. But if they deny us the request, we shall, as in duty bound, give the reasons of our proceeding to the church, or any others, when orderly demanded. The paper abovesaid was read to us by Samuel Nurse, they were altogether unwilling to leave it with us; but at length they were prevailed with to let us take a copy of it. I gave it to Dea. Putman, who desired a copy of it, and from his copy, I wrote as abovesaid. These displeased brethren were told, that they did ill to reflect on the church, who, as also the Pastor, were ignorant of their methods; and also, that they should first have spoken with the Pastor himself, before they went to consult neighbouring Elders. But to this last, they pleaded ignorance. So we gave way to their request of proceeding orderly.

“The 7th February last, before the brethren appointed by the church, came, the abovesaid three brethren, John Tarbell, Samuel Nurse, and Thomas Wilkins, came to my house, desiring speech with me; so I took them singly into my study, except Thomas Wilkins, for the other two, each of them, had taken up so much time, viz. one an hour at least, and the other more, that before time could be allowed for the other, the appointed breth-

ren came. John Tarbell said, he thought I was guilty of Idolatry, in asking the *afflicted persons*, whom they saw on other *afflicted persons*. He thought it was going to the God of Ekron. Nor did he understand how my oath was safe in court, that such and such, by such and such, were knocked down by their looks, and raised up by their touches.

“And had it not been for me, his mother Nurse might have been still living, and freed from execution; that I had been the great prosecutor, and that others, wise and learned, who had been as forward as myself, had been sorry for what they had done, and saw their error, and until I did so, he could not join. His brother, Samuel Nurse, for about an hour’s time, had the same objections. I answered them, I did not see yet sufficient grounds to vary my opinion, which was confirmed by known and ancient experience, frequent in such cases, &c. But, however, in matters of debate they must give me my opinion, as I would not quarrel with them for theirs, &c.

“The *8th February*, Brother Peter Cloyes came from Boston to me, with the very same objections, whom I answered after the like manner. Some short time after this, the abovesaid four displeased brethren came again desiring to speak with me, and Bro. William Way along with them. I told them, I would go up to my study, asking which would go first; so Brother Cloyes came up first, bringing Bro. Way and Thomas Wilkins with him, as witnesses to his demand of satisfaction to what he lately objected. I told him, there was but one brother, there should be two, Thomas Wilkins was in this case Peter Cloyes, and Peter Cloyes Thomas Wilkins; and so I told the rest, when I saw what they aimed at, and advised them to take, according to rule, some other brother or brethren, besides brother Way, or else I could not hear them in the way they aimed at. But

they would urge, that this was enough, and one was sufficient. I answered that Christ's rule was for two or three. So they departed.

“*27th March, 169 $\frac{2}{3}$ .* At night Bro. Cloyes, and Bro. Tarbell abovesaid, came to my house together with Mr. Joseph Hutchinson, Sen., and Mr. Joseph Putman, and a little after, William Osburn of Salem, (which three last, it seems, came for witnesses, as Bro. Cloyes owned the 20th April following) and they gave me a paper, not subscribed by any person, but a cut in the place of subscription, where two or three names might be written.

“The contents of the paper were as follows, viz. — The paper had no date neither. — To our pastor and minister, Mr. Samuel Parris of Salem Village, and to some others of the Plantation. We whose names are underwritten, being deeply sensible, that those uncomfortable differences that are amongst us, are very dishonourable to God and a scandal to religion, and very uncomfortable to ourselves, and an ill example to those, who may come after us. And by our maintaining and upholding differences amongst us, we do but gratify the Devil, the grand adversary to our souls. For the removal of which, we have thought meet to proffer our present thoughts to your serious consideration, hoping, that there may be such methods propounded, as may be for the settling and confirming peace and unity amongst us, both at the present and for the future. And our desires are, that such a foundation may be laid for peace and truth; that the gates of hell may not prevail against it. And, in order thereunto, Solomon adviseth to counsel. And our desires are, that a council of elders may be mutually chosen to hear all our grievances between Mr. Parris and us, and to determine where the blameable cause is. And we hope, that their wisdom and prudence may direct us to such a method, as may be for our comfort for both present

and future. When I had read it, I asked them, whom this paper came from. They answered, all the plantation, or a great many of them at least. I demanded, why then did none subscribe it. They said, all in good time.

So I put it up in my pocket. They demanded an answer to it. I told them, I would consider of it.

*28th March 1693.* The abovesaid brethren, together with the said Hutchinson, came again at night for an answer to the abovesaid paper. I told them, I had not considered of it yet.

*14th April 1693.* Our displeased brethren, John Tarbell, Samuel Nurse, and Thomas Wilkins, came again, bringing with them said Hutchinson and Francis Nurse. After a little while, I went down from my study to them, asking them if they would speak with me. They said, yes, they came to discourse about the paper (abovesaid), they had brought to me. I told them, I had no time to talk, I was this day to preach to a private meeting. Nor was I willing to discourse with them alone; but appoint time and place, and I would meet with them. So we agreed, after our next lecture, to meet at Bro. Nathaniel Putman's.

*20th April.* After lecture, myself, Captain Putman, Ensign Flint, and the two Deacons, met the four displeased brethren abovesaid at Lieut. Nathaniel Putman's abovesaid, where we found together with them and for them, said Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Israel Porter. After a little while, I told them, to gratify them, I was come to hear what they had to offer. They demanded an answer to the paper abovesaid. Whereupon I pluckt it out of my pocket, and read it openly. They owned that to be the paper. I asked them what they called it; they being to seek a name for it. I told them, I looked upon it as a libel. They then produced a like paper, subscribed by said brethren and divers more, to the num-

ber of forty and two names; but all seemed to be one and the same hand. I desired the original paper. They said, they knew not where it was. Then it was asked, whether those men wrote their own names. It was answered, yes, or they were written by their order. Then I desired them to subscribe this paper with their hands to it, testifying, that no name was there, but such as had consented thereto. But none would yield to this. Then I told them, we must know what to do. Had I to do with displeased people, or displeased brethren? They answered, they came as brethren. Then I told them, none but brethren should have been present. They said, they had been with me already, and I refused to give them satisfaction. I answered, I did not understand they had. When they came first, I did not understand their drift, and therefore did not discourse them, as I would have done, had I apprehended they came to reason as such as had taken offence. And when they came the second time, they brought but one brother, viz. William Way, and took others of themselves. Lieut. Putman said, it was not too late yet, now there were several of the brethren present, and they might take any two of them, and discourse with the Pastor. No, they said, they had done it already. Thus much time was spent till just night, and myself and other brethren upon going home. The four displeased brethren agreed to meet me to-morrow morning about an hour after sunrise, with the two Deacons, and Bro. William Way, and Bro. Aaron Way, to discourse the matter, to which I readily assented.

21st April 1693. This morning, we met as above-said at Deacon Ingersoll's. After a little while, I began with prayer. Then brother Nurse read a large scroll of about fifteen articles, as reasons why they withdrew communion from us. Seven of them, I think, were reasons of absenting from public wor-



ship with us, and the other eight, I think, causes of separation from my ministry. I desired to see them, but was denied for a great while. At length, I had liberty to read them myself, upon the promise of returning them to them. After all, I demanded them, or a copy of them. But they would not consent thereto, nor to the desire of the other four indifferent brethren, tho' we urged it by arguments. But the dissenters said, no. They had told me, and that was enough; and they desired me to call the church, and then I should have all."

[N. B. Thus far Mr. Felt copied verbatim the Rev. Mr. Parris's account of his difficulties; but, as they are prolix, he made only the following abstract of the residue.]

*Sab. 30th April 1693.* A church meeting was proposed. *18th May.* It was held. The displeas'd brethren appeared with their complaints; but it was voted, that they had proceeded disorderly; and that the church would hear these brethren, if they would bring their charges in an orderly manner.

[The following is copied verbatim.] *13th October 1693.* "I received a letter from the Rev. Mr. John Higginson, directed to myself and brethren of this church. The sum whereof was, to advise us to join the complainants in calling a council of neighbouring churches, not excepting against any one on either side. Which letter, he writes, was occasioned by another letter, received from Mr. Willard in the name of the elders of Boston, directed to him, and Mr. Noyes, and Mr. Hale, to desire him to persuade us so to do. Communicated the same letter, this day, to sundry of the brethren at a private meeting at Deacon Ingersoll's."

"*14th October 1693.* I received a letter from Rev. Mr. Hale and Mr. Noyes, directed to myself and church, of the same tenor for substance with the abovesaid of Mr. Higginson's, only herein were sev-

eral conditions, on which a council should be chosen, omitted in that.”

[The following are abstracts.] *Sab. 15th October*, Church meeting appointed to consider the advice of the letters, and the petitions of the displeased brethren to General Court, and several remote churches.

*19th October 1693.* Church met, and agreed to have a mutual council.

*23d October 1693.* A letter was sent to the Rev. Messrs. Higginson, Noyes, and Hale, stating that the church had agreed to a council. It was signed by Rev. S. Parris, with consent of the brethren of the church.

*Salem, June 14th 1694.* As there was a difficulty in executing the vote for a mutual council, the following ministers sent advice of the above date to the church by all means to have a council to settle their troubles. John Higginson, James Allen, John Hale, Samuel Willard, Samuel Cheever, Nicholas Noyes (signed on condition that he should not be one of the council), Joseph Gerrish.

*September 10th 1694.* Similar advice was repeated by five of the preceding ministers, Mr. Noyes's name not subscribed under it.

VOCABULARY OF WORDS IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE QUODDY INDIANS ; (NAME, PASSAMAQUODDIE ; its meaning, POLLOCK FISH) LOCATED IN PERRY PLEASANT POINT, STATE OF MAINE, ON THE WATERS OF SCHOODAK, ADJOINING THE BRITISH PROVINCES. (PLEASANT POINT in Indian is SEBOIAK. SCHOODAK is an Indian word, and signifies BURNT LAND.)

[Written at my request, and presented to me 22 March, 1828, by the Rev. Elijah Kellogg, Missionary to the Passamaquoddy Indians from the Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians and Others in North America.

A. HOLMES.]

	Numbers.	Cold,	Tekayo.
One,	Naiqet.	Daughter,	N'suos.
Two,	Nes.	Dog,	Lunoss.
Three,	Nihi.	Day,	Kissuok.
Four,	Naho.	Death,	Machina.
Five,	Naue.	Ears,	Chalkese.
Six,	Gamatchine.	Evil,	Sikimagailmoqua.
Seven,	Olohegannak.	Bad,	Muchigun.
Eight,	Okmulchine.	Earth or	} Takomiqu.
Nine,	Osquenandake.	Land,	
Ten,	Neqdensk.	Eyes,	N'siscol.
		Flesh,	N'hak.
Air,	Naisaion.	Meat,	Wiyos.
Arm,	Telmagan.	Foot,	Nsit.
Arrow,	Poqu.	Fish,	N'mays.
Bark,	Masqu.	Fire,	Skut.
Bread,	Apan.	Father,	Mitaqus.
Big,	Nukamkiqu.	Flower,	Posquoswasek.
Great,	Kininaquoqut.	God,	Saisos.
Blood,	Pocagun.	Good,	Kalaowart.
Brother,	Nesiwias.	Husband,	Noskitapaim.
Blue,	Muksaiwennaqut.	Head,	Neneagan.
Black,	Muksaiwayo.	Hand,	Petin.
Bird,	Cipsis.	House,	Wannoji.
Belly,	Nut.	Do.	Kowarm.
Boat,	Cochs.	He,	Wurt.
Child,	Warsis.	His,	Nakum.
Chief,	Sockum.	I,	Nel.
Corn,	Peascomennirl.	Me,	Kunnamie.

Island,	Muniqu.	Star,	Psaisam.
Lake,	Quesepan.	Sky,	Tumogat.
Love,	Mosagine.	Heaven,	Sapainekek.
Leaf,	Mip.	Skin,	Matoikurn.
Little,	Kakask.	Sister,	Poianinoum.
Small,	Opskiqun.	Sea,	Supoiqu.
Mouth,	N'swone.	Salt,	Sola'wai.
Moon,	Kisos.	She,	Sha.
Man,	Oskitap.	Tree,	Apas.
Mother,	Nikos.	Wood,	Peosuqu.
Mount,	Wach.	Tobacco,	Dumawai.
Hill,	Kjiwach.	Thunder,	Paitakeak.
Metal,	Naxcamaytak.	Tongue,	Nyllal.
No,	Seat.	They, Theirs,	Akum.
Nose,	Niton.	Us,	Yout.
Nation,	N'qutkamikso.	We,	Nel.
People,	Pamaosewen.	Valley,	Warlaiyo.
Plant,	N'takik.	Village,	Cutain.
Herb,	Aikicasik.	Warm,	Kesipetai.
Grass,	Meskiqowail.	Hot,	Apallai.
Root,	Wachapke.	Water,	Somaquone.
Rain,	Suklan.	Wind,	Ksromson.
River,	Sepe.	Woman,	Apet.
Red,	Macquaik.	Girl,	Pelsquasis.
Seed,	Asgannymenal.	Wife,	N'wennaisom.
Fruit,	Meynk.	White,	Wapaiyo.
Snow,	Warst.	You,	Kel.
Sun,	Asptaiasait.	Yours,	Kelyot.
Stone,	Panapsqu.	Yes,	Nelek.
Sand,	Toupquan.	Year,	Paimeka'tk.
Son,	N'kos.	Yellow,	Wesoh-wayo.

He,  
River,  
Nut,  
Eggs,  
House,

## Showanoes.

Mcquama,  
Sepe,  
Nacan,  
Wawale,  
Wigwa.

## Quoddy.

Quam.  
Sepe.  
Nacan.  
Wawal.  
Wigwam.

CHURCHES AND MINISTERS IN NEW HAMPSHIRE.

[Continued from Vol. II. (Third Series,) p. 322.]

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*Concord, N. H., 10 May, 1830.*

REV. AND DEAR SIR,

I enclose, for the publishing committee of your society, a continuation of sketches of churches and ministers, and will thank you to communicate them when convenient. I am, Sir, with sincere respect,

Your obliged and obedient servant,

JOHN FARMER.

REV. DR. HOLMES.

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In continuing an account of the Churches and Ministers in New Hampshire, it may be proper, before proceeding to give additional sketches, to make such *corrections* as to those which have already appeared, as have been discovered by more minute investigations, and to offer such *additions* as have become necessary by the lapse of time since the former articles were published. In doing this, the several volumes of the Collections, in which the sketches have appeared, will be referred to in their order, and the towns, requiring corrections and additional notices, will be arranged in the order in which they stand in those volumes.

Vol. VIII. (Second Series.) *Amherst.*

Rev. Jeremiah Barnard, (p. 176.) was born in Stow, Massachusetts, in 1750, and, excepting Rev. Nathaniel Porter, D. D., of Conway, now in his 86th year, and Rev. Jeremiah Shaw, of Moultonborough, in his 83d year, is the oldest settled minister in New Hampshire. The oldest person, now living, who has been in the ministry in this state is the Hon. Paine Wingate, of Stratham, the oldest surviving graduate on the Catalogue of Harvard College, who has nearly completed his 91st year. Rev. Nathan Lord, (now D. D.,) the colleague of Mr. Barnard, was dismissed

from his pastoral office, 22 November, 1828, having been appointed President of Dartmouth College. Rev. Silas Aiken, a native of Bedford, New Hampshire, and who graduated at Dartmouth College in 1825, was ordained the successor of Dr. Lord, 4 March, 1829. Another Congregational church was organized at Amherst, 7 July, 1824, and Rev. Edmund Quincy Sewall, a native of Marblehead, and a graduate at Harvard College in 1815, was installed 26 January, 1825. He was dismissed in the year following, and is now the editor of "The Unitarian Advocate," a religious periodical work published in Boston.

#### *Wilton.*

Rev. Thomas Beede, (p. 177.) was dismissed 15 January, 1829, and was succeeded on the 13 January, 1830, by Rev. Stephen A. Barnard, who received his theological education at the school in Cambridge. The church over which he is settled is Unitarian in sentiment. There is a Trinitarian church, which was gathered a short time since.

#### *Lyndeborough.*

Rev. John Rand, (p. 177.) was ordained 3 December, 1757, and was dismissed 8 April, 1762, and died at Bedford, New Hampshire, 12 October, 1805, aged 78. A gentleman now living at Amherst informs me, that he was present at his ordination, which, as there was no meeting-house erected in town, was attended in a barn. Rev. Sewall Goodridge, a native of Lunenburg, Massachusetts, was ordained 7 September, 1768, and died 14 March, 1809, aged 65.

*Salisbury.*

Rev. Thomas Worcester, (p. 178.) who received from Dartmouth College the honorary degree of A. M. in 1806, was dismissed in April, 1823. Mr. Worcester has issued from the press twenty-three publications, the most of them occasional sermons. Several of them have related to the Trinitarian controversy. He was succeeded by Rev. Abijah Cross, 24 March, 1824. Mr. Cross graduated at Dartmouth College in 1821; was dismissed from his pastoral charge, 1 April, 1829.

*Mont-Vernon.*

Rev. Ebenezer Cheever, (p. 178.) a graduate at Bowdoin College in 1817, succeeded Rev. Stephen Chipin (now D. D. and president of Columbian College at Washington), 8 December, 1819, and was dismissed 8 April, 1823. He was succeeded by Rev. Nathaniel Kingsbury, 5 November, 1823.

*Merrimack.*

Rev. Jacob Burnap, D. D., (p. 178.) died 26 December, 1821, aged 73. He married a sister of the late Governor Brooks. Two of his sons have been educated at Harvard College, Horatio Gates, who graduated in 1799, and George Washington, who graduated in 1824, and is minister of the Unitarian church in Baltimore, Maryland. Dr. Burnap was succeeded by Rev. Stephen Morse, 6 July, 1825, who graduated at Dartmouth College in 1821. He was dismissed in July, 1828, and was installed at Troy, New Hampshire, 26 August, 1829.

Vol. IX. *Winchester.*

Rev. Solomon Bennett (p. 367.) was dismissed 25 December, 1823, and was installed in Marlborough in the same county in 1825.

*Kingston.*

Mr. Choate, (p. 367.) who is said to have been the first preacher at Kingston, was probably Benjamin Choate, who graduated at Harvard College in 1703. He was never ordained. Rev. John Turner (p. 368.) was settled at Kingston, 1 January, 1818, and dismissed 1 May, 1823. He was succeeded by Rev. Ora Pearson, who was ordained 7 March, 1827.

*Chester.*

Rev. Clement Parker (p. 369.) was dismissed 26 October, 1825, and was installed at Shapleigh, Maine, 28 January, 1829.

Vol. X. *Dunstable.*

Rev. Samuel Bird, (p. 55.) on his removal to Connecticut, was installed over the parish of White Haven, 8 October, 1751. He died in 1784, aged 60. Rev. Ebenezer P. Sperry (p. 56.) was dismissed in April, 1819, and was installed at Wenham, in Massachusetts. Rev. Handel G. Nott, a native of Saybrook, Connecticut, and a graduate of Yale College in 1823, was ordained at Dunstable, 8 November, 1826. Another Congregational church having been formed in Dunstable (at Nashua Village), Rev. Nathaniel Gage, who graduated at Harvard College, 1822, was ordained 27 June, 1827.

Vol. I. (Third Series.) *Concord.*

Rev. Asa M'Farland, D. D. (p. 154.) was dismissed 23 March, 1825, and on the same day, Rev. Nathaniel Bouton, a native of Norwalk, Connecticut, and a graduate at Yale College in 1821, was ordained. Dr. M'Farland died 18 February, 1827, aged 58. His publications amounted to as many as sixteen, of which the *View of Heresies*, a duodecimo volume of 276 pages, published in 1806, is the largest.



A second Congregational church, consisting of eight members, was formed at the dwelling-house of Hon. W. A. Kent, in Concord, on the 25 February, 1829, and on the same day, Rev. Moses George Thomas, a native of Sterling, Massachusetts, who graduated at Brown University in 1825, was ordained. The sermon was by Rev. Samuel Barrett, of Boston. The services were attended at the North meeting-house. A new church for the 2d Congregational society was dedicated in November, 1830.

#### *Hampton.*

Rev. Seaborn Cotton (p. 300.) was son of John and Sarah Cotton. Rev. John Cotton, his son and successor, was born 8 May, 1658. His age therefore was 52, instead of 57. Rev. Ward Cotton died at Plymouth, 27 November, 1768, aged 57.

#### *Hampton-Falls.*

Rev. Jacob Abbot (p. 301.) was ordained 15 August, 1798, and was dismissed in 1827.

#### *New-Castle.*

Rev. Oliver Noble (p. 303.) was not the same person who was minister of Orford. He graduated, as stated by the Editor in a note, at Yale College, in 1757 (not in 1758), and was installed at New-Castle, 18 August, 1784, (having been previously settled at Newbury, Massachusetts,) and died 15 December, 1792.

#### *Greenland.*

Rev. Ephraim Abbot (p. 304.) was dismissed 28 October, 1828, and Rev. Samuel W. Clark, a native of Hancock, New Hampshire, who graduated at Dartmouth College in 1823, was ordained 5 Au-

gust, 1829. Rev. James A. Neal, of Greenland, did not graduate at college.

*Durham.*

Rev. Federal Burt (p. 306.) graduated at Williams College in 1812, and died much lamented 9 February, 1828, aged 39.

*Dover.*

Rev. John Pike (p. 306.) was son of Major Robert Pike, many years an Assistant of Massachusetts under the old colony charter, and was born in Salisbury in 1653. He was ordained in August, 1681. Rev. Joseph W. Clary (p. 309.) was dismissed 6 August, 1828, and Rev. Hubbard Winslow, who graduated at Yale College in 1825, was ordained 4 December, 1828.

A new Congregational church was gathered at Dover, 17 February, 1829, and Rev. Samuel Kirkland Lothrop, who graduated at Harvard College in 1825, was ordained on the next day after the church was formed.

*Rochester.*

Rev. Thomas C. Upham (p. 313.) was son of Hon. Nathaniel Upham, who died at Rochester, 10 July, 1829.

*Swansey.*

Rev. Joshua Chandler (p. 318.) was dismissed in December 1822, and Rev. Ebenezer Colman, who graduated at Brown University in 1815, was ordained 23 May, 1827.

*Epping.*

Rev. Peter Holt (p. 319.) was dismissed 25 April, 1821, and was installed over the Presbyterian church in Peterborough, 7 March, 1827. Rev. Forrest Jefferds succeeded him at Epping, 25 October, 1826.

*Sandown.*

Rev. Josiah Cotton (p. 321.) *was* the same who graduated at Harvard College in 1722. He was also brother of Rev. Ward Cotton of Hampton. He died 27 May, 1780. Rev. Samuel Collins, who succeeded him, graduated at Dartmouth College in 1775; was ordained 27 December, 1780, and was dismissed 30 April, 1788.

*New Ipswich.*

Rev. Isaac R. Barbour (p. 321.) was dismissed 20 September, 1826, and was installed at Byfield, Massachusetts, 20 December, 1827. He graduated at Middlebury College in 1819. His successor at New Ipswich was Rev. Charles Walker, a native of Rindge, New Hampshire, who graduated at Dartmouth College in 1823, and was ordained 28 February, 1827.

*Epsom.*

Rev. John Tucke (p. 322.) was dismissed in 1774, and died 9 February, 1777, at the house of one Deacon Close, in Salem, New York, of the small pox, aged 36 years. Mr. Tucke married Mary Parsons of Rye, 4 March, 1762. She was a daughter of Rev. Samuel Parsons. Rev. Jonathan Curtis was succeeded by Rev. John M. Putnam, 1 November, 1827, a native of Sutton in Massachusetts.

*Walpole.*

The church in Walpole, organized on the 10 June, 1761, was about the fifty-first in chronological order, gathered in New Hampshire. The first pastor of it, Rev. Jonathan Leavitt, a graduate of Yale College in 1758, was ordained on the same day. He was dismissed in 1763, and, it is believed, was installed at Charlemont, Massachusetts. His successor was Rev. Thomas Fessenden, son of William Fessenden of Cambridge, and father of Thomas G. Fessenden, the well known and respected editor of "The New England Farmer." Mr. Fessenden graduated at Harvard College in 1758; was ordained 7 January, 1767, and died 9 May, 1813, aged 74. He published a work called *The Science of Sanctity*, an octavo volume of 308 pages, which is reviewed in the August number, 1805, of "The Monthly Anthology." Mr. Fessenden received Rev. Pliny Dickinson as his colleague, 6 March, 1805. Mr. Dickinson is a native of Granby, Massachusetts, and graduated at Dartmouth College in 1798. Rev. William A. Whitwell, who graduated at Harvard College in 1824, was ordained at Walpole, 3 February, the present year [1830.]

*Concord, N. H. 10 May, 1830.*

MEMOIR OF THE LATE HON. CHRISTOPHER GORE, OF  
WALTHAM, MASS.

CHRISTOPHER GORE was born in Boston, Mass., September 21, in the year 1758. He was descended from respectable parents, and was the youngest of several children.\* He received his primary education at the public schools in Boston, and was prepared for college chiefly, if not entirely, at the South Latin School, under the tuition of the justly celebrated Mr. Lovell, who educated for the University, and for public life, many of the best scholars, and some of the most distinguished men, in the state. At the age of thirteen, he entered Harvard College, and was among the youngest in his class; but, young as he was, his talents were of that high order, his taste for literary pursuits so decided, and his application so judicious, that he acquired and sustained the reputation of a good scholar, at a period, and under circumstances, which prevented many from deriving the expected benefit from a public education. For in his Junior year, the war of our Independence commenced, which created confusion and disorder throughout society, and deranged the plans, and changed the pursuits of many, in every grade and profession. The college buildings being wanted for the army stationed at Cambridge, the students were dispersed for several months. When Mr. Gore returned home, his father was desirous that he should leave college altogether, and enter at once upon the study of medicine, with an eminent practitioner in Boston. But he had no taste for that profession, and was resolved, if possible, to complete his collegiate course; and therefore repaired to Bradford, in the county of Essex, and studied under the direction, and in the family of the Rev. Mr. Williams, afterwards profes-

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\* Note A.

sor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy in Harvard College. When the College was removed to Concord, he, with most of the students, repaired thither, and resumed and continued his studies. He was graduated in 1776, with honor, and with a character, that gave promise of future eminence in the world.

Mr. Gore was deservedly popular at college; — his manners were engaging, his disposition was ingenuous, and his conduct fair and honorable. It is saying much for the integrity of his principles, that he passed the dangerous period of a college life, pure and unstained by vice. Nothing mean, disgraceful, or degrading was ever attached to his youth. It was this amiable character, joined to his social disposition and literary taste, that led him to form an intimacy with several students, which ripened into the strongest friendship in after years, and continued to grow stronger and brighter, and to yield purer satisfaction, to the close of life.\*

Mr. Gore left college just at the time when the independence of our country was declared; and, like many others, who were destined for the peaceful pursuits of professional life, he was animated with the ardent spirit of patriotism, and for a short season joined himself with a number, who cheerfully prepared to endure the hardships and privations of military service, to repel an expected invasion of the enemy in Rhode Island. The invasion did not take place, and the services of those engaged to repel it, of course, were not required.

Mr. Gore soon commenced the study of his profession, in the office and under the direction of the late Judge Lowell, in whose family he resided while a student. That eminent jurist and excellent man soon discerned the worth of his pupil, and repaid his diligence and integrity, and his respect for himself,

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\* Note B.

by reposing in him, at all times, entire confidence, and manifesting for him the sincerest friendship. Mr. Gore was often heard to speak with the greatest regard of his instructor, and to impute no small share of his success in his profession, to the mutual regard subsisting between them. He had prosecuted his studies with such unremitting ardor and attention, that he was enabled to commence the practice of the law, in his native town, with an ability and confidence, that insured him the most flattering success. He depended upon himself alone, — he had his own fortune to make ;\* and his strict attention to business, his faithful application of time and talent, that he might gain a thorough knowledge of his profession, his punctuality in the discharge of the trusts confided to him, and withal his powers of eloquence, his ease and courtesy of manners, soon secured to him, not only patronage, but an eminence in his profession rarely attained at so early an age. Mr. Gore always appeared to derive satisfaction from the recollection of his frequent sacrifices of amusements and society, which have so many allurements for the young, that he might improve all his means and advantages, to secure the great objects he had in view, — reputation as a lawyer, independent support, a character for honor and integrity as a man, and the confidence and approbation of his friends. How well he accomplished these objects, his life has proved.

That Mr. Gore was highly esteemed, by his fellow citizens, at this early period of his public career, not only for his popular talents, but especially as an upright man and a sound politician, who might be safely entrusted with the confidence and dearest interests of the people, no stronger proof can be given, than his being united with those long tried and ardent patriots, John Hancock and Samuel Adams, in

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\* Note C.

the Convention of this State, which considered and adopted the Constitution of the Federal government.

In the year 1789, Mr. Gore was appointed to the important and responsible office of United States Attorney for the district of Massachusetts. He was the first, who filled this office under the Federal government; and his being selected by President Washington, who seldom, if ever, made an injudicious appointment, was decisive evidence of his legal reputation, and of the estimation in which he was held by his fellow citizens. Owing to the excitement in this part of the country, occasioned by sympathy with the people of France, then in a state of Revolution, — the duties of the office to which Mr. Gore was appointed were arduous and unpleasant; but he performed them all with great ability. And on some occasions, when the public feeling was much irritated, he manifested a degree of firmness and decision, which few could equal, and which, based upon his known integrity of character, enabled him to overcome difficulties, and successfully meet opposition, which had they been encountered with a different temper and less talent, would have produced a far different result.

His character being thus established for ability, for knowledge of commercial law, and faithfulness in the discharge of public duty; Mr. Gore was appointed, by the President, one of the Commissioners under the fourth article of Jay's Treaty, to settle the claims of our citizens, for spoliations upon our commerce. His commission is dated April 1, 1796. He was associated in this commission with men of distinguished worth, the Hon. William Pinkney of Maryland, and Col. Trumbull of Connecticut; but it is no derogation from their worth or ability, to assign the chief place in the commission to Mr. Gore. There were many difficulties to be met and overcome, in investigating the claims which were pre-



sented, which required all the experience, firmness, and perseverance, which few possessed in a greater degree than Mr. Gore, — and all the courtesy, affability, and knowledge of mankind, which were his in a peculiar manner. He was always the main instrument of securing to our citizens large sums of money, about the validity of the claims to which, some of the commission had strong doubts. The argument of Mr. Gore, in support of the claims for captures under the rule of 1756, was most able and elaborate, and no doubt caused their being allowed.

During the continuance of the commission, which was about eight years, Mr. Gore once visited this country, on special business of his own, but shortly afterwards returned to London. He visited the Continent, and spent several months in Paris. While in Europe, Mr. Gore became acquainted with some of the most distinguished men in Great Britain; carrying letters of introduction from Mr. Jay, he was at once admitted to the highest circles. But his own character, his highly polished manners, and the uncommon ability, with which it was known that he executed his important commission, were the chief and sufficient recommendation to the notice and esteem of men, whom it is an honor to know, and who honor the country to which they belong. By such men Mr. Gore was highly esteemed, and received from them constant proofs of regard.

When Mr. King, who was our minister at the Court of St. James, returned to this country in 1803, he appointed Mr. Gore chargé d'affaires, ; and in this station he exhibited the same talent and fidelity, that marked all his other public proceedings. In 1804, Mr. Gore came home, and was received by his fellow citizens with every demonstration of respect and affectionate regard.\*

Upon his return to this country, Mr. Gore resumed the practice of his profession, which he con-

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\* Note D.

tinued with zeal, activity, and success until the year 1809. He was elected to the Senate of this commonwealth for the county of Suffolk, in 1806 and 1807, and the following year he was chosen Representative from the town of Boston. Party politics ran high at this time, and Mr. Gore was a conspicuous member of the Legislature; and, from his distinguished worth and talents, he was naturally placed in the van of the party, whose cause he espoused and most ably maintained. No man was better qualified to take the lead in a difficult work; for, in addition to great political experience, sound judgment, and firmness of principle, he had perfect command of himself, and knew well how to influence and persuade others to an upright and honorable course.

During the political year of 1809 and 1810, Mr. Gore sustained the office of chief magistrate of this commonwealth. For this high and responsible station he had no preference, — it was not of his own seeking. So far from this, it was only at the most urgent entreaties, repeatedly made, by those of his friends, whose opinion he felt bound to respect, and who thought him the most suitable to fill the chair of state at that difficult period, that he consented to be a candidate for the suffrages of the people. And in thus yielding to what he believed his duty, as a good citizen, whose talents and means of usefulness belong to the public, and should be devoted to the public service, Mr. Gore sacrificed, as he well knew he of necessity must, his private feelings, his professional pursuits, to which he was attached and which he deemed it necessary to continue, and his love of retirement and literary ease. But he made the sacrifice with a resolution, which he firmly maintained, to give himself wholly to the important duties of the office, and, while he retained it, to be the governor and chief magistrate of the whole state, and not of a par-

ty. In pursuance of this noble object, he made himself familiar with every subject, that related to the interests and prosperity of the commonwealth, the honor and happiness of the people.\* He visited the distant parts of the state while governor, mixed with the different classes of his constituents, as occasions offered, and thus became still better qualified for the station he held. And had it not been, that the passions and prejudices of men were enlisted in the cause they espoused, and that those of opposite political sentiments were resolved to see and act through a prejudiced medium; all men to whom the governor had access, who saw and heard him, would have been won by his courtesy and condescension, his open, undisguised manner towards all whom he met; they would have been convinced, that he was not the Tory, the Monarchist, of whom they had so often read in the public vehicles of slander. But since party-spirit has been allayed, the good sense and candor of all who had any acquaintance with the character of Mr. Gore, however opposed they were to him in public life, oblige them to confess, that he discharged the duties of governor, in the most upright and faithful manner. I have heard some of his former opponents assert, that he was the best governor who had ever presided over the commonwealth; but that fidelity to their party would not allow them to give him their support.

Consistency and integrity were the prominent features of his administration; and never did he, on any occasion, sacrifice them to private views or popular feeling. His love of country, his desire to promote, by all the means in his power, the prosperity and improvement of his fellow citizens, his high sense of honor, his self-respect, placed him far above the intrigues of party; he was ever indignant at the

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\* Note E.

supposition, that he would stoop to any measure, or sanction any project, to secure popular favor, if, by so doing, he must swerve in the least from the line of the strictest integrity.

At the expiration of the year for which he had been chosen governor, Mr. Gore returned to private life, and did not again resume the practice of his profession. His permanent residence was in Waltham in the vicinity of Boston, where he possessed a large estate, which he highly cultivated and improved. He purchased this estate in the year 1791 and made it his summer residence, until the time before mentioned, when he became a permanent inhabitant of the town.\* He paid great attention to agriculture, and spared no expense in adorning his grounds, and in cultivating his fields, for his own and the public benefit. He took a lively interest in all the concerns of the town, faithfully discharged all the duties of a citizen, and secured to himself the respect and confidence of all with whom he had intercourse.

But Mr. Gore was not permitted long to remain in private life. In 1814 he was appointed by Governor Strong to the Senate of the United States, to supply a vacancy which had occurred during the recess of the Legislature; which appointment was confirmed by the General Court, at its next session. It was with great reluctance that Mr. Gore consented again to engage in public life, and become interested in the jarring politics of the times. But his high regard for Governor Strong, and respect for his opinion, induced him to comply with his urgent request. There were certain measures to be adopted, or subjects to be laid before Congress, which, the Governor thought, demanded all the experience, firmness, and political wisdom of Mr. Gore, rather than any other man. In the Senate, Mr. Gore displayed his usual zeal and

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\* Note F.

abilities for the honor and welfare of his country. His talents and influence were highly appreciated; perhaps no one ever had more influence in that body, or was more respected by all parties. He continued in the Senate three years, when, the duties of the station becoming too arduous for his health, which had been materially injured by his exertions, he resigned his seat, and did not again enter public life.

Mr. Gore belonged to most of the literary and benevolent institutions in our community. He was early elected a member of the American Academy, and was President of the Massachusetts Historical Society from 1806 to 1818. To each of these societies he bequeathed a valuable legacy. In 1816 he was chosen President of the Evangelical Missionary Society in Massachusetts, but resigned the office the following year, on account of ill health.\* He was a member of the Middlesex Bible Society and of the Massachusetts Peace Society. He was for several years a vigilant and highly useful Fellow of Harvard College, from which Institution he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, in 1809. And as a proof of his attachment to this seminary, and his desire to aid the cause of science and learning, he made the Corporation of the College his residuary legatee. The peculiar value of this bequest is its being free from all conditions, — being left to the sole direction of the governors of the College, to appropriate it as they shall deem best for the promotion of its truest interests; an example which it is hoped others will imitate, who may be disposed to add to the funds and prosperity of this favored seat of learning.

The public character of Mr. Gore may challenge the strictest scrutiny, from its commencement to its close. Few men have been called to higher or more

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\* Note G.

honorable stations in our country; and by fewer still, if by any, has he been surpassed in the upright and faithful discharge of the arduous and responsible duties attached to those stations. As a statesman and politician, he was profound and discriminating; the principles he adopted were formed from a deep and careful study of the constitution of his country; — they did not grow out of the state of parties, or change of circumstances, or local and sectional interests. Having adopted what he believed the right course in politics, he steadily pursued it, with a single eye to the welfare and honor of his country. You always knew where to find him, for he acted from principle. Political integrity was at the same time his polar star, of which he never lost sight, and his safeguard, amidst the various fluctuations and contending interests, which agitated, and often convulsed society. It is true, that, as a politician, he differed from many distinguished men, with whom he was associated in public life, who were, perhaps, as honest and sincere in their opinions as he was; but he had the unusual felicity, never to permit a difference of opinion to influence his feelings and conduct, or to view his opponents as enemies. His disposition was so benevolent, he was by nature so affable and courteous, that he maintained his opinions without asperity, and conciliated the good will, and secured the respect of many, whom he could not convince by argument. A virtue this, as rare as it is desirable, in a public character.

As an advocate at the bar, and as a counsellor, Mr. Gore stood among the foremost of the eminent jurists, who have done honor to the State. The ease and elegance of his manners, the nobleness of his person, added to his powers of eloquence, rendered him a favorite and successful member of the bar, which was at the same time adorned with Parsons, Sullivan, Ames, Dexter, and Otis. His clients

justly placed unlimited confidence in his opinions and exertions in their behalf; for they knew, that whatever business he undertook received the undivided efforts of his intelligent and well-stored mind; they had perfect confidence in the fairness and integrity, with which he conducted the business entrusted to him, and were convinced that no mean or mercenary consideration would induce him to barter his reputation, or raise expectations which would not be realized. He was faithful, because he was industrious, in his profession. He never came into court unprepared to manage the cause he had undertaken. It was his uniform practice, from the commencement of his professional labors to their close, and during the whole of his political life, either to sit up very late, or to rise very early in the morning, that he might fully prepare himself for the business of the following day. The company of friends, domestic society, and personal indulgence, were all sacrificed to duty, — to the business in which he was engaged.

Mr. Gore's mind was of the highest order of excellence. He was remarkable, I think, for decision of character, yet without rashness, — his judgment was sound and accurate, and the truths he attained after the most thorough investigation, he developed in a lucid manner. His was a highly cultivated and well disciplined mind. He was an accomplished belles-lettres and classical scholar, — was familiar with the literature of the day, and found much delight in reading the works of ancient poetry and philosophy. Horace was his favorite Latin author, which he read with a critical and discriminating taste. It is to be regretted that he left so few proofs, in print, of his extensive knowledge and sound political wisdom. A few political essays, which appeared in the newspapers, and a pamphlet, published in 1822, entitled, "Remarks on the Censures of the Government of the United States, contained in the Ninth Chapter of

a Book entitled, ‘Europe, by a Citizen of the United States,’ ” — are the only writings of his in print, which have come to my knowledge. These “Remarks” are an able vindication of the conduct of the administrations of Washington and Adams, so far as that conduct was implicated in the censure alluded to, — and they seemed to be demanded from one, who was not only conversant with the administration of our public affairs at that time, but was vested by the government with a high commission, to vindicate the honor of the nation, and assert and defend the claims of its injured citizens, against the pretended rights of Great Britain.

Not less distinguished was Mr. Gore in his private character, as a man in all the relations of social and domestic life. In these relations it is delightful to recollect him, and reflect upon those many graces, which endeared him to his friends, which threw around him a charm that none could resist, and which imperceptibly exerted an influence upon all who sought his acquaintance. He had the happy talent of making every one who was introduced to him, feel at ease, at home, although he were an entire stranger. To the young he was peculiarly kind and condescending; this disposition, of course, attracted many within his circle, who, while delighted and improved by his discourse, cherished for him the highest respect. The kindness of his feelings and the benevolence of his demeanor were remarkable, in his attention to all classes of society; in his familiar discourse with all whom he chanced to meet, in his daily pursuits, in his treatment of his dependents, and his attachment and fidelity to his friends.

But the character of Mr. Gore is deserving of regard, and respect, and honorable mention, chiefly, for its moral worth, its uncommon purity and unbending integrity. He was an enemy to vice in every shape; if he ever expressed indignation at the conduct of



any, it was for its want of moral principle. His standard of virtue and moral rectitude was high; for it was founded on the unerring principles of truth, as contained in the religion of Jesus Christ. In Christianity he was a firm believer; he was a Christian in the noblest sense of the word. For while he did not hesitate to avow his sentiments, and in early life attach himself to a society, to which, in the eye of the bigoted many, it was almost a reproach to belong, he made no boast of his profession, took no pains to appear *better than others*, never was illiberal or censorious towards those who chose to pursue another course to heaven. While his health permitted, he was a constant attendant at church, in town and in the country, and paid uniform respect to all the institutions of religion. Mr. Gore not only believed in Christianity, but held in high estimation and reverence the Bible, and used to recommend the study of it to young men, who were just entering life. On this subject I speak with perfect confidence; for I have often heard him describe the pleasure he derived from reading the works of the great masters of poetry and history of ancient days;—"But," he would add, "I find no poetry superior to that in the Bible, especially in the book of Job and the Psalms of David, or from reading which, I derive purer satisfaction,—no inspiration so sublime as that which proceeded from the pen of Isaiah, and no morality to be compared with the precepts of Jesus Christ;" observing, that whatever books he would recommend to the young, he should advise them to prize the Bible as the most valuable,—that whatever genius or talents a young man might possess, if destitute of moral principle, or practical regard for the eternal rules of virtue, he was destitute of the only certain foundation of honorable distinction, in a moral and religious community. Sentiments similar to these, I believe he expressed, as chairman of the committee, at a public examination of a class in Harvard

College, while he was Governor, — sentiments alike honorable to his head and his heart.

The latter years of Mr. Gore's life were years of infirmity and sickness, and much of the time his sufferings were intense. Yet such was his fortitude and endurance, such the equanimity of his mind, sustained by reflection, philosophy, and religion, that, to a stranger, he seemed not to suffer. His noble person literally bent down with pain and infirmity, he would receive his friends with cheerfulness, and so exert himself to entertain them, that they left him with increased admiration of his intellectual and moral worth. Though unable to attend to his agricultural pursuits to which he was strongly attached, to mingle in society, or even to see company, except his intimate friends; and though suffering hourly the severest pain, he passed much time in his study, and found alleviation from suffering by reading his favorite authors. It was delightful to perceive and to know, that tortured in body, his mind was still bright and clear, shone out in all its greatness and complacency, and, as it were, seemed to play in its triumph over corporal suffering. I have said that Mr. Gore was a Christian; and if years of endurance of severe pains and infirmity, without the least expression of murmur or complaint, — if constant exertions to render those about him pleased and happy, and the exercise of a cheerful, benevolent, and resigned disposition, — if these are evidences of a Christian temper, of true Christian fortitude and patience, then Mr. Gore had a strong claim to this exalted character; and retained it to the last hour of his life, which was closed with serenity, March 1, 1829, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. Well may we apply to his character these lines of the poet, which he delighted to read :

“ *Justum et tenacem propositi virum  
Non civium ardor prava jubentium,  
Non vultus instantis tyranni,  
Mente quatit solidâ.*”

## NOTES.

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### A.

CHRISTOPHER GORE's father was John Gore, a respectable mechanic, in the town of Boston, who married Frances Pinckney, by whom he had fourteen or fifteen children. Three sons and six daughters lived to be married; the other children died in infancy. Christopher was the youngest of these sons.

### B.

Of the many highly valued friends and associates of Mr. Gore, I shall particularly notice but two, whom he loved and valued above others, and for whom he cherished the highest regard through life, — the late Hon. Rufus King of New York, and the Rev. Dr. Freeman of Boston; with the former, and I believe with both, his acquaintance commenced at college. The intimacy subsisting between Mr. Gore and Mr. King, was one of the closest and purest kind. It seemed as if their thoughts and souls were one. Although in distant parts of the country, they maintained a constant correspondence, on all political subjects which interested them in common with their fellow citizens, as well as on their individual and domestic pursuits. They took no important step in public without consulting each other, and were generally decided by the opinion or advice given and received. They were together in Europe, in the public service, — they were together in the Senate of the United States, — nor were they long divided in their death. Mr. King died in May, 1827.

Of the Rev. Dr. Freeman, who still survives to cheer and delight a large circle of devoted friends, and to instruct, by example, an attached congregation, it may not be proper to write as his merit deserves. But, as he was the early and warm friend of Mr. Gore, their names, as their virtues, should ever be mentioned together, with the highest respect. As the firm and consistent minister of the church to which he belonged, Mr. Gore always manifested towards him the sincerest regard; and it was no small consideration with the Pastor, that he had for a counsellor and friend, such a parishioner, in whose talents, judgment, and integrity, he could place the safest confidence. But Mr. Gore

was attached to Dr. Freeman, not merely as his clergyman, but because he possessed all those traits of character, which are congenial to pure and enlightened minds. I have often heard Mr. Gore speak of his friends and of distinguished men, — but never of any as he used to speak of those to whom I have here alluded.

## C.

Mr. Gore not only had his own fortune to make, but it devolved on him, principally, after he left college, to attend to the comfort and happiness of his mother, and three unmarried sisters. This additional care became his, in consequence of the absence of his father, (who left Boston and repaired to Halifax, at the commencement of the Revolution, but who returned, and, in 1795, died in Boston.) By his own exertions and industry, Mr. Gore paid his college bills, after he entered on his profession, and was enabled to fulfill all the responsible duties devolving upon him, with honor to himself. In the year 1783, Mr. Gore married Rebecca, daughter of Deacon Edward Payne, of Boston.

## D.

On his return to his native town, a public dinner was given to Mr. Gore, by his fellow citizens, in testimony of their high respect for his character, and of their entire confidence in the ability and faithfulness with which he had executed the important commission on which he was sent to London.

## E.

In the year 1809, a successful experiment was made in Milton, Massachusetts, of the efficacy of Vaccination, as a preventive of that dreadful scourge of the human race, the Small Pox. Mr. Gore was much interested in the success of the experiment, and, as Governor of the State, gave his aid to all measures for effecting the desirable object. In testimony of their respect for the Governor, and of their gratitude for the interest and influence he had felt and exerted in the cause, the committee on vaccination in Milton, sent him the following card.

“ He is slain.”

“ *Milton, 25th October, 1809.*

“ The twelve individuals, whose names are written on the back of this card, were vaccinated at the town inoculation in July last. They were tested by small-pox inoculation on the 10th inst., and discharged this day from the hospital, after offering to the world, in the presence of the most respectable witnesses,

who honored Milton with their attendance on that occasion, an additional evidence of the never-failing power of that mild preventive, the cow-pock, against small-pox infection; a blessing great, as it is singular in its kind; whereby the hearts of man ought to be elevated in praise to the Almighty Giver.

“AMOS HOLBROOK, *Physician.*  
OLIVER HOUGHTON, *Chairman*  
*of the Committee on Vaccination.*”

On the reverse, were written these names, viz. — Samuel Alden, Joshua Briggs, Thomas Street Briggs, Benjamin Church Briggs, Martin Briggs, George Briggs, Charles Briggs, Catherine Bent, Susanna Bent, Mary Ann Belcher, Ruth Porter Horton, John Smith. These twelve were the only individuals qualified by the town vote, who expressed a desire of being tested, out of 337 vaccinated at the town inoculation, July, 1809.

F.

Mr. Gore did not gain inhabitancy in Waltham, merely by a residence for a time prescribed, or by paying taxes a certain number of years, as the law may then have been; but, in a public town meeting, soon after he purchased his estate in Waltham, he requested to be considered and accepted as an inhabitant. By a unanimous vote of the meeting, he was then made an inhabitant, and ever after freely gave his advice and lent his aid to advance the interests and honor of the town. He attended town meeting, when important business was to be transacted, and frequently came from Boston, to put his vote into the ballot-box, on days of election, &c.

G.

On resigning the office of President of the Evangelical Missionary Society, Mr. Gore sent to the Secretary the following letter.

“*Waltham, September 26, 1817.*

“My dear Sir,

“The last year, on receiving your notification of the honor conferred on me by the Society, I was induced to accept the trust, in the hope and expectation, that returning health would enable me to perform its duties.

“In this hope I have been altogether disappointed; and however painful the reflection, I have only to remedy the evil, so far as is now in my power, by praying the Society to accept, with my grateful acknowledgments for their kindness, my resignation of the office of President, — assuring them, that nothing would have tempted me to ask their indulgence, but a conviction, that I am

and shall be incapable of executing the duties of this high and respectable station. I should be quite unmindful of the obligations of the trust, were I to persist in attempting to retain the honors of a place, when ill health renders me incompetent to the discharge of its calls.

“ Convinced, as I am, of the efficacy of religious and moral education in training youth to happiness and usefulness, and in confirming in persons of more advanced life, habits of virtue, order, and industry ; and knowing, as I do, the disinterested and benevolent conduct of the Society in promoting these views ; I pray the members to be assured of my earnest disposition to do all within my feeble powers to encourage and advance the purposes of their benevolent institution.

“ With unfeigned respect, &c.

C. GORE.”

“ *To the Secretary of Evangelical }  
Missionary Society.*” } }

Extract from a discourse preached to the First Congregational Society in Waltham, March 11, 1829, on the death of the subject of the preceding Memoir.

“ My hearers, it has been your and my happiness to know one, who lived with and among us for many years, whose enlarged and powerful mind, whose various and highly cultivated talents rendered him eminently useful in the most important stations in society ; — whose amiable and benevolent disposition made him beloved by all, of every class, who were admitted to his acquaintance ; — whose truly honorable and upright character gained him the respect and confidence of all ; — whose virtues will long be cherished in remembrance, and in the light of whose example we may perceive the path of true honor and greatness. You have, no doubt, already anticipated the application of these remarks, to our late eminent fellow citizen and townsman, the Hon. Mr. Gore, whose recent decease has made a void in society, and in the relations of private life, which cannot easily be filled.

“ I deem no apology necessary for deviating from my usual practice, and taking this public notice of the death of Mr. Gore — making his life and character the subject of the present discourse. For, as he was a man to be honored and esteemed while in life, so was he a man, in all respects, to be remembered after his death. He did not ‘ live to himself alone, neither will he die to himself.’ Sure I am, that many of our fathers and friends, the contemporaries of Mr. Gore, who worshipped with him at this altar, and who, with him, are now worshippers of God in a purer, holier temple, — could their spirits mingle in the transactions of earth, would accuse me of injustice and want of respect for eminent worth, and ingratitude for repeated

proofs of personal friendship and unreserved confidence, were I to withhold this feeble tribute to his memory. To those of his contemporaries, who have yet a little farther to proceed on the journey of life, it cannot be unwelcome, to be reminded of the services and worth of one, whose life was so full of instruction, and incitement to every laudable work. To the younger part of the society, who knew Mr. Gore only by report, and are strangers to his early history, it must be interesting, to attend to a brief sketch of the life, character, and services of a man, who served his country with fidelity, his friends with the sincerest ardor, and his God with the most unbending integrity." R.

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INTRUSION OF THE RHODE-ISLAND PEOPLE UPON THE  
INDIAN LANDS.

[Endorsed — "Sept. 13 '69" (= 1669) "Com<sup>rs</sup> of United Colonys, declaration of y<sup>e</sup> Injustice of y<sup>e</sup> R Islanders, in Narrag: affairs."]

[From W. T. Williams, Esq. of Lebanon, Connecticut.]

"Whereas complaint is made that sundry of his Maj: subjects y<sup>e</sup> p<sup>r</sup>oprietors of the Narragansett and Pequotts Country, Contrary to all Justice & Equitye (being lawfully seized of their severall p<sup>r</sup>oprietyes) are now dispossessed by the violent intrusions of sundry of Rode Island people, and after all amicable meanes for a redresse they do still p<sup>r</sup>ist therein, the w<sup>ch</sup> Lands by his Ma<sup>st</sup>s Let<sup>s</sup> Pattent were put under y<sup>e</sup> Jurisdiction of Conecticott Colony, the Com<sup>rs</sup> now assembled do declare that this their intrusion is very unjust & unreasonable, & do com<sup>end</sup> unto their beloved Brethren y<sup>e</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Court of Conecticott, that the Complayntes may be admitted to a full and orderly hereing of their case, and demand made of satisfaction fro<sup>m</sup> those that have soe unreasonably oppressed them, in case that their complaint do appeare to be true, and in case of refusall to submit thereto, and to make reparatio<sup>n</sup>, that notice thereof

be given to y<sup>e</sup> severall Gen<sup>l</sup> Courts for their advice to a Just & righteous way for a redresse.—

Simon Bradstreete.

Thomas Danforth.

John Tallcott.

J. Winthrop.

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“Whereas much time hath been spent in debateing matters of difference that have arisen among the Coloneys whereby y<sup>e</sup> Confederatio<sup>n</sup> seemes to be Greatly weakened and at p<sup>r</sup>sent uselesse, The Com<sup>rs</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> severall Coloneys now assembled do agree to Commend it to y<sup>e</sup> severall Gen<sup>l</sup> Courts, that against y<sup>e</sup> Meeting of y<sup>e</sup> next Gen<sup>l</sup> Court for ellectio<sup>n</sup> in y<sup>e</sup> Massachusetts Colony some meet p<sup>r</sup>sons may be chosen and sent fro<sup>m</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Colony of Plimmoth & Conecticott inuested w<sup>th</sup> full power to treat & conclude of such articles as they shall mutually agree upo<sup>n</sup> for y<sup>e</sup> reestablishm<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> confederatio<sup>n</sup>, between y<sup>e</sup> united Coloneys.

Simon Bradstreete.

J. Winthrop.

Thomas Danforth.

John Tallcott.”

[A copy on the Massachusetts files agreed verbatim with the foregoing, except that *Boston* is inserted before “Sept. 13th” and Joseph Winslow’s signature after Simon Bradstreete’s at the close of the 2d document. The following is added, being the doings of Massachusetts on the subject.]

“18. Oct. ’69. This agreement of the Commissioners being read in the Generall Court they doe concurr therewith. The Magistrates have passed this their brethren the deputies hereto consenting.

(signed) Edw. Rawson Sec<sup>y</sup>.

The Deputies consent hereto provided nothing be concluded without the approbation of o<sup>r</sup> Gen<sup>l</sup> Court, o<sup>r</sup> Hono<sup>ed</sup> Magist<sup>s</sup> consenting hereto.

(signed) William Torrey — Cleric.

21 October ’69.

Consented to by the Magist<sup>s</sup>.

Edw. Rawson, Secret.”



AN  
ACCOUNT  
OF TWO  
VOYAGES  
TO  
NEW-ENGLAND.

Wherein you have the setting out of a Ship, With the charges; The prices of all necessaries for furnishing a Planter & his Family at his first coming; A Description of the Country, Natives and Creatures; The Government of the Countrey as it is now possessed by the *English*, &c. A large Chronological Table of the most remarkable passages from the first discovering of the Continent of *America*, to the year 1673.

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By *John Josselyn* Gent.

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The Second Addition.

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Mimner. distich rendred English by Dr. *Heylin*.

*Heart, take thine ease,  
Men hard to please  
Thou haply might'st offend,  
Though one speak ill  
Of thee, some will  
Say better; there's an end.*

London Printed for *G. Widdowes* at the *Green Dragon* in *St. Pauls* Church-yard, 1675.

[In the 12mo. volume from which this is printed, the title is preceded by a leaf, on the first page of which is the printer's device, viz. a dragon with the letters G W over it; and in the middle of the second page is "Licensed by Roger L'estrage, *Novemb.* the 28. 1673." The title-leaf (which is substituted for one cut out, doubtless to give the book the appearance of a second edition) is followed by two leaves, one bearing the dedication, and the other a list of Errata. The Dedication is as follows: "To the Right Honourable, and Most Illustrious the President and Fellows of the Royal Society: The following Account of Two Voyages to New-England, is most humbly presented by the Authour *John Josselyn*." The list of Errata is thus introduced: "To the Reader: *You are desired by the Authour to correct some literal faults, which by reason of the raggedness of the Copy have been committed.* G. Widdows." The "literal faults" specified in the list (a small part of those that exist) are corrected in this reprint.]



A  
RELATION  
OF TWO  
VOYAGES  
TO  
New-England.

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*The first Voyage.*

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**A** NNO Dom. 1638. *April* the 26th being *Thursday*, I came to *Gravesend* and went aboard the *New Supply*, alias, the *Nicholas* of *London*, a Ship of good force, of 300 Tuns burden, carrying 20 Sa-cre and Minion, man'd with 48 Sailers, the Master *Robert Taylor*, the Merchant or undertaker Mr. *Edward Tinge*, with 164 Passengers men, women and children.

[p. 2.] At *Gravesend* I began my Journal, from whence we departed on the 26. of *April*, about Six of the clock at night, and went down into the *Hope*.

The 27. being *Fryday*, we set sail out of the *Hope*, and about Nine of the clock at night we came to an Anchor in *Margaret-Road* in three fathom and a half water: by the way we past a States man of war, of 500 Tun, cast away a month before upon the *Goodwin*, nothing remaining visible above water but her main mast top, 16 of her men were drowned, the rest saved by Fishermen.

The 28. we twined into the Downs, where Cap-*tain Clark* one of His Majesties Captains in the

Navy, came aboard of us in the afternoon, and prest two of our Trumpeters. Here we had good store of Flounders from the Fishermen, new taken out of the Sea and living, which being readily gutted, were fry'd while they were warm; me thoughts I never tasted of a delicater Fish in all my life before.

The Third of *May* being *Ascension* day, in the afternoon we weighed out of the *Downs*, the wind at *E.* and ran down into *Dover* Road, and lay by the lee, whilst they sent the Skiffe ashore for one of the Masters mates: by the way we past *Sandwich* in the [p. 3.] *Hope*, *Sandown-Castle*, *Deal*; So we steered away for *Doniesse*, from thence we steered *S. W.*  $\frac{1}{2}$  *S.* for the *Beachie*, about one of the clock at night the wind took us a staves with a gust, rain, thunder and lightning, and now a Servant of one of the passengers sickned of the small pox.

The Fifth day in the afternoon we Anchored, the *Isle of Wight* *W. N. W.* 10 leagues off, *Beachie* *E. N. E.* 8 leagues off, rode in 32 fathom water at low water, at 8 of the clock at night the land over the Needles bore *N. W.* 4 leagues off, we steered *W.* afore the Start, at noon the Boults was *N. W.* by *W.* about 3  $\frac{1}{2}$  leagues off, we were becalmed from 7 of the clock in the morning, till 12 of the clock at noon, where we took good store of *Whitings*, and half a score *Gurnets*, this afternoon an infinite number of *Porpisces* shewed themselves above water round about the Ship, as far as we could kenn, the night proved tempestuous with much lightning and thunder.

The Sixth day being *Sunday*, at five of the clock at night the *Lizard* was *N. W.* by *W.* 6 leagues off, and the *Blackhead* which is to the westward of *Fal-mouth* was *N. W.* about 5 leagues off.

The Seventh day the uttermost part of *Silly* was *N. E.* 12 leagues off, and now we began to sail by the logg.

[p. 4.] The Eighth day, one *Boremans* man a pas-

senger was duck'd at the main yards arm ( for being drunk with his Masters strong waters which he stole) thrice, and fire given to two whole Sacree, at that instant. Two mighty Whales we now saw, the one spouted water through two great holes in her head into the Air a great height, and making a great noise with puffing and blowing, the Seamen called her a Soufler; the other was further off, about a league from the Ship, fighting with the Sword-fish, and the Flail-fish, whose stroakes with a fin that growes upon her back like a flail, upon the back of the Whale, we heard with amazement: when presently some more than half as far again we spied a spout from above, it came pouring down like a River of water; So that if they should light in any Ship, she were in danger to presently sunk down into the Sea, and falleth with such an extream violence all whole together as one drop, or as water out of a Vessel, and dured a quarter of an hour, making the Sea to boyle like a pot, and if any Vessel be near, it sucks it in. I saw many of these spouts afterwards at nearer distance. In the afternoon the Mariners struck a Porpisce, called also a *Marsovius* or Sea-hogg, with an harping Iron, and hoisted her aboard, [p. 5.] they cut some of it into thin pieces, and fryed, it tastes like rusty Bacon, or hung Beef, if not worse; but the Liverboiled and soused sometime in Vinegar is more grateful to the pallat. About 8 of the clock at night, a flame settled upon the main mast, it was about the bigness of a great Candle, and is called by our Seamen St. *Elmes* fire, it comes before a storm, and is commonly thought to be a Spirit; if two appear they prognosticate safety: These are known to the learned by the names of *Castor* and *Pollux*, to the *Italians* by St. *Nicholas* and St. *Hermes*, by the *Spaniards* called *Corpos Santos*.

The Ninth day, about two of the clock in the afternoon, we found the head of our main mast close

to the cap twisted and shivered, and we presently after found the fore-top-mast crackt a little above the cap; So they wolloed them both, and about two of the clock in the morning 7 new long Boat oars brake away from our Star-board quarter with a horrid crack.

The Eleventh day, they observed and made the Ship to be in latitude 48 degrees 46 minuts, having a great Sea all night; about 6 of the clock in the morning we spake with Mr *Rupe* in a Ship of *Dartmouth*, which came from *Marcelloes*; and now is *Silly N. E.* by *E.* 34 leagues off; [p. 6.] about 9 of the clock at night we sounded, and had 85 fathom water, small brownish pepperie sand, with a small piece of *Hakes Tooth*, and now we are 45 leagues off the *Lizard*, great Seas all night, and now we see to the *S. W.* six tall Ships, the wind being *S. W.*

The Twelfth day being *Whitsunday*, at prayer-time we found the Ships trine [trim?] a foot by the stern, and also the partie that was sick of the small pox now dyed, whom we buried in the Sea, tying a bullet (as the manner is) to his neck, and another to his leggs, turned him out at a Port-hole, giving fire to a great Gun. In the afternoon one *Martin Jcy* a strippling, servant to Captain *Thomas Cammock* was whipt naked at the Cap-stern, with a Cat with Nine tails, for filching 9 great Lemmons out of the *Chirurgeons* Cabbin, which he eat rinds and all in less than an hours time.

The Thirteenth day we took a Sharke, a great one, and hoisted him aboard with his two Companions (for there is never a Sharke, but hath a mate or two) that is the Pilot-fish or Pilgrim, which lay upon his back close to a long fin; the other fish (somewhat bigger than the Pilot) about two foot long, called a *Remora*, it hath no scales and sticks close to the Sharkes belly. [p. 7.] So the Whale hath the Sea-gudgeon, a small fish for his mate, marching be-

fore him, and guiding him; which I have seen likewise. The Seamen divided the Sharke into quarters, and made more quarter about it than the Purser, when he makes five quarters of an Oxe, and after they had cooked him, he proved very rough Grain'd, not worthy of wholesome preferment; but in the afternoon we took store of *Bonitoes*, or Spanish *Dolphins*, a fish about the size of a large Mackarel, beautified with admirable varietie of glittering colours in the water, and was excellent food.

The Fourteenth day we spake with a *Plimouth* man (about dinner time) bound for *New-found-land*, who having gone up west-ward sprang a leak, and now bore back for *Plimouth*. Now was *Silly* 50 leagues off, and now many of the passengers fall sick of the small Pox and Calenture.

The Sixteenth Mr. *Clarke*, who came out of the *Downs* with us, and was bound for the Isle of *Providence*, one of the summer Islands; the *Spaniards* having taken it a little before, though unknown to *Clarke*, and to Captain *Nathaniel Butler* going Governour, they departed from us the Wind *N. W.* great Seas and stormie winds all night.

[p. 8.] The Seventeenth day, the wind at *N. W.* about 8 of the clock we saw 5 great Ships bound for the *Channel*, which was to the Westward of us, about two leagues off, we thought them to be *Flemmings*; here we expected to have met with Pirates, but were happily deceived.

The One and twentieth day, the wind *S. by W.* great Seas and Wind, in'd our courses, and tryed from 5 of the clock afternoon, till 4 in the morning, the night being very stormie and dark; we lost Mr. *Goodlad* and his Ship, who came out with us, and bound for *Boston* in *New-England*.

The Eight and twentieth day, all this while a very great grown Sea and mighty winds.

*June* the first day in the afternoon, very thick fog-

gie weather, we sailed by an enchanted Island, saw a great deal of filth and rubbish floating by the Ship, heard *Cawdimawdies*, *Sea-gulls* and *Crowes*, ( Birds that always frequent the shoar ) but could see nothing by reason of the mist: towards Sunset, when we were past the Island, it cleared up.

The Fourteenth day of *June*, very foggie weather, we sailed by an Island of Ice ( which lay on the Star-board side ) three leagues in length mountain high, in form of [p. 9.] land, with Bayes and Capes like high clift land, and a River pouring off it into the Sea. We saw likewise two or three Foxes, or Devils skipping upon it. These Islands of Ice are congealed in the North, and brought down in the spring-time with the Current to the banks on this side *New-found-land*, and there stopt, where they dissolve at last to water; by that time we had sailed half way by it, we met with a *French Pickeroon*. Here it was as cold as in the middle of *January* in *England*, and so continued till we were some leagues beyond it.

The Sixteenth day we sounded, and found 35 fathom water, upon the bank of *New-found-land*, we cast out our hooks for Cod-fish, thick foggie weather, the Codd being taken on a Sunday morning, the Sectaries aboard threw those their servants took into the Sea again, although they wanted fresh victuals, but the Sailers were not so nice, amongst many that were taken, we had some that were wasted Fish, & it is observable and very strange, that fishes bodies do grow slender with age, their Tails and Heads retaining their former bigness; Fish of all Creatures have generally the biggest heads, and the first part that begins to taint in a fish is the head.

The Nineteenth day, Captain *Thomas Cammock* [p. 10.] ( a near kinsman of the Earl of *Warwicks* ) now had another lad *Thomas Jones*, that dyed of the small pox at eight of the clock at night.

The Twentieth day, we saw a great number of



Sea-bats, or Owles, called also flying fish, they are about the bigness of a Whiting, with four tinsel wings, with which they fly as long as they are wet, when pursued by other fishes. Here likewise we saw many Grandpisces or Herring-hogs, hunting the scholes of Herrings, in the afternoon we saw a great fish called the *vehuella* or Sword fish, having a long, strong and sharp finn like a Sword-blade on the top of his head, with which he pierced our Ship, and broke it off with striving to get loose, one of our Sailers dived and brought it aboard.

The One and twentieth day, we met with two *Bristow* men bound for *New-England*, and now we are 100 and 75 leagues off *Cape-Sable*, the sandy *Cape*, for so *Sable* in French signifieth, off of which lyeth the Isle of *Sable*, which is beyond *New-found-land*, where they take the *Amphibious* Creature, the *Walrus*, *Mors*, or *Sea-Horse*.

The Two and twentieth, another passenger dyed of a Consumption. Now we passed by the Southern part of *New-found-land*, [p. 11.] within sight of it; the Southern part of *New-found-land* is said to be not above 600 leagues from *England*.

The Six and twentieth day, Capt. *Thomas Cammock* went aboard of a Barke of 300 Tuns, laden with Island Wine, and but 7 men in her, and never a Gun, bound for *Richmonds* Island, set out by Mr. *Trelaney* of *Plimouth*, exceeding hot weather now.

The Eight and twentieth, one of Mr. *Edward Ting's* the undertakers men now dyed of the Phthisick.

The Nine and twentieth day, sounded at night, and found 120 fathome water, the head of the Ship struck against a rock; At 4 of the clock we descryed two sail bound for *New-found-land*, and so for the *Streights*, they told us of a general Earth-quake in *New-England*, of the Birth of a Monster at *Boston*, in the *Massachusetts-Bay* a mortality, and now we are two leagues off *Cape Ann*.

The Thirtieth day proved stormie, and having lost the sight of the Land, we saw none untill the morning; doubtfully discovering the Coast, fearing the Leeshore all night we bore out to Sea.

*July* the first day, we sounded at 8 of the clock at night, and found 93 fathome water, descried land.

The Third day, we Anchored in the *Bay* of [p. 12.] *Massachusetts* before *Boston*. Mr. *Tinges* other man now dyed of the small pox.

The Tenth day, I went a shore upon *Noddles* Island to Mr. *Samuel Maverick* (for my passage) the only hospitable man in all the Countrey, giving entertainment to all Comers *gratis*.

Now before I proceed any further, it will not be Impertinent to give the intending planter some Instructions for the furnishing of himself with things necessary, and for undertaking the Transport of his Family, or any others.

To which end observe, that a Ship of 150 Tuns, with 2 Decks and a half, and 26 men, with 12 pieces of Ordnance, the charge will amount *per* moneth, with the Mariners, to 120 pound *per* moneth. It is better to let the Owners undertake for the Victualling of the Mariners, and their pay for Wages, and the Transporter only to take care of the passengers.

*The common proportion of Victuals for the Sea to a Mess, being 4 men, is as followeth;*

Two pieces of Beef, of 3 pound and  $\frac{1}{4}$  *per* piece.

Four pound of *Bread*.

One pint  $\frac{1}{2}$  of *Pease*.

[p. 13.] Four Gallons of *Bear*, with *Mustard* and *Vinegar* for three flesh dayes in the week.

For four fish dayes, to each mess *per* day.

Two pieces of *Codd* or *Habberdine*, making three pieces of a fish.

One quarter of a pound of *Butter*.

Four pound of *Bread*.

Three quarters of a pound of *Cheese*.

*Bear* as before.

*Oatmeal* per day, for 50 men, Gallon 1. and so proportionable for more or fewer.

Thus you see the Ships provision, is *Beef* or *Porke*, *Fish*, *Butter*, *Cheese*, *Pease*, *Pottage*, *Watergruel*, *Bisket*, and six shilling *Bear*.

For private fresh provision, you may carry with you (in case you, or any of yours should be sick at Sea) Conserves of *Roses*, *Clove-Gilliflowers*, *Wormwood*, *Green-Ginger*, *Burnt-Wine*, *English Spirits*, *Prunes* to stew, *Raisons* of the *Sun*, *Currence*, *Sugar*, *Nutmeg*, *Mace*, *Cinnamon*, *Pepper* and *Ginger*, *White Bisket*, or *Spanish rusk*, *Eggs*, *Rice*, *juice of Lemmons* well put up to cure, or prevent the *Scurvy*. Small *Skillets*, *Pipkins*, *Porrengers*, and small *Frying pans*.

To prevent or take away *Sea sickness*, Conserve of *Wormwood* is very proper, but these following *Troches* I prefer before it.

First make paste of *Sugar* and *Gum-Dracagant* mixed together, then mix therewith [p. 14.] a reasonable quantitie of the powder of *Cinnamon* and *Ginger*, and if you please a little *Musk* also, and make it up into *Roules* of several fashions, which you may gild, of this when you are troubled in your *Stomach*, take and eat a quantity according to discretion.

*Apparel for one man, and after the rate for more.*

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
One Hatt . . . . .	0	3	0
One <i>Monmouth</i> Cap . . . . .	0	1	10
Three falling bands . . . . .	0	1	3
Three Shirts . . . . .	0	7	6
One Wastcoat . . . . .	0	2	6
One suit of Frize . . . . .	0	19	0

	l.	s.	d.
One suit of Cloth . . . . .	0	15	0
One suit of Canvas . . . . .	0	7	6
Three pair of <i>Irish</i> Stockins . . . . .	0	5	0
Four pair of Shoos . . . . .	0	8	0
One pair of Canvas Sheets . . . . .	0	8	0
Seven ells of course Canvas to make a bed at Sea for two men, to be filled with straw . . . . .	0	5	0
One course Rug at Sea for two men . . . . .	0	6	0
<i>Sum Total.</i>	4	0	0

[p. 15] *Victuals for a whole year to be carried out of England for one man, and so for more after the rate.*

	l.	s.	d.
Eight bushels of <i>Meal</i> . . . . .	2	0	0
Two bushels of <i>Pease</i> at three shillings a bushel . . . . .	0	6	0
Two bushels of <i>Oatmeal</i> , at four and six pence the bushel . . . . .	0	9	0
One Gallon of <i>Aqua vitæ</i> . . . . .	0	2	6
One Gallon of <i>Oyl</i> . . . . .	0	3	6
Two Gallons of <i>Vinegar</i> . . . . .	0	2	0

Note.

Of *Sugar* and *Spice*, 8 pound make the stone, 13 stone and an half, *i. e.* 100 pound maketh the hundred, but your best way is to buy your *Sugar* there, for it is cheapest, but for *Spice* you must carry it over with you.

	l.	s.	d.
A Hogshead of <i>English</i> Beef will cost . . . . .	5	0	0
A Hogshead of <i>Irish</i> Beef will cost . . . . .	2	10	0
A Barrel of <i>Oatmeal</i> . . . . .	0	13	0
A Hogshead of <i>Aqua vitæ</i> will cost . . . . .	4	0	0
A Hogshead of <i>Vinegar</i> . . . . .	1	0	0
A bushel of <i>Mustard-seed</i> . . . . .	0	6	0

[p. 16.] A *Kental* of fish, Cod or Habberdine is 112 pound, will cost if it be merchantable fish, Two or three and thirty Rials a *Kental*, if it be refuse you may have it for 10 or 11 shillings a *Kental*.

Wooden Ware.

	l.	s.	d.
A pair of Bellows . . . . .	0	2	0
A Skoope . . . . .	0	0	9
A pair of Wheels for a Cart, if you buy them in the Countrey, they will cost 3 or 4 pound . . . . .	0	14	0
Wheelbarrow you may have there, in <i>England</i> they cost . . . . .	0	6	0
A great pail in <i>England</i> will cost . . . . .	0	0	10
A Boat called a Canow, will cost in the Countrey (with a pair of Paddles) if it be a good one . . . . .	3	0	0
A short Oake ladder in <i>England</i> will cost but . . . . .	0	0	10
A Plough . . . . .	0	3	9
An Axletree . . . . .	0	0	8
A Cart . . . . .	0	10	0
For a casting shovel . . . . .	0	0	10
For a shovel . . . . .	0	0	6
For a Sack . . . . .	0	2	4
For a Lanthorn . . . . .	0	1	3
For Tobacco pipes short steels, and great bouls pence and 16 pence the grose.			14
[p. 17.] For clipping an hundred sheep in <i>England</i> . . . . .	0	4	6
For winding the Wool . . . . .	0	0	8
For washing them . . . . .	0	2	0
For one Garnish of Peuter . . . . .	2	0	0

*Prizes of Iron Ware.*

*Arms for one man, but if half of your men have Armour it is sufficient, so that all have pieces and swords.*

	<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
One Armour compleat, light . . . . .	0	17	0
One long piece five foot, or five and a half near Musket bore . . . . .	1	2	0
One Sword . . . . .			
One Bandaleer . . . . .	0	1	6
One Belt . . . . .	0	1	0
Twenty pound of powder . . . . .	0	18	0
Sixty pound of shot or lead, pistol and Goose shot . . . . .	0	5	0

*Tools for a Family of Six persons, and so after the rate for more.*

Five broad howes at two shillings a piece	0	10	0
Five narrow howes at 16 pence a piece	0	6	8
[p. 18.] Five felling Axes at 18 pence a piece	0	7	6
Two steel hand-sawes at 16 pence the piece	0	2	8
Two hand-sawes at 5 shillings a piece	0	10	0
One whip saw, set and filed with box	0	10	0
A file and wrest . . . . .	0	0	10
Two Hammers 12 pence a piece . . . . .	0	2	0
Three shovels 18 pence a piece shod . . . . .	0	4	6
Two spades 18 pence a piece . . . . .	0	3	0
Two Augars . . . . .	0	1	0
Two broad Axes at 3 shillings 8 pence a piece . . . . .	0	7	4
Six Chissels . . . . .			
Three Gimblets . . . . .	0	0	6
Two Hatchets One and twenty pence a piece . . . . .	0	3	6
Two froues to cleave pail at 18 pence a piece . . . . .			

Two hand-bills at 20 pence a piece . . . . .	0	3	4
Nails of all sorts to be valued . . . . .	2	0	0
Two pick-Axes . . . . .	0	3	0
Three Locks, and 3 pair of Fetters . . . . .	0	5	10
Two Currie Combs . . . . .	0	0	11
For a Brand to brand Beasts with . . . . .	0	0	6
For a Chain and lock for a Boat . . . . .	0	2	2
For a Coulter weighing 10 pound . . . . .	0	3	4
For a Hand-vice . . . . .	0	2	6
[p. 19.] For a Pitchfork . . . . .	0	1	4
For one hundred weight of Spikes Nails and pins 120, to the hundred . . . . .	2	5	0
For a share . . . . .	0	2	11

*Houshold Implements for a Family of six persons, and so for more or less after the rate.*

One Iron Pot . . . . .	0	7	0
For one great Copper Kettle . . . . .	2	0	0
For a small Kettle . . . . .	0	10	0
For a lesser Kettle . . . . .	0	6	0
For one large Frying-pan . . . . .	0	2	6
For a small Frying-pan . . . . .	0	1	8
For a brass Morter . . . . .	0	3	0
For a Spit . . . . .	0	2	0
For one Grid-Iron . . . . .	0	1	0
For two Skillets . . . . .	0	5	0
Platters, dishes, & spoons of wood . . . . .	0	4	0
For Sugar, Spice and fruits at Sea for } six men . . . . .	0	12	10

*The freight will be for one man half a Tun.*

Having refreshed my self for a day or two upon *Noddles-Island*, I crossed the Bay in a small Boat to *Boston*, which then was rather a Village, than a Town, there being not [p. 20.] above Twenty or thirty houses; and presenting my respects to Mr. *Winthorpe* the

Governour, and to Mr. *Cotton* the Teacher of *Boston* Church, to whom I delivered from Mr. *Francis Quarles* the poet, the Translation of the 16, 25, 51, 88, 113, and 137. Psalms into *English* Meeter, for his approbation, being civilly treated by all I had occasion to converse with, I returned in the Evening to my lodging.

The Twelfth day of *July*, after I had taken my leave of Mr. *Maverick*, and some other Gentlemen, I took Boat for the Eastern parts of the Countrie, and arrived at *Black point* in the Province of *Main*, which is 150 miles from *Boston*, the Fourteenth day, which makes my voyage 11 weeks and odd dayes.

The Countrie all along as I sailed, being no other than a meer Wilderness, here and there by the Sea-side a few scattered plantations, with as few houses.

About the Tenth of *August*, I hapned to walk into the Woods, not far from the Sea-side, and falling upon a piece of ground over-grown with bushes, called there black Currence, but differing from our Garden Currence, they being ripe and hanging in lovely bunches; I set up my piece against a stately Oake, with a resolution to fill my belly, [p. 21.] being near half a mile from the house; of a sudden I heard a hollow thumping noise upon the Rocks approaching towards me, which made me presently to recover my piece, which I had no sooner cock'd, than a great and grim over-grown she-Wolf appears, at whom I shot, and finding her Gor-belly stuf with flesh newly taken in, I began presently to suspect that she had fallen foul upon our Goats, which were then valued (our she Goats) at Five pound a Goat; Therefore to make further discovery, I descended (it being low water) upon the Sea sands, with an intent to walk round about a neck of land where the Goats usually kept. I had not gone far before I found the footing of two Wolves, and one Goat betwixt them, whom they had driven into a hollow, betwixt two Rocks, hither I



followed their footing, and perceiving by the Crowes, that there was the place of slaughter, I hung my piece upon my back, and upon all four clambered up to the top of the Rock, where I made ready my piece and shot at the dog Wolf, who was feeding upon the remainder of the Goat, which was only the fore shoulders, head and horns, the rest being devoured by the she-Wolf, even to the very hair of the Goat: and it is very observable, that when [p. 22.] the Wolves have kill'd a Beast, or a Hog, not a Dog-Wolf amongst them offers to eat any of it, till the she-Wolyes have filled their paunches.

The Twenty fourth of *September*, being Munday about 4 of the clock in the afternoon, a fearful storm of wind began to rage, called a *Hurricane*. *It is an impetuous wind that goes commonly about the Compass in the space of 24 hours, it began from the W. N. W.* and continued till next morning, the greatest mischief it did us, was the wracking of our Shallop, and the blowing down of many tall Trees, in some places a mile together.

*December* the Tenth, happened an Eclipse of the Moon at 8 of the clock at night, it continued till after 11, as near as we could guess; in old *England* it began after midnight, and continued till 4 of the clock in the morning; *if Seamen would make observation of the time, either of the beginning or ending of the Eclipse, or total darkness of Sun and Moon in all places where they shall happen to be, and confer their observations to some Artist, hereby the longitude of all places might be certainly known, which are now very uncertainly reported to us.*

1639. *May*, which fell out to be extream hot and foggie, about the middle of *May* I kill'd [p. 23.] within a stones throw of our house, above four score Snakes, some of them as big as the small of my leg, black of colour, and three yards long, with a sharp horn on the tip of their tail two inches in length.

June the Six and twentieth day, very stormie, Lightning and Thunder. I heard now two of the greatest and fearfulest thunder-claps that ever were heard, I am confident. At this time we had some neighbouring Gentlemen in our house, who came to welcome me into the Countrey; where amongst variety of discourse they told me of a young Lyon (not long before) kill'd at *Piscataway* by an *Indian*; of a *Sea-Serpent* or *Snake*, that lay quailed up like a Cable upon a Rock at *Cape-Ann*: a Boat passing by with *English* aboard, and two *Indians*, they would have shot the *Serpent*, but the *Indians* dissuaded them, saying, that if he were not kill'd out-right, they would be all in danger of their lives.

One Mr. *Mittin* related of a *Triton* or *Mereman* which he saw in *Casco-bay*, the Gentleman was a great Foulcr, and used to goe out with a small Boat or Canow, and fetching a compass about a small Island, (there being many small Islands in the Bay) for the advantage of a shot, was encountred [p. 24.] with a *Triton*, who laying his hands upon the side of the Canow, had one of them chopt off with a Hatchet by Mr. *Mittin*, which was in all respects like the hand of a man, the *Triton* presently sunk, dying the water with his purple blood, and was no more seen. The next story was told by Mr. *Foxwell*, now living in the province of *Main*, who having been to the Eastward in a Shallop, as far as *Cape-Ann* a Waggon in his return was overtaken by the night, and fearing to land upon the barbarous shore, he put off a little further to Sea; about midnight they were wakened with a loud voice from the shore, calling upon *Foxwell*, *Foxwell* come a shore, two or three times: upon the Sands they saw a great fire, and Men and Women hand in hand dancing round about it in a ring, after an hour or two they vanished, and as soon as the day appeared, *Foxwell* puts into a small *Cove*, it being about three quarters flood, and traces along the

shore, where he found the footing of Men, Women and Children shod with shoes; and an infinite number of brands-ends thrown up by the water, but neither *Indian* nor *English* could he meet with on the shore, nor in the woods; these with many other stories they told me, the credit whereof I will neither impeach nor inforce, but shall [p. 25.] satisfie my self, and I hope the Reader hereof, with the saying of a wise, learned and honourable Knight, *that there are many stranger things in the world, than are to be seen between London and Stanes.*

September the Sixth day, one Mr. *John Hickford* the Son of Mr. *Hickford* a Linnen-Draper in *Cheapside*, having been sometime in the province of *Main*, and now determined to return for *England*, sold and kill'd his stock of Cattle and Hoggs, one great Sow he had which he made great account of, but being very fat, and not suspecting that she was with pig, he caused her to be kill'd, and they found 25 pigs within her belly; verifying the old proverb, As fruitful as a white sow. And now we were told of a sow in *Virginia* that brought forth six pigs; their fore-parts Lyons, their hinder-parts hogs. *I have read that at Bruxels, Anno 1564. a sow brought forth six pigs, the first whereof (for the last in generating is always in bruit beasts the first brought forth) had the head, face, arms and legs of a man, but the whole trunck of the body from the neck, was of a swine, a sodomitical monster is more like the mother than the father in the organs of the vegetative soul.*

The Three and twentieth, I left *Black-point*, and came to *Richmonds* Island about [p. 26.] three leagues to the Eastward, where Mr. *Tralanie* kept a fishing, Mr. *John Winter* a grave and discreet man was his Agent, and imployer of 60 men upon that design.

The Four and twentieth day being *Munday*, I went aboard the *Fellowship* of 100 and 70 Tuns a Flemish bottom, the Master *George Luxon* of *Bitti-*

*ford* in *Devonshire*, several of my friends came to bid me farewell, among the rest Captain *Thomas Wanner-ton* who drank to me a pint of kill-devil *alias* Rhum at a draught, at 6 of the clock in the morning we weighed Anchor, and set sail for the *Massachusetts-bay*.

The Seven and twentieth day being *Fryday*, we Anchored in the afternoon in the *Massachusetts-bay* before *Boston*. Next day I went aboard of Mr. *Hinderson*, Master of a ship of 500 Tuns, and Captain *Jackson* in the *Queen of Bohemia* a privateer, and from thence I went ashore to *Boston*, where I refreshed my self at an Ordinary. Next morning I was invited to a fishermans house somewhat lower within the *Bay*, and was there presented by his wife with a handful of small Pearl, but none of them bored nor orient. From thence I crost the Bay to *Charlestown*, where at one *Longs* Ordinary I met with Captain *Jackson* and others, walking on the back side we spied a rattle [p.27.] Snake a yard and a half long, and as thick in the middle as the small of a mans leg, on the belly yellow, her back spotted with black, russet, yellow and green, placed like scales, at her tail she had a rattle which is nothing but a hollow shelly buffiness joynted, look how many years old she is, so many rattles she hath in her tail, her neck seemed to be no bigger than ones Thumb; yet she swallowed a live Chicken, as big as one they give 4 pence for in *England*, presently as we were looking on. In the afternoon I returned to our Ship, being no sooner aboard but we had the sight of an *Indian-Pinnace* sailing by us made of *Birch-bark*, sewed together with the roots of *spruse* and white *Cedar* (drawn out into threads) with a deck, and trimmed with sails top and top gallant very sumptuously.

The Thirtieth day of *September*, I went ashore upon *Noddles-Island*, where when I was come to Mr. *Mavericks* he would not let me go aboard no

more, until the Ship was ready to set sail; the next day a grave and sober person described the Monster to me, that was born at *Boston* of one *Mrs. Dyer* a great Sectarie, *the Nine and twentieth of June, it was (it should seem) without a head, but having horns like a Beast, and ears, scales on a rough skin like a fish [p. 28.] called a Thornback, legs and claws like a Hawke, and in other respects as a woman-child.*

The Second of *October*, about 9 of the clock in the morning, *Mr. Mavericks* Negro woman came to my chamber window, and in her own Countrey language and tune sang very loud and shril, going out to her, she used a great deal of respect towards me, and willingly would have expressed her grief in *English*; but I apprehended it by her countenance and deportment, whereupon I repaired to my host, to learn of him the cause, and resolved to intreat him in her behalf, for that I understood before, that she had been a Queen in her own Countrey, and observed a very humble and dutiful garb used towards her by another Negro who was her maid. *Mr. Maverick* was desirous to have a breed of Negroes, and therefore seeing she would not yield by perswasions to company with a Negro young man he had in his house; he commanded him will'd she nill'd she to go to bed to her, which was no sooner done but she kickt him out again, this she took in high disdain beyond her slavery, and this was the cause of her grief. In the afternoon I walked into the Woods on the back side of the house, and happening into a fine [p. 29.] broad walk (which was a sledg-way) I wandered till I chanc't to spye a fruit as I thought like a pine Apple plated with scales, it was as big as the crown of a *Womans* hat; I made bold to step unto it, with an intent to have gathered it, no sooner had I toucht it, but hundreds of Wasps were about me; at last I cleared my self from them, being stung only by one upon the upper lip, glad I was that I scaped so well; But by

that time I was come into the house my lip was swell'd so extreemly, that they hardly knew me but by my Garments.

The Tenth of *October*, I went aboard and we fell down to *Nantascot*, here Mr. *Davies* (Mr. *Hicks* the Apothecarie in *Fleet-streets* Son-in-law) dyed of the Phthisick aboard on a Sunday in the afternoon. The next day Mr *Luxon* our Master having been ashore upon the Governours Island gave me half a score very fair Pippins which he brought from thence, there being not one Apple-tree, nor Pear planted yet in no part of the Countrey, but upon that Island.

The Fifteenth day, we set sail from *Nantascot*.

The Sixteenth day Mr. *Robert Foster*, one of our passengers Preached aboard upon [p. 30.] the 113 Psalm; *The Lord shall preserve thy going out, & thy coming in*; The Sectaries began to quarrel with him, especially Mr. *Vincent Potter*, he who was afterwards questioned for a Regicide.

The Seventeenth day, towards Sun-set a Lanner settled upon our main Mast-top, when it was dark I hired one of the Sailers to fetch her down, and I brought her into *England* with much ado, being fain to feed her with hard Eggs. After this day we had very cold weather at Sea, our deck in a morning ore-spread with hoarie frost, and dangling Isickles hung upon the Ropes. *Some say the Sea is hotter in winter than in summer; but I did not find it so.*

*November* the Fifth day, about three of the clock in the afternoon, the Mariners observed the rising of a little black cloud in the *N. W.* which increasing apace, made them prepare against a coming storm, the wind in short time grew to boisterous, bringing after us a huge grown Sea, at 5 of the clock it was pitchie dark.

*And the bitter storm augments ; the wild winds wage  
War from all parts ; and joyn with the Seas rage.*

[p. 31.] *The sad clouds sink in showers ; you would  
have thought,*

*That high-swoln seas even unto Heaven had wrought ;*

*And Heaven to Seas descended : no star shown ;*

*Blind night in darkness, tempests, and her own*

*Dread terrours lost ; yet this dire lightning turns*

*To more fear'd light ; the Sea with lightning Burns*

*The Pilot knew not what to chuse or fly,*

*Art stood amaz'd in Ambiguity.*

The storm augmenting still, the next day about 4 of the clock afternoon we lost our Rudder, and with that our hopes, so necessary a part it is, that a ship without it, is like a wild horse without a bridle ; yet *Aristotle* that *Eagle-ey'd Philosopher* could not give a reason, why so small a thing as a *Helm* should rule the ship.

[p. 32.] The Seventh day at night, the wind began to dye away, the next day we had leasure to repair our breaches ; it continued calm till the 13 day, and all the while we saw many dead bodies of men and women floating by us.

The Four and twentieth, we arrived before *Bittiford*, having past before under *Lundee-Island*.

[p. 33.]      The Second

VOYAGE.

I Have heard of a certain Merchant in the west of *England*, who after many great losses, walking upon the Sea-bank in a calm Sun-shining day; observing the smoothness of the Sea, coming in with a chequered or dimpled wave: Ah (quoth he) thou flattering Element, many a time thou hast inticed me to throw my self and my fortunes into thy Arms; but thou hast hitherto proved treacherous; thinking to find thee a Mother of encrease, I have found thee to be the Mother of mischief and wickedness; yea the Father of prodigies; therefore, being now secure, I will trust thee no more: But mark this mans resolution a while after, *periculum maris spes lucri superat*. So fared it with me, that having escaped the dangers of one voyage, must needs put on a resolution for a second, wherein I plowed many a churlish billow [p. 34.] with little or no advantage, but rather to my loss and detriment. In the setting down whereof I purpose not to insist in a methodical way, but according to my quality, in a plain and brief relation as I have done already; for I perceive, if I used all the Art that possibly I could, it would be difficult to please all, for all mens eyes, ears, faith, judgement, are not of a size. There be a sort of stagnant stinking spirits, who, like flyes, lye sucking at the botches of carnal pleasures, and never travelled so much Sea, as is between *Heth-ferry*, and *Lyon-Key*; yet notwithstanding, (sitting in the Chair of the scornful over their whifts and draughts of intoxication) will desperately censure the relations of the greatest Travel-



lers. It was a good *proviso* of a learned man, never to report wonders, for in so doing, of the greatest he will be sure not to be believed, but laughed at, which certainly bewraies their ignorance and want of discretion. Of Fools and Mad-men then I shall take no care, I will not invite these in the least to honour me with a glance from their supercilious eyes; but rather advise them to keep their inspection for their fine-tongu'd Romances, and plays. This homely piece, I protest ingenuously, is prepared for such only who well know how to make use of their [p. 35.] charitable constructions towards works of this nature, to whom I submit my self in all my faculties, and proceed in my second voyage.

*Anno 1663. May* the Three and twentieth, I went down to *Gravesend*, it being *Saturday* I lay ashore till *Monday* the fifth, about 11 a clock at night, I went aboard the *Society* belonging to *Boston* in the *Massachusetts* a Colony of *English* in *New-England*, of 200 and 20 Tun, carrying 16 Iron Guns most un-serviceable, man'd with 33 sailers, and 77 passengers, men, women and children.

The Six and twentieth day, about 6 of the clock in the morning we weighed Anchor, and fell down with the tide three or four miles below *Gravesend*.

The Seven and twentieth in the afternoon, we weighed Anchor and came into the *Hope* before *Deal-Castle*, here we were wind bound till

The 30 day, we set sail out of the *Downs*, being *Saturday* about 9 of the clock in the morning, about 4 of the clock in the afternoon we came up with *Beachy* by *W.* at *Nore*.

The One and thirtieth at 4 of the clock in the morning we came up with the Isle of *Wight*, at 4 of the clock in the afternoon [p. 36.] we had *Portland* N. N. W. of us, 6 leagues off, the wind being then at *N. W.* by *N.* at 5 of the clock we came to *Dartmouth*, the wind *W. S. W.*

June the first day, being *Monday* about 4 of the clock *Plimouth* was about 9 leagues off, our course *W. S. W.* the Start bore North distant about 6 leagues from whence our reckonings began; the wind now *E. N. E.* a fair gale.

The second day the *Lizard* bore *N. N. W.* in the latitude 51. 300 leagues from *Cape-Cod* in *New England*, our course *W.* and by *S.* One of our passengers now dyed of a Consumption.

The Fifth day we steered *S. W.* observed and found the ship in latitude 47 degrees, and 44 minutes.

The Tenth day observed and found the ship in latitude 49 degrees, and 24 minutes.

The Five and twentieth day, about 3 of the clock in the morning we discovered land, about 6 of the clock *Flowers*, so called from abundance of flowers, and *Corvo* from a multitude of *Crowes*; two of the *Azores* or western Islands, in the *Atlantique Ocean* not above 250 leagues from *Lisbon* bore *N. W.* of us some 3 leagues off, we steered away *W.* by *W.* observed and found *Flowers* to be in the Southern part in latitude 39 [p. 37.] degrees 13 minutes, we descried a Village and a small Church or Chappel seated in a pleasant valley to the Easter-side of the Island, the whole Island is rockie and mountainous about 8 miles in compass, stored with Corn, Wine and Goats, and inhabited by outlaw'd *Portingals*, the Town they call *Santa Cruz*. *Corvo* is not far from this, I supposed two or three leagues, a meer mountain, and very high and steep on all sides, cloathed with tall wood on the very top, uninhabited, but the *Flow-reans* here keep some number of Goats.

The Seven and twentieth day, 30 leagues to the westward of these Islands we met with a small Vessel stoln from *Jamaico*, but 10 men in her, and those of several nations, *English, French, Scotch, Dutch* almost famish'd, having been out as they told us, by reason of calms, three moneths, bound for *Holland*.

July the sixth, calm now for two or three dayes, our men went out to swim, some hoisted the *Shallop* out and took divers Turtles, there being an infinite number of them all over the Sea as far as we could ken, and a man may ken at Sea in a clear Air 20 miles, they floated upon the top of the water being a sleep, and driving gently upon them with the *Shallop*, of a sudden [p. 38.] they took hold of their hinder legs and lifted them into the boat, if they be not very nimble they awake and presently dive under water; when they were brought aboard they sob'd and wept exceedingly, continuing to do so till the next day that we killed them, by chopping off their heads, and having taken off their shells (that on their back being fairest, is called a Gally patch) we opened the body and took out three hearts in one case, and (which was more strange) we perceived motion in the hearts ten hours after they were taken out. I have observed in *England* in my youthful dayes the like in the heart of a *Pike*, and the heart of a *Frog*, which will leap and skip as nimbly as the *Frog* used to do when it was alive from whom it was taken. Likewise the heart of a *Pig* will stir after it is exenterated. Being at a friends house in *Cambridg-shire*, the Cook-maid making ready to slaughter a *Pig*, she put the hinder parts between her legs as the usual manner is, and taking the snout in her left hand with a long knife she stuck the *Pig* and cut the small end of the heart almost in two, letting it bleed as long as any bloud came forth, then throwing of it into a Kettle of boyling water, the *Pig* swom twice round about the kettle, when taking of it out to [p. 39.] the dresser she rub'd it with powdered *Rozen* and stript off the hair, and as she was cutting off the hinder pettito, the *Pig* lifts up his head with open mouth, as if it would have bitten: well, the belly was cut up, and the entrails drawn out, and the heart laid upon the board, which notwithstanding the wound it received

had motion in it, above four hours after ; there were several of the Family by, with my self, and we could not otherways conclude but that the *Pig* was bewitched ; but this by the way. Of the Sea Turtles there be five sorts, first the Trunck-turtle which is biggest, Secondly, the Loggerhead-turtle. Thirdly, the Hawk-bill-turtle, which with its bill will bite horribly. Fourthly, the Green-turtle which is best for food, it is affirmed that the feeding upon this Turtle for a twelve moneth, forbearing all other kind of food will cure absolutely Consumptions, and the great pox ; They are a very delicate food, and their Eggs are very wholesome and restorative, it is an *Amphibious* Creature going ashore, the male throws the female on her back when he couples with her, which is termed cooting, their Eggs grown to perfection the female goes ashore again and making a hole in the Sand, there layes her Eggs which are numerous, I have seen a peck [p. 40.] of Eggs taken out of one Turtle ; when they have laid they cover the hole again with sand, and return to the Sea never looking after her Eggs, which hatching in the sand and coming to some strength break out and repair to the Sea. Having fill'd our bellies with Turtles and Bonito's, called *Spanish* Dolphins excellently well cooked both of them, the wind blowing fair.

The Eighth day we spread our sails and went on our voyage, after a while we met with abundance of Sea-weeds called Gulf-weed coming out of the Bay of *Mexico*, and firr-trees floating on the Sea, observed and found the Ship to be in 39 degrees and 49 minuts.

The Fifteenth day we took a young Sharke about three foot long, which being drest and dished by a young Merchant a passenger happened to be very good fish, having very white flesh in flakes like Codd but delicately curl'd, the back-bone which is perfectly round, joynted with short joynts, the space

between not above a quarter of an inch thick, separated they make fine Table-men, being wrought on both sides with curious works.

The One and twentieth thick hasie weather.

The Five and twentieth we met with a [p. 41.] *Plimouth* man come from *St. Malloes* in *France*, 10 weeks out, laden with cloath, fruit, and honey, bound for *Boston* in *New-England*.

The Six and twentieth we had sight of land.

The Seven and twentieth we Anchored at *Nantascot*, in the afternoon I went aboard of a *Ketch*, with some other of our passengers, in hope to get to *Boston* that night; but the Master of the *Ketch* would not consent.

The Eight and twentieth being *Tuesday*, in the morning about 5 of the clock he lent us his *Shallop* and three of his men, who brought us to the western end of the town where we landed, and having gratified the men, we repaired to an Ordinary (for so they call their Taverns there) where we were provided with a liberal cup of burnt Madera-wine, and store of plum-cake, about ten of the clock I went about my Affairs.

Before I pursue my Voyage to an end, I shall give you to understand what Countrey *New-England* is. *New-England* is that part of *America*, which together with *Virginia*, *Mary land*, and *Nova-scotia* were by the *Indians* called (by one name) *Wingadacoa*, after the discovery by Sir *Walter* [p. 42.] *Rawleigh* they were named *Virginia*, and so remained untill King *James* divided the Countrey into Provinces. *New-England* then is all that tract of land that lyes between the Northerly latitudes of 40 and 46, that is from *De-la-ware-Bay* to *New-found-land*, some will have it to be in latitude from 41 to 45. in King *Jame's* Letters Patents to the Council of *Plimouth* in *Devonshire* from 40 to 48 of the same latitude, it is judged to be an Island, surrounded on the North with the spacious

River of *Canada*, on the South with *Mahegan* or *Hudsons* River, having their rise, as it is thought, from two great lakes not far off one another, the Sea lyes East and South from the land, and is very deep, some say that the depth of the Sea being measured with line and plummet, seldom exceeds two or three miles, except in some places near the *Swevian*-shores, and about *Pontus*, observed by *Pliny*. Sir *Francis Drake* threw out 7 Hogsheads of line near *Porto-bello* and found no bottom, but whether this be true or no, or that they were deceived by the Currants carrying away their lead and line, this is certainly true, that there is more Sea in the Western than the Eastern *Hemisphere*, on the shore in more places than one at spring-tides, that is at the full or new of the moon, [p. 43.] the Sea riseth 18 foot perpendicular, the reason of this great flow of waters I refer to the learned, onely by the way I shall acquaint you with two reasons for the ebbing and flowing of the Sea; the one delivered in Common conference, the other in a Sermon at *Boston* in the *Massachusetts-Bay* by an eminent man; The first was, *that God and his spirit moving upon the waters caused the motion*; the other, *that the spirit of the waters gathered the waters together; as the spirit of Christ gathered souls.*

The shore is Rockie, with high cliffs, having a multitude of considerable Harbours; many of which are capacious enough for a Navy of 500 sail, one of a thousand, the Countrie within Rockie and mountainous, full of tall wood, one stately mountain there is surmounting the rest, about four score mile from the Sea: The description of it you have in my rarities of *New-England*, between the mountains are many ample rich and pregnant valleys as ever eye beheld, beset on each side with variety of goodly Trees, the grass man-high unmowed, uneaten and uselessly withering; within these valleys are spa-

cious lakes or ponds well stored with Fish and Beavers; the original of all the great Rivers in the Countrey, of which there are many with lesser [p. 44.] streams (wherein are an infinite of fish) manifesting the goodness of the soil which is black, red-clay, gravel, sand, loom, and very deep in some places, as in the valleys and swamps, which are low grounds and bottoms infinitely thick set with Trees and Bushes of all sorts for the most part, others having no other shrub or Tree growing, but spruce, under the shades whereof you may freely walk two or three mile together; being goodly large Trees, and convenient for masts and sail-yards. The whole Countrey produceth springs in abundance replenished with excellent waters, having all the properties ascribed to the best in the world.

*Swift is't in pace, light poiz'd, to look in clear,  
And quick in boiling (which esteemed were)  
Such qualities, as rightly understood  
Withouten these no water could be good.*

*One Spring there is, at Black-point in the Province of Main, coming out of muddy-clay that will colour a spade, as if hatcht with silver, it is purgative and cures scabs and Itch, &c.*

The mountains and Rocky Hills are richly furnished with mines of Lead, Silver, [p. 45.] Copper, Tin, and divers sorts of minerals, branching out even to their summits, where in small Crannies you may meet with threds of perfect silver; yet have the *English* no maw to open any of them, whether out of ignorance or fear of bringing a forraign Enemy upon them, or (like the dog in the manger) to keep their Sovereign from partaking of the benefits, who certainly may claim an interest in them as his due, being eminently a gift proceeding from divine bounty to him; no person can pretend in-  
Isa. 45. 3.

Interest in Gold, Silver, or Copper by the law of Na-

tions, but the Sovereign Prince; but the subjects of our King have a right to mines discovered in their own Lands and inheritances; So as that every tenth Tun of such Oar is to be paid to the proprietors of such lands, and not to the state, if it be not a mine-Royal: if it prove to be a mine-Royal, every fifth Tun of all such Oar as shall hold Gold or Silver worth refining, is to be rendered to the King. *The learned Judges of our Kingdom have long since concluded, that although the Gold or Silver contained in the base mettals of a mine in the land of a Subject, be of less value than the baser mettal; yet if the Gold or Silver do countervail the charge of refining it, or be more worth than the base mettal spent [p. 46.] in refining it, that then it is a mine Royal, and as well the base mettal as the Gold and Silver in it belongs by prerogative to the Crown.*

The stones in the Countrey are for the most *mettle*-stone, free-stone, pebble, slate, none that will run to lime, of which they have great want, of the slate you may make Tables easie to be split to the thickness of an inch, or thicker if you please, and long enough for a dozen men to sit at. Pretious stones there are too, but if you desire to know further of them, see the Rarities of *New-England*; onely let me add this observation by the way, that Crystal set in the Sun taketh fire, and setteth dry Tow or brown Paper on fire held to it. There is likewise a sort of glittering sand, which is altogether as good as the glassie powder brought from the *Indies* to dry up Ink on paper newly written. The climate is reasonably temperate, hotter in Summer, and colder in Winter than with us, agrees with our Constitutions better than *hotter Climates, these are limbecks to our bodies, forraign heat will extract the inward and adventitious heat consume the natural, so much more heat any man receives outwardly from the heat of the Sun so much more wants he the same inwardly, which is one reason*



why [p. 47.] they are able to receive more and larger draughts of Brandy, & the like strong spirits than in *England* without offence. *Cold is less tolerable than heat, this is a friend to nature, that an enemy. Many are of opinion that the greatest enemies of life, consisting of heat and moisture, is cold and dryness; the extremity of cold is more easie to be endured than extremity of heat; the violent sharpness of winter, than the fiery raging of Summer. To conclude, they are both bad, too much heat brings a hot Feaver, too much cold diminisheth the flesh, withers the face, hollowes the eyes, quencheth natural heat, peebleth the hair, and procureth baldness.*

Astronomers have taken special knowledge of the number of 1024 of the principal apparent noted Stars of all the rest, besides the 7 Planets, and the 12 Signs, and it is agreed upon that there are more Stars under the Northern-pole, than under the Southern, the number of Stars under both poles are innumerable to us; but not to the Almighty Creator of Heaven and Earth, who calleth them all by their names. *Isai. 40. Levate in excelsum oculos vestros & videte quis creavit hæc? quis educit in numero militiam eorum & omnia suis nominibus vocat?* In January 1668. two Suns appeared and two Moons. The year before was published the Suns prerogative, vindicated by [p. 48.] *Alexander Nowel* a young student at *Harvard-Colledge* in the *Massachusetts Colony*, which was as followeth.

*Mathematicians have that priviledge above other Philosophers, that their foundations are so founded upon, and proved by demonstration, that reason volens nolens must approve of them, when they are once viewed by the eye of the intellect, ipso facto it grants a probatum est; if upon those foundations he ruises famous Architectures, which are inseparably joynted in, and joynted to their ground-works, yet are not their Elements of such vast extensions, as to have their di-*

*mensions adequated with the machine of the primum mobile, and so include the Fabrick of created beings; but there are sphears above the sphear of their Activity, and Orbs placed above the reach of their Instruments, which will non-plus the most acute inquisitors, at least in reference to an accurate scrutiny: hence dissentions about Celestial bodies, whether the planets have any natural light, has been a question, proving that they borrow their light from the Sun: he being the primitive, they derivatives; he the Augmentum primum, they Orta, who though they have light in se, yet not ex se. This assertion is not expugned by Geocentricks who produce sense and Antiquity to support their suppositions; nor oppugned by Heliocentricks, [p. 49.] who deduce their Hypothesis from reason, and new observations: for, quicquid in ambitu alicujus circuli actu diffusum, comprehenditur, id in centro ejusdem continetur potentia collectum. Should I put the question to the vote, questionless the major part of modern Astronomers would carry it affirmatively; but a testimony being Inartificialis Argumentum, I shall found my position upon a more Artificial Basis. As for the multiplication of Eclipses which some fear, it's needless, for the extent of the Cone of the earths shadow (à centro terræ) being 250 Semidiameters, it cannot reach Mars; Venus and Mercury never oppose the Sun. It has been observed by the help of Optick Tubes, that Venus has divers faces, according to her diverse position to the Sun. Some affirm the same of Mercury, but he's not so liable to observation, being seldom clear of the radiancy of the Sun. The superior Planets being above the Sun, turn the same side to the Sun, as they do to us. Venus and Mars are more lucid in their Parheliion, than in their Apheliion. The Telescope may convince us of this truth; Evincit enim crassa, opaca & dissimilium plane partium corpora, planetas esse. Lastly God made the Sun and Moon, the two greater lights (though not the greater lucid*

bodies) that the Moons light is adventitious, follows from her invisibilitie [p. 50.] in a central Eclipse : hence the other planets are destitute of native light ; nam à majore ad minus valet consequentia negativè.

In the year 1664. a Star or Comet appeared in *New-England* in *December* in the *South-East*, rising constantly about one of the clock in the morning, carrying the tail lower and lower till it came into the *West*, and then bare it directly before it ; the Star it self was of a duskish red, the tail of the colour of *via lactea*, or the milkie way. A fortnight after it appeared again rising higher near the *Nadir* or point over our heads, of the same form and colour, of which hear the former Scholar.

*Comets* (say *Naturalists*) proceed from natural causes, but they oft preceed preternatural effects. That they have been *Antecedents* to strange consequents is an universal truth, and proved by particulars, viz. That which hung over *Hierusalem* before its extirpation by *Vespasian*, that vertical to *Germany*, before those bloody Wars &c. So that experience Attests, and reason Assents, that they have served for sad *Prologues* to *Tragical Epilogues*. For the future, preludeums to what events they'l prove, may be proved by consequence, if they han't suffered a privation of their powerful *Energie*. *Dr. Ward* to salve *Contests*, distinguishes between *Cometaidæ*, which are [p. 51.] *Sublunary exhalations*, and *Cometæ*, which are heavenly bodies, coevous with the Stars ; the cause of the inequality of whose motion, is their *Apoge* and *Periges*. Concerning the height of the late *Comets Orb*, because of the deficiency of *Instruments*, here's pars deficiens. As for its motion *December 10.* 'twas about the middle of *Virgo*. *Jan. 24.* 26 deg. *Aries*. Some observe that *Comets* commonly follow a *Conjunction* of the superiour planets. *Astronomers* attribute much to the predominancy of that planet which rules it, which they judge by the Colour ; a dull leaden colour, claims *Saturn* for his Lord

*bright, Jupiter; Red, Mars; Golden, Sol; Yellow, Venus; variable, Mercury; pale, Luna. Also to the Aspects it receives from other planets, the sign it is in, and the house of the Heavens in which it first was. Hence some may judge a schein of the Heavens necessary, but unless Calculated for its certain rise (which is uncertain) it's adjudged by the judicious, superfluous. Some put much trust or virtue in the tail, terming it the Ignomon, &c. But that is probable of all, which has been observed of some, that it's ulwayes opposite to the Sun; hence when the Sun is at the Meridian of the Antipodes it turns, &c. Which Regiomont observed of that in 1475. and Keckerman of that in 1607. Longomontanus observes of that in 1618. that its first [p.52.] appearance was vertical to Germany and went Northward, so its effect began there, and made the like progress: it's rational, that as a cause, it should operate most powerfully on those in whose Zenith it is, as the meridional Altitude; nor is it irrational, that as a sign, it should presage somewhat to all those, in whose Horizon it appears; for in reason, Relata se mutuo inferunt, hence signum infers signatum, and the signifier implies a signified. Diverse desire to be certified of the event; but he is wise that knowes it. Some presume prophetically to specificate from generals truths; others desperately deny generals and all; of all whom it's a truth, Incidunt in Scyllam, &c. Noble Ticho concludes, (with whom I conclude) that it's not rational particularly to determine the sequel; for should any, it would be only in a contingent Axiom, and proceed from fancie; therefore of no necessary consequence, and would produce only opinion.*

A friend of mine shewed me a small Treatise written and printed in the Massachusetts-Bay by B. D. Intituled *An Astronomical description of the late Comet, or Blazing-Star, as it appeared in New-England in the Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh, and the beginning of the Twelfth moneth, 1664. printed at Cambridge by Sam-*

uel Green 1665. An ingenious piece, but because I could not perswade [p. 53.] my friend to part with it, I took out some short notes being strained in time, which are as followes.

Comets are distinguished in respect of their figure, according to the divers aspects of the Sun, into *Barbate*, *Caudate*, and *Crinite*. 1. When the stream like a beard goes before the body. 2. When the stream followes the body. 3. When the stream goes right up into the Heavens.

A Comet is said to be Vertical to any people, when the body of the Comet passeth over their heads.

The light of the Comet alters and varies according to the diverse Aspects of the Sun enlightening it.

Some took notice of it in the beginning of *November*.

In *Anno Dom.* 1668. *July* the Fifteenth happened an Eclipse of the moon from 9 of the clock at night, till after 11, digits 9, and 35 minutes.

In *November* following appeared a Star between the horns of the Moon in the midst.

In *Anno Dom.* 1669. about the middle of *June* at 4 of the clock in the afternoon, appeared a Rain-bow reverst, and at night about 10 of the clock we had a *Lunar* Rain-bow.

[p.54.] The *Indians* so far as I could perceive have but little knowledge of the Stars and Planets, observing the Sun and Moon only, the dividers of time into dayes and years: they being nearer to the Equinoc-tial-line by 10 degrees, have their dayes and nights more equally divided, being in Summer two hours shorter, in Winter two hours longer than they are in *England*. The 11 of *June* the Sun riseth at 4 and 26 minutes, and setteth at 7 & 34 minutes: in *December*, the 13 the shortest day, the Sun riseth at 7 and 35 minutes, and setteth at 4 and 27 minutes.

Mid-*March* their Spring begins, in *April* they have

Rain and Thunder; So again at *Michaelmas*, about which season they have either before *Michaelmas* or after outrageous storms of Wind and Rain. It's observable that there is no part of the World, which hath not some certain times of outrageous storms. We have upon our Coast in *England* a *Michaelmas* flaw, that seldom fails: in the *West-Indies* in *August* and *September* the forcible *North*-wind, which though some call *Tuffins* or *Hurricanes* we must distinguish, for a right *Hurricane* is (as I have said before) an impetuous wind that goes about the Compass in the space of 24 hours, in such a storm the Lord *Willoughby* [p. 55.] of *Parham* Governour of the *Barbadoes* was cast away, going with a Fleet to recover *St. Christophers* from the *French*, *Anno Dom.* 1666. *July*. Cold weather begins with the middle of *November*, the winter's perpetually freezing, insomuch that their Rivers and salt-Bayes are frozen over and passable for Men, Horse, Oxen and Carts: *Æquore cum gelido zephyrus fert xenia Cymbo*. The *North-west* wind is the sharpest wind in the Countrie. In *England* most of the cold winds and weathers come from the Sea, and those seats that are nearest the Sea-coasts in *England* are accounted unwholsome, but not so in *New-England*, for in the extremity of winter the *North-East* and *South*-wind coming from the Sea produceth warm weather, only the *North-West*-wind coming over land from the white mountains (which are alwayes (except in *August*) covered with snow) is the cause of extream cold weather, alwayes accompanied with deep snowes and bitter frosts, the snow for the most part four and six foot deep, which melting on the superficies with the heat of the Sun, (for the most part shining out clearly every day) and freezing again in the night makes a crust upon the snow sufficient to bear a man walking with snowshoes upon it. And at this [p. 56.] season the *Indians* go forth on hunting of Dear and Moose twenty, thirty,

forty miles up into the Countrie. Their Summer is hot and dry proper for their *Indian* Wheat; which thrives best in a hot and dry season, the skie for the most part Summer and Winter very clear and serene; if they see a little black cloud in the *North-West*, no bigger than a man may cover with his Hat, they expect a following storm, the cloud in short time spreading round about the Horizon accompanied with violent gusts of wind, rain, and many times lightning and terrible thunder. In all Countries they have observations how the weather will fall out, and these rules following are observable in *New-England*. If the Moon look bright and fair, look for fair weather, also the appearing of one Rainbow after a storm, is a known sign of fair weather; if mists come down from the Hills, or descend from the Heavens, and settle in the valleys, they promise fair hot weather; mists in the Evening shew a fair hot day on the morrow: the like when mists rise from waters in the Evening. The obscuring of the smaller Stars is a certain sign of Tempests approaching; the oft changing of the wind is also a fore-runner of a storm; the resounding of the Sea from the shore, and murmuring of [p. 57.] the winds in the woods without apparent wind, sheweth wind to follow: shooting of the Stars (as they call it) is an usual sign of wind from that quarter the Star came from. So look whether the resounding of the Sea upon the shore be on the *East* or *West* side of the dwelling, out of that quarter will the wind proceed the next day. The redness of the sky in the morning, is a token of winds, or rain or both; if the Circles that appear about the Sun be red and broken, they portend wind; if thick and dark, wind, snow and rain; the like may be said of the Circles about the moon. If two rain-bowes appear, they are a sign of rain; If the Sun or Moon look pale, look for rain; if a dark cloud be at Sun-rising, in which the Sun soon after is hid, it will dissolve it, and rain will fol-

low; *nebula ascendens indicat imbres, nebula descendens serenitatem.* If the Sun seem greater in the *East* than in the *West* about Sun-setting, and that there appears a black cloud, you may expect rain that night, or the day following.

*Serò rubens Cælum cras indicat esse serenum,  
Sed si manè rubet venturos indicat Imbres.*

[p. 58.] To conclude; if the white hills look clear and conspicuous, it is a sign of fair weather; if black and cloudy, of rain; if yellow, it is a certain sign of snow shortly to ensue.

In *Anno Dom.* 1667. *March*, appeared a sign in the Heaven in the form of a Sphear, pointing directly to the *West*: and in the year following on the third day of *April* being *Friday*, there was a terrible Earthquake, before that a very great one in 1638. and another in 58 and in 166 $\frac{2}{3}$ . *January* 26, 27, & 28. (which was the year before I came thither) there were Earthquakes 6 or 7 times in the space of three dayes. Earthquakes are frequent in the Countrie; some suppose that the white mountains were first raised by Earthquakes, they are hollow as may be guessed by the resounding of the rain upon the level on the top. The *Indians* told us of a River whose course was not only stopt by an Earthquake in 1668. (as near as I can remember) but the whole River swallowed up. And I have heard it reported from credible persons, that (whilst I was there in the Countrie) there happened a terrible Earthquake amongst the *French*, rending a huge Rock asunder even to the center, wherein was a vast hollow of an immeasurable depth, out of which came many infernal Spirits. I shall [p. 59.] conclude this discourse of Earthquakes, with that which came from the Pen of our Royal Martyr King *Charles* the First; *A storm at Sea wants not its terrour, but an Earthquake, shaking the very foundation*



of all, the World hath nothing more of horrow. And now I come to the plants of the Countrey.

The plants in *New-England* for the variety, number, beauty, and vertues, may stand in Competition with the plants of any Countrey in Europe. *Johnson* hath added to *Gerard's* Herbal 300. and *Parkinson* mentioneth many more; had they been in *New-England* they might have found 1000 at least never heard of nor seen by any *Englishman* before: 'Tis true, the Countrey hath no *Bonerets*, or *Tartarlambes*, no glittering coloured *Tuleps*; but here you have the *American Mary-Gold*, the *Earth-nut* bearing a princely Flower, the beautiful leaved *Pirola*, the honied *Colibry*, &c. They are generally of (some-what) a more masculine vertue, than any of the same species in *England*, but not in so terrible a degree, as to be mischievous or ineffectual to our *English* bodies. *It is affirmed by some that no forraign Drugg or Simple can be so proper to Englishmen as their own, for the quantity of Opium which Turks do safely take will kill four Englishmen, and that which will [p. 60.] salve their wounds within a day, will not recure an Englishman in three.* To which I answer that it is custom that brings the *Turks* to the familiar use of *Opium*. You may have heard of a *Taylor* in *Kent*, who being afflicted with want of sleep ventured upon *Opium*, taking at first a grain, and increasing of it till it came to an ounce, which quantitie he took as familiarly as a *Turk*, without any harm, more than that he could not sleep without it. The *English* in *New-England* take white *Hellebore*, which operates as fairly with them, as with the *Indians*, who steeping of it in water sometime, give it to young lads gathered together a purpose to drink, if it come up they force them to drink again their vomit, (which they save in a Birchen-dish) till it stayes with them, & he that gets the victory of it is made Captain of the other lads for that year. There is a plant likewise, called

for want of a name *Clownes wound wort*, by the *English*, though it be not the same, that will heal a green wound in 24 hours, if a wise man have the ordering of it. Thus much for the general, I shall now begin to discover unto you the plants more particularly, and I shall first begin with Trees, and of them, first with such as are called in Scripture Trees of God, that is great Trees, [p. 61.] that grow of themselves without planting. Psal. 104. 16, 17. *Satiantur arbores Jehovæ, cedri Libani quas plantavit; (ubi aviculæ nidificent) abietes domicilia ciconiæ.* The Herons take great delight to sit basking upon the tops of these Trees. And I shall not be over large in any, having written of them in my Treatise of the rarities of *New-England*, to which I refer you.

The *Oake* I have given you an account of, and the kinds; I shall add the ordering of *Red-Oake* for *Wainscot*. When they have cut it down and clear'd it from the branches, they pitch the body of the Tree in a muddy place in a River, with the head downward for some time, afterwards they draw it out, and when it is seasoned sufficiently, they saw it into boards for *Wainscot*, and it will branch out into curious works.

There is an admirable rare Creature in shape like a *Buck*, with Horns, of a gummy substance, which I have often found in the fall of the leaf upon the ground amongst the withered leaves; a living Creature I cannot call it; having only the sign of a mouth and eyes: seldom or never shall you meet with any of them whole, but the head and horns, or the hinder parts, broken off from the rest; the *Indians* call them *Tree Bucks*, and have a superstitious saying (for I believe [p. 62.] they never see any of them living) that if they can see a *Tree-Buck* walking upon the branches of an *Oake* when they go out in a morning to hunt, they shall have good luck that day. What they are good for I know not, but certainly there is

some more than ordinary vertue in them. It is true that nothing in nature is superfluous, and we have the Scripture to back it, that God created nothing in vain. The like creatures they *have at the Barbadoes which they call Negroes heads, found in the Sands, about two inches long, with forehead, eyes, nose, mouth, chin, and part of the neck, they are always found loose in the Sands without any root, it is as black as Jet, but whence it comes they know not. I have read likewise, that in the Canaries or Fortunate-Islands, there is found a certain Creature, which Boys bring home from the mountains as oft as they would, and named them Tudesquels or little Germans: for they were dry'd dead Carcasses, almost three footed, which any boy did easily carry in one of the palms of his hand, and they were of an humane shape; but the whole dead Carcasse was clearly like unto Parchment, and their bones were flexible, as it were gristles: against the Sun, also, their bowels and intestines were seen. Surely (saith my Author) the destroyed race of the Pigmies was there.* There is [p. 63.] also many times found upon the leaves of the *Oake* a Creature like a *Frog*, being as thin as a leaf, and transparent, as yellow as Gold, with little fiery red eyes, the *English* call them *Tree-frogs* or *Tree-toads* (but of *Tree-toads* I shall have occasion to speak in another place) they are said to be venomous, but may be safely used, being admirable to stop womens over-flowing courses hung about their necks in a *Taffetie* bag.

*Captain Smith writes that in New-England there growes a certain berry called Kermes, worth 10 shillings a pound, and had been formerly sold for 30 or 40 shillings a pound, which may yearly be gathered in good quantity. I have sought for this berry, he speaks of, as a man should seek for a needle in a bottle of Hay, but could never light upon it; unless that kind of Solomon-seal called by the English Treacle-berry be it. Gerard our famous Herbalist*

writes that they grow upon a little Tree called Scarlet-Oake, the leaves have one sharp prickle at the end of it; it beareth small Acorns: But the grain or berry growes out of the woody branches, like an excrescence of the substance of the Oake-Apple, and of the bigness of Pease, at first white, when ripe of an Ash-colour, which ingenders little Maggots, which when it begins [p. 64.] to have wings are put into a bag and boulted up and down till dead, and then made up into lumps, the Maggot as most do deem is Cutchenele; So that Chermes is Cutchenele: the berries dye scarlet. Mr. George Sands in his Travels saith (much to the same purpose) that scarlet dye growes like a blister on the leaf of the Holy Oake, a little shrub yet producing Acorns, being gathered they rub out of it a certain red dust, that converteth after a while into worms, which they kill with Wine, when they begin to quicken. See farther concerning Treacle-berries and Cutchinele in the rarities of New-England.

The Pine-Tree challengeth the next place, and that sort which is called Board-pine is the principal, it is a stately large Tree, very tall, and sometimes two or three fadom about: of the body the *English* make large *Canows* of 20 foot long, and two foot and a half over, hollowing of them with an Adds, and shaping of the outside like a Boat. Some conceive that the wood called *Gopher* in Scripture, of which *Noah* made the Ark, was no other than Pine, *Gen.* 6. 14. The bark thereof is good for Ulcers in tender persons that refuse sharp medicines. The inner bark of young board-pine cut small and stampd and boiled in a Gallon of water is a very soveraign medicine for burn [p. 65.] or scald, washing the sore with some of the decoction, and then laying on the bark stampd very soft: or for frozen limbs, to take out the fire and to heal them, take the bark of Board-pine-Tree, cut it small and stamp it and boil it in a gallon of water to Gelly, wash the sore with the liquor, stamp

the bark again till it be very soft and bind it on. The Turpentine is excellent to heal wounds and cuts, and hath all the properties of *Venice Turpentine*, the Rosen is as good as Frankincense, and the powder of the dryed leaves generateth flesh; the distilled water of the green Cones taketh away wrinkles in the face being laid on with cloths.

The Firr-tree is a large Tree too, but seldom so big as the Pine, the bark is smooth, with knobs or blisters, in which lyeth clear liquid Turpentine very good to be put into salves and oyntments, the leaves or Cones boiled in Beer are good for the Scurvie, the young buds are excellent to put into Epithemes for Warts and Corns, the Rosen is altogether as good as Frankincense; out of this Tree the Poleakers draw Pitch and Tarr; the manner I shall give you, for that it may (with many other things contained in this Treatise) be beneficial to my Countrymen, either there already seated, or that [p. 66.] may happen to go thither hereafter. Out of the fattest wood changed into Torch-wood, which is a disease in that Tree, they draw Tarr, first a place must be paved with stone or the like, a little higher in the middle, about which there must be made gutters, into which the liquor falls, then out from them other gutters are to be drawn, by which it may be received, then is it put into barrels. The place thus prepared, the cloven wood must be set upright, then must it be covered with a great number of firr and pitch bowes; and on every part all about with much lome and sods of earth, and great heed must be taken, lest there be any cleft or chink remaining, only a hole left in the top of the furnace, through which the fire may be put in, and the flame and smoak to pass out: when the fire burneth, the Pitch or Tarr runneth forth first thin and then thicker; of which when it is boiled is made Pitch: the powder of dried Pitch is used to generate flesh in wounds and sores. The knots of this

Tree and fat-pine are used by the *English* instead of Candles, and it will burn a long time, but it makes the people pale.

The Spruce-tree I have given you an account of in my *New-England* rarities. In the North east of *Scotland* upon the banks [p. 67.] of *Lough-argick*, there hath been formerly of these Trees 28 handfull about at the Root, and their bodies mounted to 90 foot of height, bearing at the length 20 inches diameter. At *Pascataway* there is now a Spruce-tree brought down to the water-side by our Mass-men of an incredible bigness, and so long that no Skipper durst ever yet adventure to ship it, but there it lyes and Rots.

The Hemlock-tree is a kind of spruce or pine; the bark boiled and stamp't till it be very soft is excellent for to heal wounds, and so is the Turpentine thereof, and the Turpentine that issueth from the Cones of the Larch-tree, (which comes nearest of any to the right Turpentine) is singularly good to heal wounds, and to draw out the malice (or Thorn, as *Helmont* phrases is) of any Ach, rubbing the place therewith, and strowing upon it the powder of *Sage*-leaves.

The white Cedar is a stately Tree, and is taken by some to be *Tamarisk*, this Tree the *English* saw into boards to floor their Rooms, for which purpose it is excellent, long lasting, and wears very smooth and white; likewise they make shingles to cover their houses with instead of tyle, it will never warp. This Tree, the Oak and the [p. 68.] Larch-tree are best for building. Groundsels made of Larch-tree will never rot, and the longer it lyes the harder it growes, that you may almost drive a nail into a bar of Iron as easily as into that. Oh, that my Countreymen might obtain that blessing with their buildings, which *Esay* prophesied to the *Jewes* in the 65 Chapter and 22 verse. *Non ædificabunt & alius inhabitabit, non plantabunt & alius comedet: sed ut sunt dies Arboris,*

*dies erunt populi mei, & opus manuum suarum deterent electi mei.*

The Sassafras-tree is no great Tree, I have met with some as big as my middle, the rind is tawny and upon that a thin colour of Ashes, the inner part is white, of an excellent smell like Fennel, of a sweet tast with some bitterness; the leaves are like Fig-leaves of a dark green. A decoction of the Roots and bark thereof sweetned with Sugar, and drunk in the morning fasting will open the body and procure a stool or two, it is good for the Scurvie taken some time together, and laying upon the legs the green leaves of white *Hellebore*. They give it to Cows that have newly calved to make them cast their Cleanings. This tree growes not beyond *Black-point* East-ward: it is observed, that there is no province but produces Trees and plants not growing in other Regions.

[p. 69.] *Non omnis fert omnia tellus.*

The Walnut which is divers, some bearing square nuts, others like ours, but smaller: there is likewise black Walnut of precious use for Tables, Cabinets and the like. The Walnut-tree is the toughest wood in the Countrie, and therefore made use of for Hoops and Bowes, there being no Yew there growing; In *England* they made their Bowes usually of Witch Hasel, Ash, Yew, the best of outlandish Elm, but the *Indians* make theirs of Walnut.

The Line-tree with long nuts, the other kind I could never find: the wood of this Tree, Laurel, Rhamnus, Holly and Ivy are accounted for woods that cause fire by attrition; Laurel and Ivy are not growing in *New-England*: the *Indians* will rub two sear'd sticks of any sort of wood, and kindle a fire with them presently.

The Maple-tree, on the boughs of this Tree I have

often found a jellied substance like *Jewes-Ears*, which I found upon tryal to be as good for sore throats &c.

The Birch-tree is of two kinds, ordinary Birch, and black Birch, many of these Trees are stript of their bark by the *Indians*, who make of it their Canows, Kettles, [p. 70.] and Birchen-dishes: there is an excrescence growing out of the body of the Tree called spunck, or dead mens Caps, it growes at the Roots of Ash, or Beech, or Elm; but the best is that which growes upon the black Birch, this boiled and beaten, and then dried in an Oven maketh excellent Touch-wood, and Balls to play with.

Alder, of which wood there is abundance in the wet swamps: the bark thereof with the yolke of an Egg is good for a strain; an *Indian* bruising of his knee, chew'd the bark of Alder fasting and laid it to, which quickly helped him. The wives of our West-Country English make a drink with the seeds of Alder, giving it to their Children troubled with the *Alloes*. I have talk'd with many of them, but could never apprehend what disease it should be they so name, these Trees are called by some Sullinges.

The *Indians* tell of a Tree that growes far up in the land, that is as big as an Oake, that will cure the falling-sickness infallibly, what part thereof they use, Bark, Wood, leaves or fruit, I could never learn; they promised often to bring of it to me, but did not. I have seen a stately Tree growing here and there in valleys, not like to any Trees in Europe, having a smooth bark of [p. 71.] a dark brown colour, the leaves like great Maple, in *England* called Sycamor, but larger, it may be this is the Tree they brag of.

Thus much concerning Trees, now I shall present to your view the Shrubs; and first of the Sumach Shrub, which as I have told you in *New-Englands* rarities, differeth from all the kinds set down in our *English* Herbals; the root dyeth wool or cloth red-



dish, the decoction of the leaves in wine drunk, is good for all Fluxes of the belly in man or woman, the whites, &c. For galled places stamp the leaves with honey, and apply it, nothing so soon healeth a wound in the head as Sumach stampd and applyed once in three dayes, the powder strewed in stayeth the bleeding of wounds: the seed of Sumach pounded and mixt with honey, healeth the Hemorrhoids, the gum put into a hollow tooth asswageth the pain, the bark or berries in the fall of the leaf, is as good as galls to make Ink of.

Elder in *New-England* is shrubbie, & dies once in two years: there is a sort of dwarf-Elder that growes by the Sea-side that hath a red pith, the berries of both are smaller than *English-Elder*, not round but corner'd, neither of them smell so strong as ours.

Juniper growes for the most part by the Sea-side, it bears abundance of skie-coloured [p.72.] berries fed upon by Partridges, and hath a woodie root, which induceth me to believe that the plant mention'd in Job 30. 4. *Qui decerpebant herbas e' salsilagine cum stirpibus: etiam radices Juniperorum cibo erant illis*, was our *Indian* plant *Cassava*. They write that *Juniper-coals* preserve fire longest of any, keeping fire a whole year without supply, yet the *Indian* never burns of it.

Sweet fern, see the rarities of *New England*, the tops and nucaments of sweet fern boiled in water or milk and drunk helpeth all manner of Fluxes, being boiled in water it makes an excellent liquor for Inck.

Current-bushes are of two kinds red and black, the black currents which are larger than the red smell like cats piss, yet are reasonable pleasant in eating.

The Gooseberry-bush, the berry of which is call'd Grosers or thorn Grapes, grow all over the Countrey, the berry is but small, of a red or purple colour when ripe.

There is a small shrub which is very common, growing sometimes to the height of Elder, bearing a berry like in shape to the fruit of the white thorn, of a pale yellow colour at first, then red, when it is ripe of a deep purple, of a delicate Aromatical tast, somewhat stiptick : to conclude, [p. 73] alwayes observe this rule in taking or refusing unknown fruit : if you find them eaten of the fowl or beast, you may boldly venture to eat of them, otherwise do not touch them.

*Maze*, otherwise called *Turkie-wheat*, or rather *Indian-wheat*, because it came first from thence ; the leaves boiled and drunk helpeth pain in the back ; of the stalks when they are green you may make *Beverage*, as they do with *Calamels*, or *Sugar-canes*. The raw *Corn* chewed ripens felons or *Cats hairs*, or you may lay *Samp* to it : The *Indians* before it be thorow ripe eat of it parched. Certainly the parched *Corn* that *Abigail* brought to *David* was of this kind of grain, 1 Sam. 25. 18. *The Jewes manner was (as it is delivered to us by a learned devine) first to parch their Corn, then they fryed it, and lastly they boiled it to a paste, and then tempered it with water, Cheese-Curds, Honey and Eggs, this they carried drye with them to the camp, and so wet the Cakes in Wine or milk ; such was the pulse too of Africa.*

*French-beans*, or rather *American beans*, the *Herbalists* call them *kidney beans* from their shape and effects, for they strengthen the *kidneys*, they are variegated much, some being bigger a great deal than others ; some [p. 74] white, black, red, yellow blew, spotted ; besides your *Bonivis* and *Calavances* and the *kidney-bean*, that is proper to *Ronoake*, but these are brought into the *Countrie*, the other are natural to the climate. So the *Mexico pompion*, which is flat and deeply camphered, the flesh laid to, asswageth pain of the eyes. The *water-melon* is pro-

per to the Countrie, the flesh of it is of a flesh colour, a rare cooler of Feavers, and excellent against the stone. *Pomum spinosum* and *palma Christi* too growes not here, unless planted, brought from *Peru*; the later is thought to be the plant, that shaded *Jonah the Prophet*, *Jonas* 4. 6. *Paraverat enim Jehova Deus ricinum qui ascenderet supra Jonam, ut esset umbra super caput ejus ereptura eum à malo ipsius; latabaturque Jonas de ricino illo lætitia magna.* *Ricinum*, that is *palma Christi*, called also *cucurbita*, and therefore translated a Gourd.

Tobacco, or *Tabacca* so called from *Tabaco* or *Tabago*, one of the *Caribbe-Islands* about 50 *English* miles from *Trinidad*. The right name, according to *Monardus*, is *picielte*, as others will *petum*, *nicotian* from *Nicot*, a *Portingal*, to whom it was presented for a raritie in *Anno Dom.* 1559. by one that brought it from *Florida*. Great contest there is about the time when it was first [p. 75] brought into *England*, some will have *Sir John Hawkins* the first, others *Sir Francis Drake's* Mariners; others again say that one *Mr. Lane* imployed by *Sir Walter Rawleigh* brought it first into *England*; all conclude that *Sir Walter Rawleigh* brought it first in use. *It is observed that no one kind of forraign Commodity yieldeth greater advantage to the publick than Tobacco, it is generally made the complement of our entertainments, and hath made more slaves than Mahomet.* There is three sorts of it Marchantable, the first horse Tobacco, having a broad long leaf piked at the end; the second round pointed Tobacco; third sweet scented Tobacco. These are made up into Cane, leaf or ball; there is little of it planted in *New-England*, neither have they learned the right way of curing of it. It is sowed in *April* upon a bed of rich mould sifted, they make a bed about three yards long, or more according to the ground they intend to plant, and a yard and a half over; this they tread down hard, then

they sow their seed upon it as thick as may be, and sift fine earth upon it, then tread it down again as hard as possible they can, when it hath gotten four or six leaves, they remove it into the planting ground; when it begins to bud towards flowering, they crop off the [p. 76] top, for the Flower drawes away the strength of the leaf. For the rest I refer you to the Planter, being not willing to discover their mysteries. The *Indians* in *New England* use a small round leafed Tobacco, called by them, or the Fishermen Poke. *It is odious to the English.* The *vertues of Tobacco* are these, it helps digestion, the Gout, the Tooth-Ach, prevents infection by scents, it heats the cold, and cools them that sweat, feedeth the hungry, spent spirits restoreth, purgeth the stomach, killeth nits and lice; the juice of the green leaf healeth green wounds, although poysoned; the Syrup for many diseases, the smook for the Phthisick, cough of the lungs, distillations of Rheume, and all diseases of a cold and moist cause, good for all bodies cold and moist taken upon an emptie stomach, taken upon a full stomach it precipitates digestion, immoderately taken it dryeth the body, enflameth the bloud, hurteth the brain, weakens the eyes and the sinews.

White *Hellebore* is used for the Scurvie by the *English*. A friend of mine gave them first a purge, then conserve of Bear-berries, then fumed their leggs with vinegar, sprinkled upon a piece of millstone made hot, and applied to the sores white *Hellebore* leaves; drink made of *Orpine* and *sorrel* were given likewise with it, and [p. 77.] *Sea-scurvie-grass*. To kill lice, boil the roots of *Hellebore* in milk, and anoint the hair of the head therewith or other places.

*Mandrake*, is a very rare plant, the *Indians* know it not, it is found in the woods about *Pascataway*, they do in plain terms stink, therefore *Reubens* Flowers that he brought home were not *Mandrakes*,

Gen. 30. 14, 15, 16. *They are rendered in the Latine Amabiles flores, the same word say our Divines is used in Canticles, 7.13. Amabiles istos flores, edentes odorem, & secundum ostia nostra omnes pretiosos fructus, recentes simul ac veteres, dilecte mi, repono tibi. So that the right translation is, Reuben brought home amiable and sweet smelling Flowers, this in the Canticles (say they) expounding the other.*

*Calamus Aromaticus*, or the sweet smelling reed, it Flowers in *July*; see *New-Englands rarities*.

*Sarsaparilla* or roughbind-weed (as some describe it) the leaves and whole bind set with thorns, of this there is store growing upon the banks of Ponds. See the rarities of *New-England*. The leaves of the *Sarsaparilla* there described pounded with Hogs grease and boiled to an unguent, is excellent in the curing of wounds.

Live for ever, it is a kind of *Cud-weed*, [p. 78.] flourisheth all summer long till cold weather comes in, it growes now plentifully in our *English Gardens*, it is good for cough of the lungs, and to cleanse the breast taken as you do Tobacco; and for pain in the head the decoction, or the juice strained and drunk in Bear, Wine, or Aqua vitæ, killeth worms. The Fishermen when they want Tobacco take this herb being cut and dried.

*Lysimachus* or Loose-strife: there are several kinds, but the most noted is the yellow *Lysimachus* of *Virginia*, the root is longish and white, as thick as ones thumb, the stalkes of an overworn colour, and a little hairie, the middle vein of the leaf whitish, the Flower yellow and like Primroses, and therefore called Tree-primrose, growes upon seedie vessels &c. The first year it growes not up to a stalke, but sends up many large leaves handsomely lying one upon another, Rose fashion, flowers in *June*, the seed is ripe in *August*, this as I have said is taken by the *English* for Scabious.

St. John's wort, it preserveth Cheese made up in it, at Sea.

Spurge or Wolfes milch there are several sorts.

*Avens*, or herb-bennet; you have an account of it in *New-Englands rarities*, but one [p. 79.] thing more I shall add, that you may plainly perceive a more masculine quality in the plants growing in *New-England*. A neighbour of mine in Hay-time, having overheat himself, and melted his grease, with striving to outmowe another man, fell dangerously sick, not being able to turn himself in his bed, his stomach gon, and his heart fainting ever and anon; to whom I administred the decoction of *Avens*-Roots and leaves in water and wine, sweetning it with Syrup of Clove-Gilliflowers, in one weeks time it recovered him, so that he was able to perform his daily work, being a poor planter or husbandman as we call them.

Red-Lilly growes all over the Countrey amongst the bushes. Mr. *Johnson* upon *Gerard* takes the Tulip to be the Lilly of the field mentioned by our Saviour, Matth. 6. 28, 29. *Ac de vestitu quid solliciti estis? discite quomodo lilia agrorum augescant: non fatigantur, neque nent, sed dico vobis, ne Solomonem quidem cum universa gloria sic amictum fuisse ut unum ex istis.* Solomon in all his Royalty was not like one of them. His reasons are, first from the shape, like a lilly; The second, because those places where our Saviour was conversant they grow wild in the fields. Third, the infinite variety of the [p. 80.] colours. The fourth and last reason, the wondrous beautie and mixture of these Flowers.

Water-lillys; the black roots dryed and pulverized, are wondrous effectual in the stopping of all manner of fluxes of the belly, drunk with wine or water.

*Herba-paris*, one berry, herb true love, or four-leaved night-shade, the leaves are good to be laid upon hot tumours.

*Umbilicus veneris*, or *New-England* daisie, it is good for hot humours, *Erisipelas*, *St. Anthonie's* fire, all inflammations.

*Glass-wort*, a little quantity of this plant you may take for the Dropsie, but be very careful that you take not too much, for it worketh impetuously.

Water-plantane, called in *New-England* water Suck-leaves and Scurvie-leaves, you must lay them whole to the leggs to draw out water between the skin and the flesh.

*Rosa-solis*, Sun-dew, moor-grass, this plant I have seen more of, than ever I saw in my whole life before in *England*, a man may gather upon some marish grounds an incredible quantity in a short time; towards the middle of *June* it is in its season, for then its spear is shot out to its length, of which they take hold and pull the whole plant up by the roots from the moss with ease.

[p. 81.] *Amber-greese* I take to be a Mushroom, see the rarities of *New-England*. *Monardus* writeth that *Amber-greese* riseth out of a certain clammy and bituminous earth under the Seas, and by the Seaside, the billows casting up part of it a land, and fish devour the rest. Some say it is the seed of a Whale, others, that it springeth from fountains as pitch doth, which fishes swallow down; the air congealeth it. And sometimes it is found in the crevices and corners of Rocks.

*Fuss-balls*, *Mullipuffes* called by the Fishermen Wolves-farts, are to be found plentifully, and those bigger by much than any I have seen in *England*.

*Coraline* there is infinite store of it cast upon the shore and another plant that is more spinie, of a Red colour, and as hard as Corral. *Coraline* laid to the gout easeth the pain.

Sea Oake or wreach, or Sea-weed, the black pouches of Oar-weed dryed and pulverized, and

drunk with White-wine, is an excellent remedy for the stone.

I will finish this part of my relation concerning plants, with an admirable plant for the curing and taking away of Corns, which many times sore troubleth the Traveller: it is not above a handful high; the little branches are woodie, the leaves like [p. 82.] the leaves of Box, but broader and much thicker, hard, and of a deep grass-green colour; this bruised or champ't in the mouth and laid upon the Corn will take it away clean in one night. And observe all *Indian* Trees and plants, their Roots are but of small depth, and so they must be set.

Of Beasts of the earth there be scarce 120 several kinds, and not much more of the Fowls of the Air, is the opinion of some Naturalists; there are not many kinds of Beasts in *New-England*, they may be divided into Beasts of the Chase of the stinking foot, as *Roes*, *Foxes*, *Jaccals*, *Wolves*, *Wild-cats*, *Raccons*, *Porcupines*, *Squncks*, *Musquashes*, *Squirrels*, *Sables*, and *Mattrises*; and Beasts of the Chase of the sweet foot, *Buck*, *Red Dear*, *Rain-Deer*, *Elke*, *Marouse*, *Maccarib*, *Bear*, *Beaver*, *Otter*, *Marten*, *Hare*.

The *Roe* a kind of Deer, and the fleetest Beast upon earth is here to be found, and is good venison, but not over fat.

The *Fox*, the male is called a dog-fox. the female a bitch-fox, they go a clicketing the beginning of the spring, and bring forth their Cubs in *May* and *June*. There are two or three kinds of them; one a great yellow *Fox*, another grey, who will climb up into Trees; the black *Fox* is of much esteem. *Foxes* and *Wolves* are usually hunted [p. 83.] in *England* from *Holy-Rood* day, till the *Annunciation*. In *New-England* they make best sport in the depth of winter: they lay a sledg-load of Cods-heads on the other side of a paled fence



when the moon shines, and about nine or ten of the clock the *Foxes* come to it, sometimes two or three, or half a dozen, and more; these they shoot, and by that time they have cased them, there will be as many; So they continue shooting and killing of *Foxes* as long as the moon shineth: I have known half a score kill'd in one night. Their pisles are bonie like a doggs, their fat liquified and put into the ears easeth the pain, their tails or bushes are very fair ones and of good use, but their skins are so thin (yet thick set with deep furr) that they will hardly hold the dressing.

*Jaccals* there be in abundance, which is a Creature much like a *Fox*, but smaller, they are very frequent in *Palæstina*, or the *Holy-Land*.

The *Wolf* seeketh his mate and goes a clicketing at the same season with *Foxes*, and bring forth their whelps as they do, but their kennels are under thick bushes by great Trees in remote places by the swamps, he is to be hunted as the *Fox* from *Holy-rod* day till the *Annunciation*. But there [p. 84.] they have a quicker way to destroy them. See *New-Englands* rarities. They commonly go in routs, a rout of *Wolves* is 12 or more, sometimes by couples. In 1664. we found a *Wolf* asleep in a small dry swamp under an Oake, a great mastiff which we had with us seized upon him, and held him till we had put a rope about his neck, by which we brought him home, and tying of him to a stake we bated him with smaller Doggs, and had excellent sport; but his hinder legg being broken, they knockt out his brains. Sometime before this we had an excellent course after a single *Wolf* upon the hard sands by the Sea-side at low water for a mile or two, at last we lost our doggs, it being (as the *Lancashire* people phrase it) twi-light, that is almost dark, and went beyond them, for a mastiff-bitch had seized upon the *Wolf* being gotten into the Sea, and there held

him till one went in and led him out, the bitch keeping her hold till they had tyed his leggs, and so carried him home like a Calf upon a staff between two men; being brought into the house they unbound him and set him upon his leggs, he not offering in the least to bite, or so much as to shew his teeth, but clapping his stern betwixt his leggs, and leering towards the door would willingly have had his liberty, [p. 85.] but they served him as they did the other, knockt his brains out, for our doggs were not then in a condition to bate him; their eyes shine by night as a Lanthorn: the Fangs of a *Wolf* hung about childrens necks keep them from frightening, and are very good to rub their gums with when they are breeding of Teeth, the gall of a *Wolf* is Sovereign for swelling of the sinews; the fiants or dung of a *Wolf* drunk with white-wine helpeth the *Collick*.

The *Wild-cat*, *Lusern*, or *luceret*, or Ounce as some call it, is not inferiour to Lamb, their grease is very sovereign for lameness upon taking cold.

The *Racoon* or *Rattoon* is of two sorts, gray *Rattoons*, and black *Rattoons*, their grease is sovereign for wounds with bruises, aches, streins, bruises; and to anoint after broken bones and dislocations.

The *Squunk* is almost as big as a *Racoon*, perfect black and white or pye-bald, with a bush-tail like a *Fox*, an offensive Carion; the Urine of this Creature is of so strong a scent, that if it light upon any thing, there is no abiding of it, it will make a man smell, though he were of *Alexanders* complexion; and so sharp if he do but whisk his bush which he pisseth upon in the face of a dogg hunting of him, and that [p. 86.] any of it light in his eyes it will make him almost mad with the smart thereof.

The *Musquashes* is a small Beast that lives in shallow ponds, where they build them houses of earth and sticks in shape like mole-hills, and feed upon *Calamus Aromaticus*: in *May* they scent very

strong of Muske; their furr is of no great esteem; their stones wrapt up in Cotton-wool will continue a long time, and are good to lay amongst cloths to give them a grateful smell.

The *Squirril*, of which there are three sorts, the mouse squirril, the gray squirril, and the flying-squirril, called by the *Indian Assapanick*. The mouse-squirril is hardly so big as a Rat, streak'd on both sides with black and red streaks, they are mischevous vermine destroying abundance of Corn both in the field and in the house, where they will gnaw holes into Chests, and tear clothes both linnen and wollen, and are notable nut-gatherers in *August*; when hasel and filbert nuts are ripe you may see upon every Nut-tree as many mouse-squirrels as leaves; So that the nuts are gone in a trice, which they convey to their Drays or Nests. The gray squirril is pretty large, almost as big as a Conie, and are very good meat: in some parts of the Countrey there are many of them. The flying squirril is so called, [p. 87.] because (his skin being loose and large) he spreads it on both sides like wings when he passeth from one Tree to another at great distance. I cannot call it flying nor leaping, for it is both.

The *Mattrise* is a Creature whose head and fore-parts is shaped somewhat like a Lyons, not altogether so big as a house-cat, they are innumerable up in the Countrey, and are esteemed good furr.

The *Sable* is much of the size of a *Mattrise* perfect black, but what store there is of them I cannot tell, I never saw but two of them in Eight years space.

The *Martin* is as ours are in *England*, but blacker, they breed in holes which they make in the earth like Conies, and are innumerable, their skins or furr are in much request.

The *Buck*, *Stag*, and *Rain-Deer* are Creatures

that will live in the coldest climates, here they are innumerable, bringing forth three *Fawns* or *Calves* at a time, which they hide a mile asunder to prevent their destruction by the *Wolves*, wild-*Cats*, *Bears*, and *Mequans*: when they are in season they will be very fat; there are but few slain by the *English*.

The *Indians* who shoot them, and take of them with toys, bring them in [p. 88.] with their suet, and the bones that grow upon *Stags-Hearts*.

The *Moose* or *Elke* is a Creature, or rather if you will a Monster of superfluity; a full grown *Moose* is many times bigger than an *English Oxe*, their horns as I have said elsewhere, very big (and brancht out into palms) the tips whereof are sometimes found to be two fathom asunder, (a fathom [p. 89.] is six feet from the tip of one finger to the tip of the other, that is four cubits,) and in height from the toe of the fore-foot, to the pitch of the shoulder twelve foot, both which hath been taken by some of my *sceptique* Readers to be monstrous lyes. If you consider the breadth that the beast carrieth, and the magnitude of the horns, you will be easily induced to contribute your belief.

What would you say, if I should tell you that in *Green-land* there are *Does* that have as large horns as *Bucks*, their brow Antlers growing downwards beyond their *Musles*, and broad at the end where-with they scrape away the snow to the grass, it being impossible for them otherwayes to live in those cold Countries; the head of one of these *Docs* was sometime since nailed upon a sign-post in *Charter-house-lane*, and these following verses written upon a board underneath it.

*Like a Bucks-head I stand in open view,  
And yet am none; nay, wonder not, 'tis true;  
The living Beast that these fair horns did owe  
Well known to many, was a Green-land Doe.*

*The proverb old is here fulfill'd in me,<sup>em</sup>  
That every like is not<sup>r</sup> the same you see.*

And for their height since I came into *England* I have read Dr. *Scroderns* his Chymical dispensatory translated into *English* by Dr. *Rowland*, where he writes that when he lived in *Finland* under *Gustavus Horn*, he saw an *Elke* that was killed and presented to *Gustavus* his Mother, seventeen spans high. Law you now Sirs of the *Gibing* crue, if you have any skill in mensuration, tell me what difference there is between Seventeen spans and twelve foot. There are certain transcendentia in every Creature, which are the indelible Characters of God, and which discover God; There's a prudential for you, as *John Rhodes* the Fisherman used to say to his mate, *Kitt Lux*. But to go on with the *Moose*; they are accounted a kind of Deer, and have three Calves at a time, which they hide a mile asunder too, as other Deer do, their skins make excellent Coats for Martial men, their sinews which are as [p. 90.] big as a mans finger are of perdurable toughness and much used by the *Indians*, the bone that growes upon their heart is an excellent Cordial, their bloud is as thick as an *Asses* or *Bulls* who have the thickest bloud of all others, a man the thinnest. To what age they live I know not, certainly a long time in their proper climate. Some particular living Creatures cannot live in every particular place or region, especially with the same joy and felicity as it did where it was first bred, for the certain agreement of nature that is between the place and the thing bred in that place: As appeareth by Elephants, which being translated and brought out of the Second or Third Climate, though they may live, yet will they never ingender or bring forth young. So for plants, Birds, &c. Of both these Creatures, some few there have been brought into *England*, but did not long continue.

Sir *R. Baker* in his Chronicle tells us of an *Elephant* in *Henry* the Thirds Raign, which he saith was the first that was ever seen there, which as it seems is an error, unless he restrain it to the *Norman's* time. For Mr. *Speed* writeth that *Claudius Drusius* Emperour of *Rome* brought in the First in his Army; the bones of which digg'd up since are taken for Gyants bones. As for the *Moose* the first that was seen in *England*, [p. 91.] was in King *Charles* the First Raign; thus much for these magnals amongst the Creatures of God to be wondered at, the next beast to be mentioned is

The *Maurouse*, which is somewhat like a *Moose*, but his horns are but small, and himself about the size of a *Stag*, these are the Deer that the flat-footed *Wolves* hunt after.

The *Maccarib* is a Creature not found that ever I heard yet, but upon *Cape-Sable* near to the *French* plantations.

The *Bear* when he goes to mate is a terrible Creature, they bring forth their Cubs in *March*, hunted with doggs they take a Tree where they shoot them, when he is fat he is excellent Venison, which is in *Acorn* time, and in winter, but then there is none dares to attempt to kill him but the *Indian*. He makes his Denn amongst thick Bushes, thrusting in here and there store of *Moss*, which being covered with snow and melting in the day time with heat of the Sun, in the night is frozen into a thick coat of Ice; the mouth of his Den is very narrow, here they lye single, never two in a Den all winter. The *Indian* as soon as he finds them, creeps in upon all four, seizes with his left hand upon the neck of the sleeping *Bear*, drags him to the mouth of [p. 92.] the Den, where with a club or small hatchet in his right hand he knocks out his brains before he can open his eyes to see his enemy. But sometimes they are too quick for the *Indians*, as one amongst them called black *Robin* lighting

upon a male *Bear* had a piece of his buttock torn off before he could fetch his blow: their grease is very sovereign. One Mr. *Purchase* cured himself of the *Sciatica* with *Bears-greese*, keeping some of it continually in his groine. It is good too for swell'd Cheeks upon cold, for Rupture of the hands in winter, for limbs taken suddenly with *Sciatica*, *Gout*, or other diseases that cannot stand upright nor go, bed-rid; it must be well chaf't in, and the same cloth laid on still; it prevents the shedding of the hair occasioned by the coldness of winters weather; and the yard of a *Bear* which as a *Doggs* or *Foxes* is bonie, is good for to expell Gravel out of the kidneys and bladder, as I was there told by Mr. *Abraham Philater* a *Jersey-man*.

The *Beaver* or Pound-dog is an amphibious Creature, lives upon the land as well as in the water. I suppose they feed upon fish, but am sure that the Bark of Trees is also their food; there is an old proverbial saying, *sic me jubes quotidie, ut fiber salicem*: you love me as the *Beaver* doth the willow; [p. 93.] who eateth the Bark and killeth the Tree. They will be tame, witness the *Beaver* that not long since was kept at *Boston* in the *Massachusetts-Bay*, and would run up and down the streets, returning home without a call. Their skins are highly valued, and their stones are good for the palsie, trembling, and numbness of the hands, boiling of them in Oyl of *Spike*, and anointing the sinews in the neck. If you take of *Castorium* two drams, of womans hair one dram, and with a little Rozen of the *Pine-Tree* make it up into pills as big as Filberts and perfume a woman in a fit of the mother with one at a time laid upon coals under her nostrils, it will recover her out of her fit. The grease of a *Beaver* is good for the Nerves, Convulsions, Epilepsies, Apoplexies &c. The tail as I have said in another Treatise,

is very fat and of a masculine vertue, as good as *Eringo's* or *Satyrion-Roots*.

The *Otter* or *River-Dog* is Amphibious too, he hunteth for his kind in the spring, and bringeth forth his whelps as the *Beaver* doth, they are generally black, and very numerous, they are hunted in *England* from *Shrovetide* untill *Midsummer*, but in *New-England* they take them when they can. The skin of an *Otter* is worth Ten Shillings, and [p. 94.] the Gloves made thereof are the best fortification for the hands against wet weather that can be thought of, the furr is excellent for muffs, and is almost as dear as *Beaver*, the Grease of an *Otter* will make fish turn up their bellies, and is of rare use for many things.

The *Hare*, I have no more to write of them than that they kindle in hollow Trees. What else concerns him, or any of the fore-mentioned Creatures you have in my *New-Englands* rarities, to which I refer you.

The *Porcupine* likewise I have treated of, only this I forgot to acquaint you with, that they lay Eggs, and are good meat.

The last kind of Beasts are they that are begot by equivocal generation, as *Mules* and several others, that when the Beasts were brought by the Almighty Creator to *Adam*, who gave them names, were not then in *rerum natura*. Of these there are not many known in *New-England*. I know but of one, and that is the *Indian* dog begotten betwixt a *Wolf* and a *Fox*, or between a *Fox* and a *Wolf*, which they made use of, taming of them, and bringing of them up to hunt with, but since the *English* came amongst them they have gotten store of our dogs, which they bring up and keep in as much subjection as they do their webbs.

[p. 95.] Of birds there are not many more than 120 kinds as our Naturalists have conjectured, but



I think they are deceived; they are divided into land-birds and water-birds, the land birds again into birds of prey, birds for meat, singing-birds and others.

The *Pilhannaw* is the King of Birds of prey in *New-England*, some take him to be a kind of *Eagle*, others for the *Indian-Ruck* the biggest Bird that is, except the *Ostrich*. One Mr. *Hilton* living at *Pascataway*, had the hap to kill one of them: being by the Sea-side he perceived a great shadow over his head, the Sun shining out clear, casting up his eyes he saw a monstrous Bird soaring aloft in the air, and of a sudden all the *Ducks* and *Geese*, (there being then a great many) dived under water, nothing of them appearing but their heads. Mr. *Hilton* having made readie his piece, shot and brought her down to the ground, how he disposed of her I know not, but had he taken her alive & sent her over into *England*, neither *Bartholomew* nor *Sturbridge-Fair* could have produced such another sight.

*Hawkes* there are of several kinds, as *Goshawks*, *Falcons*, *Laniers*, *Sparrow-hawkes*, and a little black *hawke* highly prized by the *Indians* who wear them on their [p. 96.] heads, and is accounted of worth sufficient to ransom a *Sagamour*: they are so strangely couragious and hardie, that nothing flyeth in the Air that they will not bind with. I have seen them tower so high, that they have been so small that scarcely could they be taken by the eye. *Hawkes* grease is very good for sore eyes.

The *Osprey* I have treated of. There is a small Ash-colour Bird that is shaped like a *Hawke* with talons and beak that falleth upon *Crowes*, mounting up into the Air after them, and will beat them till they make them cry.

The *Vulture* or *Geire*, which is spoken of in *Levit.* 11. 14. and called a *Gripe*, their skins are good to line doublets with, and the bone of their head hung about the neck helpeth the head-ach.

The *Gripe*; see *New-Englands* rarities, and for the *Turkie-buzzard*.

The *Owl* the most flagging Bird that is, of which there are three sorts, a great grey *Owl* with ears, a little grey *Owl*, and a white *Owl*, which is no bigger than a *Thrush*. *Plinie* writes that the brains of an *Owl* asswageth the pain & inflammation in the lap of the ear. And that Eggs of an *Owl* put into the liquour that a top-sot useth to be drunk with, will make him loath drunkenness [p. 97.] everafter. But now peradventure some will say, what doth this man mean to bring *Owls* to *Athens*? verily Sirs I presume to say, had I brought over of the little white *Owls* they would have been acceptable, they are good mousers, and pretty Birds to look upon: the *Athenians*, no question are better employed than to take notice of my *Owls*, poor ragged Birds they are and want those glistening golden Feathers that *Draiton's Owl* is adorned with, yet they are somewhat of that nature; if an *Athenian* chance in this season of divertisement to cast an eye upon them I shall be glad, but more glad if he vouchsafe to prune and correct their feathers, which I confess are discomposed for want of Art; plain Birds they are, and fit for none but plain men to manage. Sirs do not mistake me, there's no man living honours an *Athenian* more than I do, especially where I perceive great abilities concomiting with goodness of nature: A good nature (saith Mr. *Perkins*) is the Character of God, and God is the father of learning, knowledge, and every good gift, and hath condescended to become a School-master to us poor mortals, furnishing of us with Philosophy, Historie, Divinity by his holy Scriptures, which if we diligently learn and practise, we shall in [p. 98.] time be brought into his Heavenly Academy, where we shall have fulness and perfection of knowledge eternally. But there are a Generation of men and women in this prophane age that despise Gods learn-

ing and his Ushers to the *Athenians*, choosing to wallow in the pleasures of sin for a season. I shall conclude this excursion, with that which a Poet writ sometime since, and then return to the trimming of my *Owl*.

*Say thou pour'st them Wheat,  
And they would Acorns eat ;  
'Twere simple fury in thee still to wast  
Thy self, on them that have no tast ;  
No, give them draff their fill,  
Husks, Grains and swill ;  
They that love Lees and leave the lustie Wine,  
Envy them not, their palats with the Swine.*

The *Raven* is here numerous and *Crowes*, but *Rooks*, *Danes*, *Popinjaes*, *Megpies* there be none, It is observed that the female of all Birds of prey and *Ravin* is ever bigger than the male, more venturous, hardy, and watchful: but such Birds as do not live by prey and *Ravin*, the male is more large than the female. So much for Birds of prey, the next are Birds for the dish, and the first of these is,

[p. 99.] The *Turkie*, which is in *New-England* a very large Bird, they breed twice or thrice in a year, if you would preserve the young *Chickens* alive, you must give them no water, for if they come to have their fill of water they will drop away strangely, and you will never be able to rear any of them: they are excellent meat, especially a *Turkie-Capon* beyond that, for which Eight shillings was given, their Eggs are very wholesome and restore decayed nature exceedingly. But the *French* say they breed the *Leprosie*; the *Indesses* make Coats of *Turkie*-feathers woven for their Children.

The *Partridge* is larger than ours, white flesht, but very dry, they are indeed a sort of *Partridges* called *Grooses*.

The *Pidgeon*, of which there are millions of millions, I have seen a flight of *Pidgeons* in the spring, and at *Michaelmas* when they return back to the Southward for four or five miles, that to my thinking had neither beginning nor ending, length nor breadth, and so thick that I could see no Sun, they joyn Nest to Nest, and Tree to Tree by their Nests many miles together in *Pine-Trees*. But of late they are much diminished, the *English* taking them with Nets. I have bought at *Boston* a dozen of *Pidgeons* ready pull'd and garbidgd for three pence [p. 100.] *Ring-Doves* they say are there too, but I could never see any.

The *Snow-Bird* is like a *Chaf-Finch*, go in flocks and are good meat.

The singing Birds are *Thrushes* with red breasts which will be very fat and are good meat, so are the *Thressels*, *Filladies* are small singing Birds, *Ninmurders* little yellow Birds. *New-England* *Nightingales* painted with orient colours, black, white, blew, yellow, green and scarlet, and sing sweetly, *Wood-larks*, *Wrens*, *Swallows*, who will sit upon Trees, and *Starlings* black as *Ravens* with scarlet pinions; other sorts of Birds there are, as the *Troculus*, *Wag-tail*, or *Dish-water*, which is here of a brown colour, *Tit-mouse* two or three sorts, the *Dunneck* or *hedge-Sparrow* who is starke naked in his winter nest. The golden or yellow hammer, a Bird about the bigness of a *Thrush* that is all over as red as bloud, *Wood-Peckers* of two or three sorts, gloriously set out with variety of glittering colours. The *Colibry*, *Viemalin*, or rising or walking Bird, an Emblem of the Resurrection, and the wonder of little Birds.

The water-fowl are these that follow, *Hookers* or wild-*Swans*, *Cranes*, *Geese* of three sorts, grey, white, and the brant *Goose*, the first and last are best meat, the white are [p. 101.] lean and tough and live a long time; whereupon the proverb, Older than a

white *Goose*; of the skins of the necks of grey *Geese* with their Bills the *Indians* makes Mantles and Coverlets sowing them together and they shew prettily. There be four sorts of *Ducks*, a black *Duck*, a brown *Duck* like our wild *Ducks*, a grey *Duck*, and a great black and white *Duck*, these frequent Rivers and Ponds; but of *Ducks* there be many more sorts, as *Hounds*, old *Wives*, *Murres*, *Doies*, *Shell-drakes*, *Shoulers* or *Shoflers*, *Widgeons*, *Simps*, *Teal*, Blew wing'd, and green wing'd *Divers* or *Didapers*, or *Dip-chicks*, *Fenduck*, *Duckers* or *Moorhens*, *Coots*, *Pochards*, a water-fowl like a *Duck*, *Plungeons*, a kind of water-fowl with a long reddish Bill, *Puets*, *Plovers*, *Smethes*, *Wilmotes*, a kind of *Teal*, *Godwits*, *Humilities*, *Knotes*, *Red-Shankes*, *Wobbles*, *Loones*, *Gulls*, white *Gulls*, or *Sea-Cobbs*, *Caudemandies*, *Hérons*, grey *Bitterns*, *Ox-eyes*, *Birds* called *Oxen* and *Keen*, *Petterels*, *Kingsfishers*, which breed in the spring in holes in the Sea-bank, being unapt to propagate in Summer, by reason of the driness of their bodies, which becomes more moist when their pores are closed by cold. Most of these Fowls and Birds are eatable. There are little Birds that frequent the Sea-shore in flocks called *Sanderlins*, [p. 102.] they are about the bigness of a *Sparrow*, and in the fall of the leaf will be all fat; when I was first in the Countrie the *English* cut them into small pieces to put into their Puddings instead of suet, I have known twelve score and above kill'd at two shots. I have not done yet, we must not forget the *Cormorant*, *Shape* or *Sharke*; though I cannot commend them to our curious palats, the *Indians* will eat them when they are fley'd, they take them prettily, they roost in the night upon some Rock that lyes out in the Sea, thither the *Indian* goes in his *Birch-Canow* when the Moon shines clear, and when he is come almost to it, he lets his *Canow* drive on of it self, when he is come under the Rock he shoves his Boat along till he

come just under the *Cormorants* watchman, the rest being asleep, and so soundly do sleep that they will snore like so many Piggs; the *Indian* thrusts up his hand of a sudden, grasping the watchman so hard round about his neck that he cannot cry out; as soon as he hath him in his *Canow* he wrings off his head, and making his *Canow* fast, he clambreth to the top of the Rock, where walking softly he takes them up as he pleaseth, still wringing off their heads; when he hath slain as many as his *Canow* can carry, he gives a shout [p. 103.] which awakens the surviving *Cormorants*, who are gone in an instant.

The next Creatures that you are to take notice of, are they that live in the Element of water. *Pliny* reckons them to be of 177 kinds, but certainly if it be true that there is no Beast upon Earth, which hath not his like in the Sea, and which (perhaps) is not in some part parallel'd in the plants of the Earth; we may by a diligent search find out many more: of the same opinion is the Poet, who saith that it is

*Affirm'd by some that what on Earth we find,  
The Sea can parallell in shape and kind,*

Divine *Dubertus* goes further.

*You Divine wits of elder dayes, from whom  
The deep invention of rare works hath come,  
Took you not pattern of our chiefest Toolles  
Out of the lap of Thetis, Lakes, and Pools?  
Which partly in the Waves, part on the edges  
Of craggy Rocks, among their ragged sedges,  
Bring forth abundance of Pins, Spincers, spokes,  
Pikes, piercers, needles, mallets, pipes & yoaks,  
Oars, sails & swords, saws, wedges, razors, rammers,  
Plumes, cornets, knives, wheels, vices, horns and  
hammers.*

[p. 104.] Psalm 104. 25, 26. *In ipso mari magno & spatioso, illic reptilia sunt atque innumera animalia parva cum magnis. Illic naves ambulant; balæna quam formasti ludendo in eo.*

And as the females amongst Beasts and Birds of prey for form and beautie surpass the males, so do they especially amongst fishes; and those I intend to treat of, I shall divide into salt-water fish, and fresh-water fish.

The Sea that *Piscina mirabilis* affords us the greatest number, of which I shall begin first with the Whale a regal fish, as all fishes of extraordinary size are accounted, of these there are (as I have said in another place) seven kinds, the Ambergreese *Whale* the chiefest. *Anno Dom. 1668* the 17 of *July* there was one of them thrown up on the shore between *Winter-harbour* and *Cape-porpus* about eight mile from the place where I lived, that was five and fifty foot long. They are Creatures of a vast magnitude and strength. The Royal Psalmist, in the 148 psalm, and the 7 verse, *makes mention of them. Laudate Jehovam terrestria; Cete (Dracones as some translate it) & omnes abyssi. And Moses in his history of Job, Job, 41. 1. An extrahas balænam hamo, &c.* [p. 105.] *Whereby the subtlety of the Devil is shewed, as also, the greatness and brutishness of the Devil by the Elephant, in the 10 verse of the foregoing Chapter. In the book of Jonas prophecies we read of a great fish, Jonah 1.17. Pararat autem Jehova piscem magnum, qui obsorberet Jonam. But whether this were a Whale or not is questioned by some. In the head (saith Mr. Parkinson the Herbalist) of one only sort of Whale-fish is found that which is called sperma Cæti, it lyes in a hole therein, as it were a Well, taken out and prest that the oyl, may come out, the substance is that we use for sperma Cæti, and hath little or no smell, the oyl smells strong. See the rarities of New-England.*

The *Sca-hare* is as big as *Grampus* or *Herrin-hog*, and as white as a sheet; There hath been of them in *Black-point-Harbour*, & some way up the river, but we could never take any of them, several have shot slugs at them, but lost their labour.

The *Sturgeon* is a Regal fish too, I have seen of them that have been sixteen foot in length: of their sounds they make *Isinglass*, which melted in the mouth is excellent to seal letters.

*Sharkes* there are infinite store, who tear the Fishermens nets to their great loss and hinderance; they are of two sorts, one flat [p. 106.] headed, the other long snouted, the pretious stone in their heads (soveraign for the stone in a man) so much coveted by the travelling Chirurgeon is nought else but the brains of the flat-headed *Sharke*. With these we may joyn the *Dog-fish* or *Thorn-hound*, who hath two long sharp prickles on his back.

The *Sea-horse* or *Morse* is a kind of monster-fish numerous about the Isle of *Sables*, i. e. The sandy Isle. An Amphibious Creature kill'd for their Teeth and Oyl, never brings forth more than two at a birth; as also doth the *Soil* and *Manate* or *Cow-fish* which is supposed to be the *Sea-monster* spoken of by *Jeremy*, *Lament.* 4. 3. *Etiam phocæ præbent mammam, lactant catulos suos; So the Latins render it, phoca a Sea-Calf or Soil.*

The small *Sword-fish* is very good meat, the *Sea-bat* or *Sea-owl* a kind of flying fish.

*Negroes* or *Sea-Devils* a very ugly fish, having a black scale, there are three sorts of them, one a hideous fish, another about two foot long; of these I have seen store in *Black-point Harbour* in the water, but never attempted to take any of them.

*Squids* a soft fish somewhat like a cudgel, their horns like a *Snails*, which sometimes are found to be of an incredible length, [p. 107.] this fish is much used for bait to catch a *Cod*, *Hacke*, *Polluck*, and the like *Sea-fish*.



The *Dolphin*, *Bonito*, or *Dozado*, the ashes of their teeth mixed with honey, is good to asswage the pain of breeding teeth in Children.

The *Sea-bream*, *Dorado* or *Amber-fish*, they follow ships as doth the *Dolphin*, and are good meat.

The *Mackerel*, of which there is choicfull plenty all summer long, in the spring they are ordinarily 18 inches long, afterwards there is none taken but what are smaller.

The *Liver-fish* like a *Whiting*.

The *Herrin* which are numerous, they take of them all summer long. In *Anno Dom.* 1670. they were driven into *Black-point* Harbour by other great fish that prey upon them so near the shore, that they threw themselves (it being high water) upon dry land in such infinite numbers that we might have gone up half way the leg amongst them for near a quarter of a mile. We used to qualifie a pickled *Herrin* by boiling of him in milk.

The *Alewife* is like a *Herrin*, but has a bigger bellie therefore called an *Alewife*, they come in the end of *April* into fresh [p. 108.] Rivers and Ponds; there hath been taken in two hours time by two men without any Weyre at all, saving a few stones to stop the passage of the River, above ten thousand. The *Italian* hath a proverb, that he that hath seen one miracle will easily believe another; but this relation far from a miracle will peranter meet, instead of a belief with an Adulterate construction from those that are somewhat akin to *St. Peters* mockers, such as deny the last judgment. I have known in *England* 9 score and 16 *Pikes* and *Pickerel* taken with three Angles between the hours of three and ten in the morning, in the River *Ouse* in the Isle of *Ely*, three quarters of a yard long above half of them; they make red *Alewives* after the same manner as they do *herrins* and are as good.

The *Basse* is a salt water fish too, but most an

end taken in Rivers where they spawn, there hath been 3000 *Basse* taken at a set, one writes that the fat in the bone of a *Basses* head is his braines which is a lye.

The *Salmon* likewise is a Sea-fish, but as the *Basse* comes into Rivers to spawn, a *Salmon* the first year is a *Salmon-smelt*; The second a *Mort*; The third a *Spraid*; The fourth a *Soar*; The fifth a *Sorrel*; The sixth [p. 109.] a *forket-tail*; and the seventh year a *Salmon*. There are another sort of *Salmon* frequent in those parts called white *Salmons*.

*Capeling* is a small fish like a smelt.

The *Turtle* or *Tortoise* is of two sorts *Sea-Turtles* and land-*Turtles*: of *Sea-Turtles* there are five sorts, of land *Turtles* three sorts, one of which is a right land-*turtle* that seldom or never goes into the water, the other two being the *River-Turtle*, and the *pond-Turtle*: there are many of these in the brooke *Chyson* in the *Holy Land*. The ashes of a *Sea-Turtle* mixt with oyl or *Bears-grease* causeth hair to grow: the shell of a land-*Turtle* burnt and the ashes dissolved in wine and oyl to an unguent healeth chaps and sores of the feet: the flesh burnt and the ashes mixt with wine and oyl healeth sore legs: the ashes of the burnt shell and the whites of eggs compounded together healeth chaps in womens nipples; and the head pulverized with it prevents the falling of the hair, and will heal the Hemorrhoids, first washing of them with white-wine, and then strewing on the powder.

*Lobster*, which some say is at first a *whelk*, I have seen a *Lobster* that weighed twenty pound, they cast their shell-coats in the spring, and so do *Crabs*; having underneath a thin red skin which growes thicker and [p. 110.] hard in short time. The *Indians* feed much upon this fish, some they rost, and some they dry as they do *Lampres* and *Oysters* which are delicate breakfast meat so ordered, the *Oysters* are long shell'd, I have had of them nine inches long

from the joynt to the toe, containing an *Oyster* like those the Latines called *Tridacuan* that were to be cut into three pieces before they could get them into their mouths, very fat and sweet.

The *Muscle* is of two sorts, *Sea-muscles* in which they find Pearl and river-*muscles*. *Sea-muscles* dryed and pulverized and laid upon the sores of the *Piles* and *hemorrhoids* with oyl will perfectly cure them.

The *Whore* is a shell-fish, the shells are called whores-eggs, being fine round white shells, in shape like a *Mexico* pompion, but no bigger than a good large Hens-egg; they are wrought down the sides with little knobs and holes very prettily, but are but thin and brittle.

The *Perrwig* is a shell-fish that lyeth in the Sands flat and round as a shovel-board piece and very little thicker; these at a little hole in the middle of the shell thrust out a cap of hair, but upon the least motion of any danger it drawes it in again.

*Trouts* there be good store in every brook, ordinarily two and twenty inches [p. 111.] long, their grease is good for the *Piles* and *clifts*.

The *Eal* is of two sorts, salt-water *Eals* and fresh-water *Eals*, these again are distinguished into yellow bellied *Eals* and silver bellied *Eals*; I never eat better *Eals* in no part of the world that I have been in, than are here. They that have no mind or leasure to take them, may buy of an *Indian* half a dozen silver bellied *Eals* as big as those we usually give 8 pence or 12 pence a piece for at *London*, for three pence or a groat. There is several wayes of cooking them, some love them roasted, others baked, and many will have them fryed; but they please my palate best when they are boiled, a common way it is to boil them in half water, half wine with the bottom of a manchet, a fagot of Parsley, and a little winter savory, when they are boiled they take them

out and break the bread in the broth, and put to it three or four spoonfuls of yest, and a piece of sweet butter, this they pour to their *Eals* laid upon sippets and so serve it up. I fancie my way better which is this, after the *Eals* are fley'd and washt I fill their bellies with Nutmeg grated and Cloves a little bruised, and sow them up with a needle and thred, then I stick a Clove here and there in their sides about an inch asunder, [p. 112.] making holes for them with a bodkin, this done I wind them up in a wreath and put them into a kettle with half water and half white wine vinegar, so much as will rise four fingers above the *Eals*, in midst of the *Eals* I put the bottom of a penny white loaf, and a fagot of these herbs following, Parsley one handful, a little sweet Marjoram, Peniroyal and Savory, a branch of Rosemary, bind them up with a thred, and when they are boiled enough take out the *Eals* and pull out the threds that their bellies were sowed up with, turn out the Nutmeg and Cloves, put the *Eals* in a dish with butter and vinegar upon a chafing-dish with coals to keep warm, then put into the broth three or four spoonfuls of good Ale-yeast with the juice of half a Lemmon; but before you put in your yeast beat it in a porringer with some of the broth, then break the crust of bread very small and mingle it well together with the broth, pour it into a deep dish and garnish it with the other half of the Lemmon, and so serve them up to the Table in two dishes.

The *Frost fish* is little bigger than a *Gudgeon* and are taken in fresh brooks; when the waters are frozen they make a hole in the Ice about half a yard or yard wide, to which the fish repair in great numbers, where with [p. 113.] small nets bound to a hoop about the bigness of a firkin-hoop with a staff fastned to it they lade them out of the hole. I have not done with the fish yet, being willing to let you know all of them that are to be seen and catch'd

in the Sea and fresh waters in *New-England*, and because I will not tire your patience overmuch, having no occasion to enlarge my discourse, I shall only name them and so conclude.

<i>Aleport</i>	<i>Flying-fish</i>	<i>Purple-fish</i>
<i>Albicore</i>	<i>several kinds</i>	<i>Porgee</i>
<i>Barracha</i>	<i>Sea-Flea</i>	<i>Remora</i>
<i>Barracountha</i>	<i>Grandpisse</i>	<i>Sea-Rovens</i>
<i>Blew-fish</i>	<i>Hake</i>	<i>Sail-fish</i>
<i>Bull-head</i>	<i>Haddock</i>	<i>Scallop</i>
<i>Bur-fish</i>	<i>Horse-foot</i>	[p. 114.] <i>Scate</i>
<i>Cat-fish</i>	<i>Hallibut</i>	<i>Stingray</i>
<i>Cony-fish</i>	<i>Hen-fish</i>	<i>Sculpin</i>
<i>Cusk</i>	<i>Lampre</i>	<i>Shadd</i>
<i>Clam</i>	<i>Limpin</i>	<i>Spurlin</i>
<i>Rock-Cod</i>	<i>Lumpe</i>	<i>Sheath-fish</i>
<i>Sea-Cod</i>	<i>Maid</i>	<i>Smelt</i>
<i>divers</i>	<i>Monk-fish</i>	<i>Shrimps</i>
<i>kinds of</i>	<i>Sea-mullet</i>	<i>Sprates</i>
<i>Crabs</i>	<i>Nun-fish</i>	<i>Star-fish</i>
<i>Sea-Cucum-</i>	<i>Perch</i>	<i>Sword-fish</i>
<i>ber</i>	<i>Polluck</i>	<i>Thornback</i>
<i>Cunner</i>	<i>Periwinkle</i>	<i>Turbet</i>
<i>Sea-Darts or</i>	<i>Pike</i>	<i>The Vlatife</i>
<i>Javelins</i>	<i>Pilat-fish</i>	<i>or saw-fish</i>
<i>Flail-fish</i>	<i>Plaice</i>	<i>Sea-Vrchin</i>
<i>Flounder</i>	<i>Porpisse</i>	<i>Sea-Vnichorn</i>
<i>or Flowke</i>	<i>Prawne</i>	

The fish are swum by, and the Serpents are creeping on, terrible creatures, carrying stings in their tails. That will smart worse than a *Satyrs* whip, though it were as big as Mr. *Shepperds* the mad Gentleman at *Milton-Mowbrayes* *Constantinus Lasculus*.

The chief or Captain of these is the Rattle-snake described already in my *Journal*, in some places of

the Countrey there are none as at *Plimouth Newtown, Nahant* and some other places, they will live on one side of the River, and but swimming over and coming into the woods dye immediately.

The fat of a Rattle-snake is very Sovereign for frozen limbs, bruises, lameness by falls, Aches, Sprains. The heart of a Rattle-snake dried and pulverized and drunk with wine or beer is an approved remedy against the biting and venome of a Rattle-snake. Some body will give me thanks for [p. 115.] discovering these secrets and the rest; *Non omnibus omnia convenient.*

The *Snake* of which there are infinite numbers of various colours, some black, others painted with red, yellow and white, some again of a grass-green colour powdered all over as it were with silver dust or *Muscovie-glass*. But there is one sort that exceeds all the rest, and that is the Checkquered snake, having as many colours within the checkquers shadowing one another, as there are in a Rainbow. There are two sorts of snakes, the land-snake and the water-snake; the water-snake will be as big about the belly as the Calf of a mans leg; I never heard of any mischief that snakes did, they kill them sometimes for their skins and bones to make hat-bands off, their skins likewise worn as a Garter is an excellent remedie against the cramp. I have found of the skins that they cast in woods in some quantity, they cast not their very skins, but only the superfluous thin skin that is upon the very skin, for the very skin is basted to the flesh, so Lobsters and Crabs.

The Earth-worm, these are very rare and as small as a horse hair, but there is a Bug that lyes in the earth and eateth the seed, that is somewhat like a Maggot of a white colour with a red head, and is about [p. 116.] the bignes of ones finger and an inch or an inch and half long. There is also a dark

dunnish Worm or Bug of the bigness of an Oaten-straw, and an inch long, that in the spring lye at the Root of Corn and Garden plants all day, and in the night creep out and devour them; these in some years destroy abundance of *Indian* Corn and Garden plants, and they have but one way to be rid of them which the *English* have learnt of the *Indians*; And because it is somewhat strange, I shall tell you how it is, they go out into a field or garden with a Birchen-dish, and spudding the earth about the roots, for they lye not deep, they gather their dish full which may contain about a quart or three pints, then they carrie the dish to the Sea-side when it is ebbing-water and set it a swimming, the water carrieth the dish into the Sea and within a day or two if you go into your field you may look your eyes out sooner than find any of them.

*Sow-bugs* or *Millipedes* there be good store, but none of that sort that are blew and turn round as a pea when they are touched; neither are there any *Beetles* nor *Maple-Bugs*, but a stinking black and red *Bug* called a *Cacarooch* or *Cockroach*, and a little black *Bug* like a *Lady-cow* that breeds in skins and furs and will eat them to their [p. 117.] utter spoil. Likewise there be infinite numbers of *Tikes* hanging upon the bushes in summer time that will cleave to a mans garments and creep into his Breeches eating themselves in a short time into the very flesh of a man. I have seen the stockings of those that have gone through the woods covered with them. Besides these there is a *Bug*, but whether it be a Native to the Countrie or a stranger I cannot say: Some are of opinion that they are brought in by the Merchant with Spanish goods, they infest our beds most, all day they hide themselves, but when night comes they will creep to the sleeping wretch and bite him worse than a flea, which raiseth a swelling knob that will itch intolerably, if you

scratch it waxeth bigger and growes to a scab; and if you chance to break one of the *Bugs* it will stink odiously: they call them *Chinches* or *Wood-lice*, they are fat, red and in shape like a *Tike* and no bigger. There are also *Palmer-worms* which is a kind of *Catterpillar*, these some years will devour the leaves of *Trees* leaving them as naked almost as in winter, they do much harm in the *English Orchards*. Of *Snails* there are but few, and those but very little ones, they lye at the *Roots* of long grass in moist places, and are no where else to be found. [p. 118.] *Spiders* and *Spinners* there be many, the last very big and of several colours.

The *Pismire* or *Ant* must not be forgotten, accounted the least Creature, and by *Salomon* commended for its wisdom, *Prov. 30. 24, 25. Quatuor ista parva sunt humilia, tamen sunt sapientia, apprime sapientia: formicæ populus infirmus, quæ comparant æstate cibum suum, &c.* There are two sorts, red *Ants* and black *Ants*, both of them are many times found winged; not long since they were poured upon the *Sands* out of the clouds in a storm betwixt *Black point* and *Suco*, where the passenger might have walkt up to the *Ankles* in them.

The *Grashopper* is innumerable and bigger by much than ours in *England*, having *Tinsel-wings*, with help whereof they will flye and skip a great way. Next to these in number are your *Crickets*, a man can walk no where in the summer but he shall tread upon them; The *Italian* who hath them cryed up and down the streets (*Grille che cantelo*) and buyeth them to put into his *Gardens*, if he were in *New-England* would gladly be rid of them, they make such a dinn in an *Evening*. I could never discover the *Organ* of their voice, they have a little clift in their *Crown* which opens, and at the same instant they shake their wings.

[p. 119.] The *Eft* or *Swift* in *New-England* is a



most beautiful Creature to look upon, being larger than ours, and painted with glorious colours; but I lik'd him never the better for it.

Frogs too there are in ponds and upon dry land, they chirp like Birds in the spring, and latter end of summer croak like Toads. It is admirable to consider the generating of these Creatures, first they lay their gelly on the water in ponds and still waters, which comes in time to be full of black spots as broad as the head of a Ten-penny nail, and round, these separate themselves from the gleir, and after a while thrust out a tail, then their head comes forth, after their head springs out their fore-legs, and then their hinder-legs, then their tail drops off, and growes to have a head and four legs too, the first proves a frog, the latter a water nuet. The Herbalist useth to say by way of admiration, *qualibet herba deum &c.* So God is seen in the production of these small Creatures which are a part of the Creation; *Laudate Jehovam cælites, laudate eum in excelsis, &c. Laudent nomen Jehovæ quæ ipso præcipiente illico creata sunt &c. ipsæ bestię & omnes jumenta, reptilia & aves alatae, Psal. 148.*

The Toad is of two sorts, one that is [p. 120.] speckled with white, and another of a dark earthy colour; there is of them that will climb up into Trees and sit croaking there; but whether it be of a third sort, or one of the other, or both, I am not able to affirm; but this I can testifie that there be Toads of the dark coloured kind that are as big as a goat loaf. Which report will not swell into the belief of my sceptique Sirs; nor that there is a Hell, being like *Salomon's fool, Prov. 26. 22. Sed si contunderes stultum in mortario cum mola pistillo, non recederet ab eo stultitia ejus.*

Now before I proceed any further, I must (to prevent misconstructions) tell you that these following Creatures, though they be not properly accoun-

ted Serpents, yet they are venomous and pestilent Creatures. As, first the Rat, but he hath been brought in since the *English* came thither, but the Mouse is a Native, of which there are several kinds not material to be described ; the Bat or flitter mouse is bigger abundance than any in *England* and swarm, which brings me to the insects or cut-wasted Creatures again, as first the honey-Bee, which are carried over by the *English* and thrive there exceedingly, in time they may be produced from Bullocks when the wild Beasts are destroyed. But the wasp is [p. 121.] common, and they have a sort of wild humble-Bee that breed in little holes in the earth. Near upon twenty years since there lived an old planter at *Black-point*, who on a Sunshine day about one of the clock lying upon a green bank not far from his house, charged his Son, a lad of 12 years of age to awaken him when he had slept two hours, the old man falls asleep and lying upon his back gaped with his mouth wide enough for a Hawke to shit into it ; after a little while the lad sitting by spied a humble-Bee creeping out of his Fathers mouth, which taking wing flew quite out of sight, the hour as the lad ghest being come to awaken his Father he jogg'd him and called aloud Father, Father, it is two a clock, but all would not rouse him, at last he sees the humble-Bee returning, who lighted upon the sleepers lip and walked down as the lad conceived into his belly, and presently he awaked.

The Countrey is strangely incommodated with flyes, which the *English* call Musketaes, they are like our gnats, they will sting so fiercely in summer as to make the faces of the *English* swell'd and scabby, as if the small pox for the first year. Likewise there is a small black fly no bigger than a flea, so numerous up in the Countrey, [p. 122.] that a man cannot draw his breath, but he will suck of

them in: they continue about Thirty dayes say some but I say three moneths, and are not only a pesterment but a plague to the Country. There is another sort of fly called a Gurnipper that are like our horse-flyes, and will bite desperately, making the bloud to spurt out in great quantity; these trouble our *English* Cattle very much, raising swellings as big as an egg in their hides. The Butterfly is of several sorts and larger than ours; So are their Dragon-flyes. Glow-worms have here wings, there are multitudes of them insomuch that in the dark evening when I first went into the Countrey I thought the whole Heavens had been on fire, seeing so many sparkles flying in the air: about *Mount-Carmel*, and the valley of *Acree* in the *Holy-Land* there be abundance of them.

These are taken for *Cantharides*. *Cantharides* are green flyes by day, in the night they pass about like a flying Glow-worm with fire in their tails.

I have finished now my relation of plants, &c. I have taken some pains in recollecting of them to memory, and setting of them down for their benefit from whom I may expect thanks; but I believe my [p. 123.] reward will be according to *Ben Johnsons* proverbs, Whistle to a Jade and he will pay you with a fart, Claw a churl by the britch and he will shit in your fist.

The people that inhabited this Countrey are judged to be of the *Tartars* called *Samonids* that border upon *Moscovia*, and are divided into Tribes; those to the East and North-east are called *Churchers* and *Turentines*, and *Monhegans*. To the South are the *Pequets* and *Narragansets*. Westward *Connecticuts* and *Mowhacks*. To the Northward *Aberginians* which consist of *Mattachusets*, *Wippanaps* and *Tarrentines*. The *Pocanakets* live to the Westward of *Plimouth*. Not long before the *English*

came into the Countrey, happened a great mortality amongst them, especially where the *English* afterwards planted, the East and Northern parts were sore smitten with the Contagion; first by the plague, afterwards when the *English* came by the small pox, the three Kingdoms or *Sugamorships* of the *Mattachusetts* were very populous, having under them seven Dukedoms or petti-*Sugamorships*, but by the plague were brought from 30000 to 300. There are not many now to the Eastward, the *Pequots* were destroyed by the *English*: The *Mohacks* are about five hundred: Their speech a dialect of the *Tartars*, [p. 124.] (as also is the *Turkish* tongue). There is difference between Tongues and Languages, the division of speech at *Babel* is most properly called Languages, the rest Tongues.

As for their persons they are tall and handsome timber'd people, out-wristed, pale and lean *Tartarian* visag'd, black eyed which is accounted the strongest for sight, and generally black hair'd, both smooth and curl'd wearing of it long. No beards, or very rarely, their Teeth are very white, short and even, they account them the most necessary and best parts of man; And as the *Austreans* are known by their great lips, the *Bavarians* by their pokes under their chins, the *Jews* by their goggle eyes, so the *Indians* by their flat noses, yet are they not so much deprest as they are to the Southward.

The *Indesses* that are young, are some of them very comely, having good features, their faces plump and round, and generally plump of their Bodies, as are the men likewise, and as soft and smooth as a mole-skin, of reasonable good complexions, but that they dye themselves tawnie, many prettie *Brownetto's* and spider finger'd *Lasses* may be seen amongst them. The *Vetula's* or old women are lean and ugly, all of them are of a modest demeanor, considering their [p. 125.] *Savage* breed-

ing; and indeed do shame our *English* rusticks whose rudeness in many things exceedeth theirs.

Of disposition very inconstant, crafty, timorous, quick of apprehension, and very ingenious, soon angry, and so malicious that they seldom forget an injury, and barbarously cruel, witness their direful revenges upon one another. Prone to injurious violence and slaughter, by reason of their bloud dried up with overmuch fire, very lecherous proceeding from choller adust and melancholy, a salt and sharp humour; very figurative or theevish, and bold importunate beggars, both Men and Women guilty of Misoxenie or hatred to strangers, a quality appropriated to the old Brittaines, all of them Cannibals, eaters of humane flesh. And so were formerly the Heathen-*Irish*, who used to feed upon the Buttocks of Boyes and Womens Paps; it seems it is natural to Savage people so to do. I have read in Relations of the *Indians* amongst the *Spaniards* that they would not eat a *Spaniard* till they had kept him two or three dayes to wax tender, because their flesh was hard. At *Martins* vinyard, an Island that lyes South to *Plimouth* in the way to *Virginia*, certain *Indians* (whilst I was in the Countrey) seised upon a Boat that put into [p. 126.] a *By-Cove*, kill'd the men and eat them up in a short time before they were discovered.

Their houses which they call *Wigwams*, are built with Poles pitcht into the ground of a round form for most part, sometimes square, they bind down the tops of their poles, leaving a hole for smoak to go out at, the rest they cover with the bark of Trees, and line the inside of their *Wigwams* with mats made of Rushes painted with several colours, one good post they set up in the middle that reaches to the hole in the top, with a staff across before it at a convenient height, they knock in a pin on which they hang their Kettle, beneath that they set up a

broad stone for a back which keepeth the post from burning; round by the walls they spread their mats and skins where the men sleep whilst their women dress their victuals, they have commonly two doors, one opening to the South, the other to the North, and according as the wind sits, they close up one door with bark and hang a *Deers* skin or the like before the other. Towns they have none, being alwayes removing from one place to another for conveniency of food, sometimes to those places where one sort of fish is most plentiful, other whiles where others are. I have seen half [p. 127.] a hundred of their *Wigwams* together in a piece of ground and they shew prettily, within a day or two, or a week they have been all dispersed. They live for the most part by the Sea-side, especially in the spring and summer quarters, in winter they are gone up into the Countrie to hunt *Deer* and *Beaver*, the younger webbs going with them. Tame Cattle they have none, excepting Lice, and Doggs of a wild breed that they bring up to hunt with.

Wives they have two or three, according to the ability of their bodies and strength of their concupiscence, who have the easiest labours of any women in the world; they will go out when their time is come alone, carrying a board with them two foot long, and a foot and half broad, bor'd full of holes on each side, having a foot beneath like a Jack that we pull Boots off with, on the top of the board a broap strap of leather which they put over their forehead, the board hanging at their back; when they are come to a Bush or a Tree that they fancy they lay them down and are delivered in a trice, not so much as groaning for it, they wrap the child up in a young *Beaver*-skin with his heels close to his britch, leaving a little hole if it be a Boy for his Cock to peep out at; and lace him down to the [p. 128.] board upon his back, his knees resting upon the foot

they trudge; What other ceremonies they use more than dying of them with a liquor of boiled *Hemlock-Bark*, and their throwing of them into the water if they suspect the Child to be gotten by any other Nation, to see if he will swim, if he swim they acknowledge him for their own, their names they give them when they are men grown, and covet much to be called after our *English* manner, *Robin, Harry, Phillip* and the like, very indulgent they are to their Children, and their children sometimes to their Parents, but if they live so long that they become a burden to them, they will either starve them or bury them alive, as it was supposed an *Indian* did his Mother at *Casco* in 1669.

Their Apparel before the *English* came amongst them, was the skins of wild Beasts with the hair on, Buskins of *Deers-skin* or *Moose* drest and drawn with lines into several works, the lines being coloured with yellow, blew or red, Pumps too they have, made of tough skins without soles. In the winter when the snow will bear them, they fasten to their feet their snow shooes which are made like a large Racket we play at [p. 129.] *Tennis* with, lacing them with *Deers-guts* and the like, under their belly they wear a square piece of leather and the like upon their posteriors, both fastened to a string tyed about them to hide their secrets; on their heads they ware nothing: But since they have had to do with the English they purchase of them a sort of Cloth called trading cloth of which they make Mantles, Coats with short sleeves, and caps for their heads which the women use, but the men continue their old fashion going bare headed, excepting some old men amongst them. They are very proud as appeareth by their setting themselves out with white and blew Beads of their own making, and painting of their faces with the above mentioned colours, they

weave sometimes curious Coats with *Turkie* feathers for their Children.

Their Diet is Fish and Fowl, Bear, Wild-cat, Rattoon and Deer; dry'd Oysters, *Lobsters* roasted or dried in the smoak, *Lampres* and dry'd *Moose-tongues*, which they esteem a dish for a *Sagamor*; hard eggs boiled and made small and dried to thicken their broth with, salt they have not the use of, nor bread, their *Indian* Corn and Kidney beans they boil, and sometimes eat their Corn parcht or roasted in the ear against the fire; they feed likewise upon earth-nuts, [p. 130.] or ground-nuts, roots of water-Lillies; Ches-nuts, and divers sorts of Berries. They beat their Corn to powder and put it up into bags, which they make use of when stormie weather or the like will not suffer them to look out for their food. *Pompions* and water-Mellons too they have good store; they have prodigious stomachs, devouring a cruel deal, meer *voragoes*, never giving over eating as long as they have it, between meals spending their time in sleep till the next kettlefull is boiled, when all is gone they satisfie themselves with a small quantity of the meal, making it serve as the frugal bit amongst the old *Britains*, which taken to the mounenance of a Bean would satisfie both thirst and hunger. If they have none of this, as sometimes it falleth out (being a very careless people not providing against the storms of want and tempest of necessity) they make use of Sir *Francis Drake's* remedy for hunger, go to sleep.

They live long, even to an hundred years of age, if they be not cut off by their Children, war, and the plague, which together with the small pox hath taken away abundance of them. *Pliny* reckons up but 300 Diseases in and about man, latter writers Six thousand, 236 belonging to the eyes. There are not so many Diseases raining [p. 131.] amongst them as our *Europeans*. The great pox is proper



to them, by reason (as some do deem) that they are *Man-eaters*, which disease was brought amongst our *Europeans* first by the *Spaniards* that went with *Christopher Columbus* who brought it to *Naples* with their *Indian-women*, with whom the *Italians* and *French* conversed *Anno Dom. 1493*. *Paracelsus* saith it happened in the year 1478 and 1480. But all agree that it was not known in *Europe* before *Columbus* his voyage to *America*. It hath continued amongst us above two hundred and three score years. There are Diseases that are proper to certain climates, as the Leprosie to *Ægypt*, and swelling of the Throat or *Mentegra* to *Asia*, the sweating sickness to the Inhabitants of the North; to the *Portugals* the Phthisick, to *Savoy* the mumps; So to the *West-Indies* the Pox, but this doth not exclude other Diseases. In *New-England* the *Indians* are afflicted with pestilent Feavers, Plague, Black-pox, Consumption of the Lungs, Falling-sickness, Kings-evil, and a Disease called by the *Spaniard* the Plague in the back, with us *Empyema*, their Physicians are the *Powaws* or *Indian Priests* who cure sometimes by charms and medicine, but in a general infection they seldom come amongst them, [p. 132.] therefore they use their own remedies, which is sweating, &c. Their manner is when they have plague or small pox amongst them to cover their *Wigwams* with Bark so close that no Air can enter in, lining them (as I said before) within, and making a great fire they remain there in a stewing heat till they are in a top sweat, and then run out into the Sea or River, and presently after they come into their Hutts again they either recover or give up the Ghost; they dye patiently both men and women, not knowing of a Hell to scare them, nor a Conscience to terrifie them. In times of general Mortality they omit the Ceremonies of burying, exposing their dead Carcasses to the Beasts of prey. But at other times they

dig a Pit and set the diseased therein upon his breech upright, and throwing in the earth, cover it with the sods and bind them down with sticks, driving in two stakes at each end; their mournings are somewhat like the howlings of the *Irish*, seldom at the grave but in the *Wigwam* where the party dyed, blaming the Devil for his hard heartedness, and concluding with rude prayers to him to afflict them no further.

They acknowledge a God who they call *Squantam* but worship him they do not, [p. 133.] because (they say) he will do them no harm. But *Abbamocho* or *Cheepie* many times smites them with incurable Diseases, scares them with his Apparitions and panick Terrours, by reason whereof they live in a wretched consternation worshipping the Devil for fear. One black *Robin* an *Indian* sitting down in the Corn field belonging to the house where I resided, ran out of his *Wigwam* frighted with the apparition of two infernal spirits in the shape of *Mohawkes*. Another time two *Indians* and an *Indess*, came running into our house crying out they should all dye, *Cheepie* was gone over the field gliding in the Air with a long rope hanging from one of his legs: we askt them what he was like, they said all wone *Englishman*, clothed with hat and coat, shooes and stockings, &c. They have a remarkable observation of a flame that appears before the death of an *Indian* or *English* upon their *Wigwams* in the dead of the night: The first time that I did see it, I was call'd out by some of them about twelve of the clock, it being a very dark night, I perceived it plainly mounting into the Air over our Church, which was built upon a plain little more than half a quarter of a mile from our dwelling house, on the Northside of the Church: look on [p. 134.] what side of a house it appears, from that Coast respectively you shall hear of a Coarse within two or three days.

They worship the Devil (as I said) their Priests are called *Powaws* and are little better than Witches, for they have familiar conference with him, who makes them invulnerable, that is shot-free and stick-free. Craftie Rogues, abusing the rest at their pleasure, having power over them by reason of their Diabolical Art in curing of Diseases, which is performed with rude Ceremonies; they place the sick upon the ground sitting, and dance in an Antick manner round about him, beating their naked breasts with a strong hand, and making hideous faces, sometimes calling upon the Devil for his help, mingling their prayers with horrid and barbarous charms; if the sick recover, they send rich gifts, their Bowes and Arrows, *Wompompers*, *Mohacks*, *Beaver-skins* or other rich Furs to the Eastward, where there is a vast Rock not far from the shore, having a hole in it of an unsearchable profundity, into which they throw them.

Their Theologie is not much, but questionless they acknowledge a God and a devil, and some small light they have of the Souls immortality; for ask them [p. 135.] whither they go when they dye, they will tell you pointing with their finger to Heaven beyond the white mountains, and do hint at *Noah's* Floud, as may be conceived by a story they have received from Father to Son, time out of mind, that a great while ago their Countrey was drowned, and all the People and other Creatures in it, only one *Powaw* and his *Webb* foreseeing the Floud fled to the white mountains carrying a hare along with them and so escaped; after a while the *Powaw* sent the *Hare* away, who not returning emboldned thereby they descended, and lived many years after, and had many Children, from whom the Countrey was filled again with *Indians*. Some of them tell another story of the *Beaver*, saying that he was their Father.

Their learning is very little or none, Poets they are as may be gessed by their formal speeches, sometimes an hour long, the last word of a line riming with the last word of the following line, and the whole doth *Constare ex pedibus*. Musical too they be, having many pretty odd barbarous tunes which they make use of vocally at marriages and feastings; but Instruments they had none before the *English* came amongst them, since they have imitated them and will make out Kitts and string them as neatly, [p. 136.] and as Artificially as the best Fiddle-maker amongst us; and will play our plain lessons very exactly: the only Fiddler that was in the Province of *Meyn*, when I was there was an *Indian* called *Scozway*, whom the Fishermen and planters when they had a mind to be merry made use of.

Arithmetick they skill not, reckoning to ten upon their fingers, and if more doubling of it by holding their fingers up, their age they reckon by Moons, and their actions by sleeps, as, if they go a journie, or are to do any other business they will say, three sleeps me walk, or two or three sleeps me do such a thing, that is in two or three days. Astronomie too they have no knowledge of, seldom or never taking observation of the Stars, Eclipses, or Comets that I could perceive; but they will Prognosticate shrewdly what weather will fall out. They are generally excellent *Zenagogues* or guides through their Countrey.

Their exercises are hunting and fishing, in both they will take abundance of pains. When the snow will bear them, the young and lustie *Indians*, (leaving their papouses and old people at home) go forth to hunt *Moose*, *Deer*, *Bear*, and *Beaver*, Thirty or forty miles up into the Countrey; when they light upon a *Moose* they run him down, [p. 137.] which is sometimes in half a day, sometimes a whole day,

but never give him over till they have tyred him, the snow being usually four foot deep, and the Beast very heavie he sinks every step, and as he runs sometimes bears down Arms of Trees that hang in his way, with his horns, as big as a mans thigh; other whiles, if any of their dogs (which are but small) come near, yerking out his heels (for he strikes like a horse) if a small Tree be in the way he breaks it quite asunder with one stroak, at last they get up to him on each side and transpierce him with their Lances, which formerly were no other but a staff of a yard and half pointed with a Fishes bone made sharp at the end, but since they put on pieces of sword-blades which they purchase of the *French*, and having a strap of leather fastened to the but end of the staff which they bring down to the midst of it, they dart it into his sides, *hæret latere lethalis arundo*, the poor Creature groans, and walks on heavily, for a space, then sinks and falls down like a ruined building, making the Earth to quake; then presently in come the Victors, who having cut the throat of the slain take off his skin, their young webbs by this time are walking towards them with heavie bags and kettles at their [p. 138.] backs, who laying down their burdens fall to work upon the Carkass, take out the heart and from that the bone, cut off the left foot behind, draw out the sinews, and cut out his tongue &c. and as much of the Venison as will serve to satiate the hungry mawes of the Company: mean while the men pitch upon a place near some spring, and with their snow shoos shovel the snow away to the bare Earth in a circle, making round about a wall of snow; in the midst they make their *Vulcan* or fire near to a great Tree, upon the snags whereof they hang their kettles fil'd with the Venison; whilst that boils, the men after they have refresht themselves with a pipe of Tobacco dispose themselves to sleep. The women

tend the Cookerie, some of them scrape the slime and fat from the skin, cleanse the sinews, and stretch them and the like, when the venison is boiled the men awake, and opening of their bags take out as much *Indian* meal as will serve their turns for the present; they eat their broth with spoons, and their flesh they divide into gobbets, eating now and then with it as much meal as they can hold betwixt three fingers; their drink they fetch from the spring, and were not acquainted with other, untill the *French* and *English* traded with that cursed liquor [p. 139.] called *Rum*, *Rum-bullion*, or kill-Devil, which is stronger than spirit of Wine, and is drawn from the dross of Sugar and Sugar Canes, this they love dearly, and will part with all they have to their bare skins for it, being perpetually drunk with it, as long as it is to be had, it hath killed many of them, especially old women who have dyed when dead drunk. Thus instead of bringing of them to the knowledge of Christianitie, we have taught them to commit the beastly and crying sins of our Nation, for a little profit. When the *Indians* have stufed their paunches, if it be fair weather and about midday they venture forth again, but if it be foul and far spent, they betake themselves to their field-bed at the sign of the Star, expecting the opening of the Eastern window, which if it promise serenity, they truss up their fardles, and away for another *Moose*, this course they continue for six weeks or two moneths, making their *Webbs* their *Mules* to carry their luggage, they do not trouble themselves with the horns of *Moose* or other *Deer*, unless it be near an *English* plantation; because they are weighty and cumbersome. If the *English* could procure them to bring them in, they would be worth the pains and charge, being sold in *England* after the rate of forty or fifty [p. 140.] pounds a Tun; the red heads of *Deer* are the fairest and fullest of marrow, and lightest; the black heads

are heavie and have less marrow; the white are the worst, and the worst nourished. When the *Indians* are gone, there gathers to the Carkass of the *Moose* thousands of *Mattrises*, of which there are but few or none near the Sea-coasts to be seen, these devour the remainder in a quarter of the time that they were hunting of it.

Their fishing followes in the spring, summer and fall of the leaf. First for *Lobsters*, *Clams*, *Flouke*, *Lumps* or *Podles*, and *Alewives*, afterwards for *Bass*, *Cod*, *Rock*, *Blew-fish*, *Sulmon*, and *Lampres*, &c.

The *Lobsters* they take in large Bayes when it is low water, the wind still, going out in their *Birchen-Canows* with a staff two or three yards long, made small and sharpen'd at one end, and nick'd with deep nicks to take hold. When they spye the *Lobster* crawling upon the Sand in two fathom water, more or less, they stick him towards the head and bring him up. I have known thirty *Lobsters* taken by an *Indian* lad in an hour and a half, thus they take *Flouke* and *Lumps*; *Clams* they dig out of the *Clam-banks* upon the flats and in creeks when it is low water, where they are bedded [p. 141.] sometimes a yard deep one upon another, the beds a quarter of a mile in length, and less, the *Alewives* they take with Nets like a pursenet put upon a round hoop'd stick with a handle in fresh ponds where they come to spawn. The *Bass* and *Blew-fish* they take in harbours, and at the mouth of barr'd Rivers being in their *Canows*, striking them with a fisgig, a kind of dart or staff, to the lower end whereof they fasten a sharp jagged bone (since they make them of Iron) with a string fastened to it, as soon as the fish is struck they pull away the staff, leaving the bony head in the fishes body and fasten the other end of the string to the *Canow*: Thus they will hale after them to shore half a dozen or half a score great fishes: this way they take *Sturgeon*; and in dark evenings

when they are upon the fishing ground near a Bar of Sand (where the *Sturgeon* feeds upon small fishes (like *Eals*) that are called Lances sucking them out of the Sands where they lye hid, with their hollow Trunks, for other mouth they have none) the *Indian* lights a piece of dry *Birch-Bark* which breaks out into a flame & holds it over the side of his *Canow*, the *Sturgeon* seeing this glaring light mounts to the Surface of the water where he is slain and taken with a fisgig. *Salmons* and *Lampres* [p. 142.] are catch'd at the falls of Rivers. All the Rivers of note in the Countrey have two or three desperate falls distant one from another for some miles, for it being rising ground from the Sea and mountainous within land, the Rivers having their Originals from great lakes, and hastning to the Sea, in their passage meeting with Rocks that are not so easily worn away, as the loose earthie mould beneath the Rock, makes a fall of the water in some Rivers as high as a house: you would think it strange to see, yea admire if you saw the bold *Barbarians* in their light *Canows* rush down the swift and headlong stream with desperate speed, but with excellent dexterity, guiding his *Canow* that seldom or never it shoots under water or overturns, if it do they can swim naturally, striking their pawes under their throat like a dog, and not spreading their Arms as we do; they turn their *Canow* again and go into it in the water.

Their Merchandize are their beads, which are their money, of these there are two sorts, blew Beads and white Beads, the first is their Gold, the last their Silver, these they work out of certain shells so cunning that neither *Jew* nor *Devil* can counterfeit, they dril them and string them, and make many curious works with them to [p. 143.] adorn the persons of their *Sagamours* and principal men and young women, as Belts, Girdles, Tablets, Borders for their womens hair, Bracelets, Necklaces, and



links to hang in their ears. Prince *Phillip* a little before I came for *England*, coming to *Boston* had a coat on and Buskins set thick with these Beads in pleasant wild works and a broad Belt of the same, his Accoutrements were valued at Twenty pounds. The *English* Merchant giveth them ten shillings a fathom for their white, and as much more or near upon for their blew Beads. Delicâte sweet dishes too they make of *Birch-Bark* sowed with threads drawn from *Spruse* or white *Cedar-Roots*, and garnished on the out-side with flourisht works, and on the brims with glistering quills taken from the *Porcupine*, and dyed, some black, others red, the white are natural, these they make of all sizes from a dram cup to a dish containing a pottle, likewise Buckets to carry water or the like, large Boxes too of the same materials, dishes, spoons and trays wrought very smooth and neatly out of the knots of wood, baskets, bags, and matts woven with *Sparke*, bark of the *Line-Tree* and *Rushes* of several kinds, dyed as before, some black, blew, red, yellow, bags of *Porcupine* quills woven and dyed also ; Coats woven of [p. 144.] *Turkie*-feathers for their Children, Tobacco pipes of stone with their Imagerie upon them, Kettles of *Birchen-bark* which they used before they traded with the *French* for Copper Kettles, by all which you may apparently see that necessity was at first the mother of all inventions. The women are the workers of most of these, and are now, here and there one excellent needle woman, and will milk a Cow neatly, their richest trade are Furs of divers sorts, Black *Fox*, *Beaver*, *Otter*, *Bear*, *Sables*, *Matrices*, *Fox*, *Wild-Cat*, *Rattoons*, *Martins*, *Musquash*, *Moose-skins*.

Ships they have none, but do prettily imitate ours in their *Birchen-pinnaces*, their *Canows* are made of *Birch*, they shape them with flat Ribbs of white *Cedar*, and cover them with large sheets of *Birch-bark*,

sowing them through with strong threds of *Spruse-Roots* or white *Cedar*, and pitch them with a mixture of *Turpentine* and the hard rosen that is dryed with the Air on the outside of the Bark of *Firr-Trees*. These will carry half a dozen or three or four men and a considerable freight, in these they swim to Sea twenty, nay forty miles, keeping from the shore a league or two, sometimes to shorten their voyage when they are to double a Cape they will put to shore, and [p, 145.] two of them taking up the *Canow* carry it cross the Cape or neck of land to the other side, and to Sea again; they will indure an incredible great Sea, mounting upon the working billowes like a piece of Corke; but they require skilful hands to guide them in rough weather, none but the *Indians* scarce dare to undertake it, such like Vessels the Ancient *Brittains* used, as *Lucan* relates.

*Primum cana salix, madefacto vimine, parvam  
Texitur in puppim, caesoque induta juvenco,  
Vectoris patiens tumidum super emicat amnem.  
Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, fusoque Britanus  
Navigat oceano —*

*When Sicoris to his own banks restor'd  
Had left the field, of twigs, and willow boord  
They made small Boats, cover'd with Bullocks hide,  
In which they reacht the Rivers further side.  
So sail the Veneti if Padus flow,  
The Brittains sail on their calm ocean so :  
So the Ægyptians sail with woven Boats  
Of paper rushes in their Nilus Floats.*

[p. 146.] Their Government is monarchical, the Patruelius or they that descend from the eldest proceeding from his loyns, is the Roytelet of the Tribe, and if he have Daughters, his Son dying without a

Son, the Government descends to his Daughters Son : after the same manner, their lands descend. *Cheetadaback* was the chief *Sachem* or *Roytelet* of the *Massachusetts*, when the *English* first set down there. *Massasoit*, the great *Sachem* of the *Plimouth Indians*, his dwelling was at a place called *Sowans*, about four miles distant from *New-Plimonth*. *Sasasacus* was the chief *Sachem* of the *Pequots*, and *Mientoniack* of the *Narragansets*. The chief *Roytelet* amongst the *Mohawks* now living, is a *Dutchmans* Bastard, and the *Roytelet* now of the *Pocanakets*, that is the *Plimouth-Indians*, is Prince *Philip* alias *Metacon*, the Grandson of *Massasoit*. Amongst the Eastern *Indians*, *Summersant* formerly was a famous *Sachem*. The now living *Sachems* of note are *Sabaccaman*, *Terrumkin* and *Robinhood*.

Their Wars are with Neighbouring Tribes, but the *Mowhawks* are enemies to all the other *Indians*, their weapons of Defence and Offence are Bowes and Arrowes, of late he is a poor *Indian* that is not [p. 147.] master of two Guns, which they purchase of the *French*, and powder and shot, they are generally excellent marks men; their other weapons are *Tamahawks* which are staves two foot and a half long with a knob at the end as round as a bowl, and as big as that we call the Jack or Mistriss. Lances too they have made (as I have said before) with broken sword blades, likewise they have Hatchets and knives; but these are weapons of a latter date. They colour their faces red all over, supposing that it makes them the more terrible, they are lustie Soldiers to see to and very strong, meer *Hercules Rusticuses*, their fights are by Ambushments and Surprises, coming upon one another unawares. They will march a hundred miles through thick woods and swamps to the *Mowhawks* Countrey, and the *Mowhawks* into their Countrey, meeting sometimes in the woods, or when they come into an *Enemies* Countrey build a rude fort with *Pallizadoes*, having

loop-holes out of which they shoot their Arrowes and fire their Guns, pelting at one another a week or moneth together; If any of them step out of the Fort they are in danger to be taken prisoners by the one side or the other; that side that gets the victory excoriates the hair-scalp of the principal slain Enemies which [p. 148.] they bear away in Triumph, their prisoners they bring home, the old men and women they knock in the head, the young women they keep, and the men of war they torture to death as the Eastern *Indians* did two *Mowhawks* whilst I was there, they bind him to a Tree and make a great fire before him, then with sharp knives they cut off the first joynts of his fingers and toes, then clap upon them hot Embers to sear the vains; so they cut him a pieces joynt after joynt, still applying hot Embers to the place to stanch the blood, making the poor wretch to sing all the while: when Arms and Legs are gone, they flay off the skin of their Heads, and pesently put on a Cap of burning Embers, then they open his breast and take out his heart, which while it is yet living in a manner they give to their old Squaes, who are every one to have a bite at it. These Barbarous Customs were used amongst them more frequently before the *English* came; but since by the great mercy of the Almighty they are in a way to be Civilized and converted to Christianity; there being three Churches of *Indians* gathered together by the pains of Mr. *John Eliot* and his Son, who Preaches to them in their Native language, and hath rendered the Bible in that Language for the benefit of [p. 149.] the *Indians*. These go clothed like the *English*, live in framed houses, have flocks of Corn and Cattle about them, which when they are fat they bring to the *English* Markets, the Hogs that they rear are counted the best in *New-England*. Some of their Sons have been brought up Scholars in *Harvard* Colledge, and I was told that there was

but two Fellowes in that Colledge, and one of them was an *Indian*; some few of these Christian *Indians* have of late Apostatized and fallen back to their old Superstition and course of life.

Thus much shall suffice concerning *New-England*, as it was when the *Indians* solely possesst it. I will now proceed to give you an accompt of it, as it is under the management of the *English*; but methinks I hear my sceptick Readers muttering out of their scuttle mouths, what will accrew to us by this rambling *Logodiarce*? you do but bring straw into *Egypt*, a Countrey abounding with Corn. Thus by these *Famacides* who are so minutely curious, I am dejected from my hope, whilst they challenge the freedom of *David's* Ruffins, Our Tongues are our own, who shall controll us. I have done what I can to please you, I have piped and you will not dance. I have told you as strange things as ever you or your Fathers [p. 150.] have heard. The *Italian* saith *Chi vide un miraculo facilmente ne crede un altro*, he that hath seen one miracle will easilie believe another, *miranda canunt sed non credenda poetæ*. Oh I see the pad, you never heard nor saw the like, therefore you do not believe me; well Sirs I shall not strain your belief any further, the following Relation I hope will be more tolerable, yet I could (it is possible) insert as wonderful things as any my pen hath yet gone over, and may, but it must be upon condition you will not put me to the proof of it. *Nemo tenetur ad impossibilia*, no man is obliged to do more than is in his power, is a rule in law. To be short; if you cannot with the *Bee* gather the honey, with the *Spider* suck out the poyson, as *Sir John Davis* hath it.

*The Bee and Spider by a divers power  
Suck honey and poyson from the self-same flower.*

I am confident you will get but little poyson here, no 'tis the poyson of *Asps* under your tongue that swells you : truly, I do take you rather to be Spider catchers than Spiders, such as will not laudably imploy themselves, nor suffer others; you may well say *non amo hominem, sed non possum* [p. 151.] *dicere quare*, unless it be because I am a Veronessa, no Romancer. To conclude; if with your mother wit, you can mend the matter, take pen in hand and fall to work, do your Countrey some service as I have done according to my Talent. Henceforth you are to expect no more Relations from me. I am now return'd into my Native Countrey, and by the providence of the Almighty, and the bounty of my Royal Sovereigness am disposed to a holy quiet of study and meditation for the good of my soul; and being blessed with a transmentitation or change of mind, and weaned from the world, may take up for my word, *non est mortale quod opto*. If what I have done is thought uprears for the approvment of those to whom it is intended, I shall be more than meanly contented.

*New England* was first discovered by *John Cabota* and his Son *Sebastian* in *Anno Dom.* 1514. A further discovery afterwards was made by the honourable Sir *Walter Rawleigh* Knight in *Anno* 1584. when as *Virginia* was discovered, which together with *Maryland*, *New-England*, *Nova Scotia*, was known by one common name to the *Indians*, *Wingandicoa*, and by Sir *Walter Rawleigh* in honour of our Virgin Queen, in whose name he took possession of it, *Virginia*. In [p. 152.] King *James* his Reign it was divided into Provinces as is before named. In 1602. these north parts were further discovered by Capt. *Bartholomew Gosnold*. The first *English* that plant-ed there, set down not far from the *Narragansets-Bay*, and called their Colony *Plimouth*, since old *Plimouth*, *An. Dom.* 1602. Sir *John Popham* Lord

chief Justice authorized by his Majesty, King *James*, sent a Colony of *English* to *Sagadehock*, *An.* 1606. *Newfound-land* was discovered by one *Andrew Thorn* an English man in *Anno* 1527. Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* a west Countrey Knight took possession of it in the Queens name, *Anno* 1582. The two first Colonies in *New-England* failing, there was a fresh supply of *English* who set down in other parts of the Countrey, and have continued in a flourishing condition to this day.

The whole Countrey now is divided into Colonies, and for your better understanding observe, a Colony is a sort of people that come to inhabit a place before not inhabited, or *Colonus quasi*, because they should be Tillers of the Earth. From hence by an usual figure the Countrey where they sit down, is called a Colony or Plantation.

The first of these that I shall relate of, though last in possession of the *English*, is now our most Southerly Colony, and next [p. 153.] adjoining to *Maryland*, scil. the *Manadaes* or *Manahanent* lying upon the great River *Mohegan*, which was first discovered by Mr. *Hudson*, and sold presently by him to the *Dutch* without Authority from his Sovereign the King of *England*, *Anno* 1608. The *Dutch* in 1614 began to plant there, and call'd it *New-Netherlands*, but Sir *Samuel Argal* Governour of *Virginia* routed them, the *Dutch* after this got leave of King *James* to put in there for fresh water in their passage to *Brasile*, and did not offer to plant until a good while after the *English* were settled in the Countrey. In *Anno* 1664 his Majestie *Charles* the Second sent over four worthie Gentlemen Commissioners to reduce the Colonies into their bounds, who had before incroached upon one another, who marching with Three hundred red-Coats to *Manadaes* or *Manhataes* took from the *Dutch* their chief town then called *New-Amsterdam*, now *New York*; the Twenty

ninth of *August* turn'd out their Governour with a silver leg, and all but those that were willing to acknowledge subjection to the King of *England*, suffering them to enjoy their houses and estates as before. Thirteen days after Sir *Robert Carr* took the Fort and Town of *Aurania* now called *Albany*; and Twelve days after that, the Fort and Town [p. 154.] of *Awsapha*, then *De-la-ware* Castle, man'd with *Dutch* and *Sweeds*. So now the *English* are masters of three handsome Towns, three strong Forts and a Castle, not losing one man. The first Governour of these parts for the King of *England* was Colonel *Nicols*, a noble Gentleman, and one of his Majesties Commissioners, who coming for *England* in *Anno Dom.* 1668 as I take it, surrendered the Government to Colonel *Lovelace*.

The Countrey here is bless'd with the richest soil in all *New-England*, I have heard it reported from men of Judgment and Integrity, that one Bushel of *European-Wheat* hath yielded a hundred in one year. Their other Commodities are Furs, and the like.

*New-York* is situated at the mouth of the great River *Mohegan*, and is built with *Dutch* Brick *alla-moderna*, the meanest house therein being valued at One hundred pounds, to the Landward it is compassed with a Wall of good thickness; at the entrance of the River is an Island well fortified, and hath command of any Ship that shall attempt to pass without their leave.

*Albany* is situated upon the same River on the West-side, and is due North from *New-York* somewhat above Fifty miles.

[p. 155.] Along the Sea-side Eastward are many *English-Towns*, as first *Westchester*, a Sea-Town about Twenty miles from *New-York*; to the Eastward of this is *Greenwich*, another Sea-Town much about the same distance; then *Chichester*, *Fairfield*,



*Stratford, Milford*, all Sea-Towns twenty and thirty mile distant from one another, twenty miles Eastward of *Milford* is *Newhaven* the Metropolis of the Colony begun in 1637. One Mr *Eaton* being there Governour: it is near to the shoals of *Cape-Cod*, and is one of the four united Colonies.

The next Sea-Town Eastward of *New-Haven* is called *Guilford* about ten mile, and I think belonging to that Colony.

From *Guilford* to *Connecticut-River*, is near upon twenty miles, the fresh River, *Connecticut* bears the name of another Colony begun in the year 1636 and is also one of the four united Colonies. Upon this River are situated 13 Towns, within two, three & four miles off one another. At the mouth of the River, on the West-side is the *Lord-Say*, and *Brooksfort*, called *Saybrook-fort*. Beyond this Northward is the Town of *Windsor*, then *Northampton*, then *Piners-house*. On the Eastside of the River, *Hartford*, about it low land well stored with meadow and very fertile. *Wethersfield* is [p. 156.] also situated upon *Connecticut* River and *Springfield*; but this Town although here seated, is in the jurisdiction of the *Mattachusetts*, and hath been infamous by reason of Witches therein. *Hadley* lyes to the Northward of *Springfield*. *New-London* which I take to be in the jurisdiction of this Coloney is situated to the Eastward of *Connecticut* River by a small River, and is not far from the Sea. From *Connecticut-River* *long-Island* stretcheth itself to *Mohegan* one hundred and twenty miles, but it is but narrow and about sixteen miles from the main; the considerablest Town upon it is *Southampton* built on the Southside of the Island towards the Eastern end: opposite to this on the Northern side is *Feversham*, West-ward is *Ashford*, *Huntingdon*, &c. The Island is well stored with Sheep and other Cattle, and Corn, and is reasonable populous. Between this Island and

the mouth of *Connecticut-River* lyeth three small Islands, *Shelter-Island*, *Fishers-Island*, and the Isle of *Wight*. Over against *New-London* full South lyeth *Block-Island*.

The next place of note on the Main is *Narragansets-Bay*, within which Bay is *Rhode Island* a Harbour for the *Shunamitish* Brethren, as the Saints Errant, the Quakers who are rather to be esteemed Vagabonds, than Religious persons, &c.

[p. 157.] At the further end of the *Bay* by the mouth of *Narragansets-River*, on the South side thereof was old *Plimouth* plantation Anno 1602. Twenty mile out to Sea, South of *Rhode-Island*, lyeth *Martins* vineyard in the way to *Virginia*, this Island is governed by a discreet Gentleman Mr. *Mayhew* by name. To the Eastward of *Martin's* vinyard lyeth *Nantocket-Island*, and further Eastward *Elizabeths-Island*, these Islands are twenty or thirty mile asunder, and now we are come to *Cape-Cod*.

*Cape-Cod* was so called at the first by Captain *Gosnold* and his Company Anno Dom. 1602, because they took much of that fish there; and afterwards was called *Cape-James* by Captain *Smith*: the point of the *Cape* is called *Point-Cave* and *Tuckers* Terror, and by the *French* and *Dutch* *Mallacar*, by reason of the perillous shoals. The first place to be taken notice of on the South-side of the *Cape* is *Wests-Harbour*, the first Sea-Town *Sandwich* formerly called *Duxbury* in the Jurisdiction of *New-Plimouth*. Doubling the *Cape* we come into the great *Bay*, on the West whereof is *New-Plimouth Bay*, on the Southwest-end of this *Bay* is situated *New-Plimouth* the first *English-Colony* that took firm possession in this Countrey, which was in 1620, and the first Town built [p. 158.] therein, whose longitude is 315 degrees, in latitude 41 degrees and 37 minutes, it was built nine years before any other Town, from the beginning of it to 1669 is just forty years, in which

time there hath been an increasing of forty Churches in this Colony (but many more in the rest,) and Towns in all *New-England* one hundred and twenty, for the most part along the Sea-Coasts, (as being wholsomest) for somewhat more than two hundred miles: onely on *Connecticut-River* (as I have said) is thirteen Towns not far off one another.

The other Towns of note in this Colony are *Green-Harbour* to the Eastward of *Plimouth* towards the point of the *Cape*, & therefore somewhat unaccessible by land, here is excellent Timber for shipping; then *Marshfield*, *Yarmouth*, *Rehoboth*, *Bridgwater*, *Warwick*, *Taunton*, *Eastham*, by the *Indians* called *Namset*.

The first Town Northeast from *Green-harbor* is *Sittuate* in the jurisdiction of the *Mattachusetts-Colony*, more Northward of *Sittuate* is *Conchusset* and *Hull* a little Burg lying open to the Sea, from thence we came to *Merton-point* over against which is *Pullin-point*. Upon *Merton-point* (which is on the Larboard-side) is a Town called *Nantascot*, which is two Leagues from *Boston*, where [p. 159.] Ships commonly cast Anchor. *Pullin-point* is so called because the Boats are by the seasing or Roads haled against the Tide which is very strong, it is the usual Channel for Boats to pass into *Mattachusetts-Bay*.

There is an Island on the South-side of the passage containing eight Acres of ground. Upon a rising hill within this Island is mounted a Castle commanding the entrance, no stately Edifice, nor strong; built with brick and Stone, kept by a Captain, under whom is a master-Gunner and others.

The *Bay* is large, made by many Islands, the chief *Deere-Island*, which is within a slight shot of *Pullin-point*, great store of *Deere* were wont to swim thither from the Main; then *Bird-Island*, *Glass-Island*, *Slate-Island*, the Governours Garden, where the first Apple-Trees in the Countrey were planted, and a vinyard; then *Round-Island*, and *Noddles-*

Island not far from *Charles-Town*: most of these Islands lye on the North-side of the *Bay*.

The next Town to *Nantascot* on the South-side of the *Bay* is *Wissaguset* a small Village, about three miles from *Mount-wolleston*, about this Town the soil is very fertile.

Within sight of this is *Mount-wolleston* or *Merrymount*, called *Massachusets-fields*, [p. 160.] where *Chicatabat* the greatest *Sagamore* of the Countrey lived before the plague: here the Town of *Braintree* is seated, no Boat nor Ship can come near to it, here is an Iron mill: to the West of this Town is *Naponset River*.

Six miles beyond *Braintree* lyeth *Dorchester* a frontire Town pleasantly seated, and of large extent into the main land, well watered with two small Rivers, her body and wings filled somewhat thick with houses to the number of two hundred and more, beautified with fair Orchards and Gardens, having also plenty of Corn-land, and store of Cattle, counted the greatest Town heretofore in *New-England*, but now gives way to *Boston*, it hath a Harbour to the North for ships.

A mile from *Dorchester* is the Town of *Roxbury*, a fair and handsome Countrey Town, the streets large, the Inhabitants rich, replenished with Orchards and Gardens, well watered with springs and small freshets, a brook runs through it called *Smelt-River*, a quarter of a mile to the North-side of the Town runs stony River: it is seated in the bottom of a shallow *Bay*, but hath no harbour for shipping. Boats come to it, it hath store of Land and Cattle.

Two miles Northeast from *Roxbury*, and [p. 161.] Forty miles from *New-Plimouth*, in the latitude of 42 or 43 degrees and 10 minutes, in the bottom of *Massachusets-Bay* is *Boston* (whose longitude is 315 degrees, or as others will 322 degrees and 30 seconds.) So called from a Town in *Lincolnshire*,

which in the *Saxons* time bare the name of *St. Bortolph*, and is the Metropolis of this Colony, or rather of the whole Countrey, situated upon a *Peninsula*, about four miles in compass, almost square, and invironed with the Sea, saving one small *Isthmus* which gives access to other Towns by land on the the South-side. The town hath two hills of equal height on the frontire part thereof next the Sea, the one well fortified on the superficies with some Artillery mounted, commanding any Ship as she sails into the Harbour within the still *Bay*; the other hill hath a very strong battery built of whole Timber and fill'd with earth, at the descent of the hill in the extreamest part thereof, betwixt these two strong Arms, lyes a large *Cove* or *Bay*, on which the chiefest part of the Town is built, to the Northwest is a high mountain that out-tops all, with its three little rising hills on the summit called *Tramount*, this is furnished with a Beacon and great Guns, from hence you may [p. 162.] overlook all the Islands in the *Bay*, and descry such Ships as are upon the Coast; the houses are for the most part raised on the Seabanks and wharfed out with great industry and cost, many of them standing upon piles, close together on each side the streets as in *London*, and furnished with many fair shops, their materials are Brick, Stone, Lime, handsomely contrived, with three meeting Houses or Churches, and a Town-house built upon pillars where the Merchants may confer, in the Chambers above they keep their monethly Courts. Their streets are many and large, paved with pebble stone, and the South-side adorned with Gardens and Orchards. The Town is rich and very populous, much frequented by strangers, here is the dwelling of their Governour. On the North-west and North-east two constant Fairs are kept for daily Traffick thereunto. On the South there is a small but pleasant Common where the Gallants a little before Sun-

set walk with their *Marmalet-Madams*, as we do in *Morefields*, &c. till the nine a clock Bell rings them home to their respective habitations, when presently the Constables walk their rounds to see good orders kept, and to take up loose people. Two miles from the town, [p. 163.] at a place called *Muddy-River*, the Inhabitants have Farms, to which belong rich arable grounds and meadows where they keep their Cattle in the Summer, and bring them to *Boston* in the Winter; the Harbour before the Town is filled with Ships and other Vessels for most part of the year.

*Hingham* is a Town situated upon the Sea-coasts, South-east of *Charles-River*: here is great store of Timber, deal-boards, masts for Ships, white-Cedar, and fish is here to be had.

*Dedham* an inland-town ten miles from *Boston* in the County of *Suffolk*, well watered with many pleasant streams, and abounding with Garden fruit; the Inhabitants are Husband-men, somewhat more than one hundred Families, having store of Cattle and Corn.

The Town of *Waymouth* lyes open to the Sea, on the East Rocks and Swamps, to the South-ward good store of *Deer*, arable land and meadows.

On the North-side of *Boston* flows *Charles-River*, which is about six fathom deep, many small Islands lye to the Bayward, and hills on either side the River, a very good harbour, here may forty Ships ride, the passage from *Boston* to *Charles-Town* is by a Ferry worth forty or fifty pounds a [p. 164.] year, and is a quarter of a mile over. The River *Mistick* runs through the right side of the Town, and by its near approach to *Charles-River* in one place makes a very narrow neck, where stands most part of the Town, the market-place not far from the waterside is surrounded with houses, forth of which issue two streets orderly built and beautified with

Orchards and Gardens, their meeting-house stands on the North-side of the market, having a little hill behind it; there belongs to this Town one thousand and two hundred Acres of arable, four hundred head of Cattle, and as many Sheep, these also provide themselves Farms in the Country.

Up higher in *Charles-River* west-ward is a broad Bay two miles over, into which runs *Stony-River* and *Muddy-River*.

Towards the South-west in the middle of the *Bay* is a great Oyster-bank, towards the North-west is a Creek; upon the shore is situated the village of *Medford*, it is a mile and half from *Charles-town*.

At the bottom of the *Bay* the River begins to be narrower, half a quarter of a mile broad; by the North-side of the River is *New-town*, three miles from *Charles-town*, a league and half by water, it was first [p. 165.] intended for a City, the neatest and best compacted Town, having many fair structures and handsom contrived streets; the Inhabitants rich, they have many hundred Acres of land paled with one common fence a mile and half long, and store of Cattle; it is now called *Cambridge* where is a Colledg for Students of late; it stretcheth from *Charles-River* to the Southern part of *Merrimach-River*.

Half a mile thence on the same side of the River is *Water-Town* built upon one of the branches of *Charles-River*, very fruitful and of large extent, watered with many pleasant springs and small Rivulets, the Inhabitants live scatteringly. Within half a mile is a great pond divided between the two Towns, a mile and half from the Town is a fall of fresh waters which conveigh themselves into the Ocean through *Charles-River*, a little below the fall of waters they have a wair to catch fish, wherein they take store of *Basse*, *Shades*, *Alwives*, *Frost fish*, and *Smelts*, in two tides they have gotten one hundred thousand of

these fishes. They have store of Cattle and Sheep, and near upon two thousand Acres of arable land, Ships of small burden may come up to these Towns.

[p. 166.] We will now return to *Charles-Town* again, where the River *Mistick* runs on the North-side of the Town (that is the right side as before-said) where on the Northwest-side of the River is the Town of *Mistick*, three miles from *Charles-town*, a league and half by water, a scattered village; at the head of this River are great and spacious ponds, full of *Alewives* in the spring-time, the notedst place for this sort of fish. On the West of this River is Merchant *Craddock's* plantation, where he impaled a park.

Upon the same River and on the North-side is the Town of *Malden*.

The next Town is *Winnisimet* a mile from *Charles-Town*, the River only parting them, this is the last Town in the still bay of *Massachusetts*.

Without *Pullin-point*, six miles North-east from *Winnisimet* is *Cuwgust*, or *Sagust*, or *Sangut* now called *Linn*, situated at the bottom of a *Bay* near a River, which upon the breaking up of winter with a furious Torrent vents it self into the Sea, the Town consists of more than one hundred dwelling-houses, their Church being built on a level undefended from the North-west wind is made with steps descending [p. 167.] into the Earth, their streets are straight and but thin of houses, the people most husbandmen. At the end of the *Sandy beach* is a neck of land called *Nahant*, it is six miles in circumference. Black *William* an *Indian* Duke out of his generosity gave this to the *English*. At the mouth of the River runs a great Creek into a great marsh called *Rumney-marsh*, which is four miles long, and a mile broad, this Town hath the benefit of minerals of divers kinds, Iron, Lead, one Iron mill, store of Cattle, Arable land and meadow.



To the North-ward of *Linn* is *Marvil* or *Marble-head*, a small Harbour, the shore rockie, upon which the Town is built, consisting of a few scattered houses; here they have stages for fishermen, Orchards and Gardens, half a mile within land good pastures and Arable land.

Four miles North of *Marble-head* is situated *New-Salem* (whose longitude is 315 degrees, and latitude 42 degree 35 minutes) upon a plain, having a River on the South, and another on the North, it hath two Harbours, Winter Harbour and Summer Harbour which lyeth within *Darbie's* fort, they have store of Meadow and Arable, in this Town are some very rich Merchants.

[p. 168.] Upon the Northern Cape of the *Massachusetts*, that is *Cape-Ann*, a place of fishing is situated, the Town of *Glocester* where the *Massachusetts* Colony first set down, but *Salem* was the first Town built in that Colony, here is a Harbour for Ships.

To the North-ward of *Cape-Ann* is *Wonasquam*, a dangerous place to sail by in stormie weather, by reason of the many Rocks and foaming breakers.

The next Town that presents it self to view is *Ipswich* situated by a fair River, whose first rise is from a Lake or Pond twenty mile up, betaking its course through a hideous *Swamp* for many miles, a Harbour for *Bears*, it issueth forth into a large *Bay*, (where they fish for *Whales*) due East over against the Islands of *Sholes* a great place of fishing, the mouth of that River is barr'd; it is a good haven-town, their meeting-house or Church is beautifully built, store of Orchards and Gardens, land for husbandry and Cattle.

*Wenham* is an inland Town very well watered, lying between *Salem* and *Ipswich*, consisteth most of men of judgment and experience *in re rustica*, well stored with Cattle. At the first rise of *Ipswich-River* in the highest part of the land near the head [p.169.]

springs of many considerable Rivers; *Shashin* one of the most considerable branches of *Merrimach* River, and also at the rise of *Mistick*-River, and ponds full of pleasant springs, is situated *Wooburn* an inland-Town four miles square beginning at the end of *Charles-Town* bounds.

Six miles from *Ipswich* North-east is *Rowley*, most of the Inhabitants have been Clothiers.

Nine miles from *Salem* to the North is *Agowamine*, the best and spaciousest place for a plantation, being twenty leagues to the Northward of *New-Plimouth*.

Beyond *Agowamin* is situated *Hampton* near the Sea-coasts not far from *Merrimach*-River, this Town is like a *Flower-deluce*, having two streets of houses wheeling off from the main body thereof, they have great store of salt Marshes and Cattle, the land is fertile, but full of Swamps and Rocks.

Eight miles beyond *Agowamin* runneth the delightful River *Merrimach* or *Monumach*, it is navigable for twenty miles, and well stored with fish, upon the banks grow stately Oaks, excellent Ship timber, not inferiour to our *English*.

On the South-side of *Merrimach*-River [p. 170.] twelve miles from *Ipswich*, and near upon the wide venting streams thereof is situated *Newberrie*, the houses are scattering, well stored with meadow, upland, and Arable, and about four hundred head of Cattle.

Over against *Newberrie* lyes the Town of *Salisbury*, where a constant Ferry is kept, the River being here half a mile broad, the Town scatteringly built.

Hard upon the River of *Shashin* where *Merrimach* receives this and the other branch into its body, is seated *Andover*, stored with land and Cattle.

Beyond this Town by the branch of *Merrimach*-River called *Shashin*, lyeth *Haverhill*, a Town of large extent about ten miles in length, the inhabitants Husbandmen, this Town is not far from *Salisbury*.

Over against *Haverhill* lyeth the Town of *Malden*, which I have already mentioned.

In a low level upon a fresh River a branch of *Merrimach* is seated *Concord*, the first inland Town in *Massachusetts* patent, well stored with fish, *Salmon*, *Dace*, *Alewife*, *Shade*, &c. abundance of fresh marsh and Cattle, this place is subject to bitter storms.

[p. 171.] The next town is *Sudbury* built upon the same River where *Concord* is, but further up; to this Town likewise belongs great store of fresh marshes, and Arable land, and they have many Cattle, it lyeth low, by reason whereof it is much indamaged with floods.

In the Centre of the Countrey by a great pond side, and not far from *Woeburn*, is situated *Reading*, it hath two mills, a saw-mill and a Corn-mill, and is well stockt with Cattle.

The Colony is divided into four Counties, the first is *Suffolk*, to which belongs *Dorchester*, *Roxbury*, *Waymouth*, *Hingham*, *Dedham*, *Braintree*, *Sittuate*, *Hull*, *Nantascot*, *Wisagusset*. The second County is *Middlesex*, to this belongs *Charles-town*, *Watertown*, *Cambridge*, *Concord*, *Sudbury*, *Woeburn*, *Reading*, *Malden*, *Mistick*, *Medford*, *Winnisimet* and *Marble-head*. To the Third County which is *Essex*, belongs *New-Salem*, *Linn*, *Ipswich*, *New-Berry*, *Rowley*, *Glocester*, *Wenham* and *Andover*. The fourth County is *Northfolk*, to this belongs *Salisbury*, *Hampton* and *Haverhill*.

In the year of our Lord 1628, Mr. *John Endicot* with a number of *English* people set down by *Cape-Ann* at that place called [p. 172.] afterwards *Gloster*, but their abiding-place was at *Salem*, where they built a Town in 1639. and there they gathered their first Church, consisting but of Seventy persons; but afterwards increased to forty three Churches in joynt Communion with one another, and in those Churches

were about Seven thousand, seven hundred and fifty Souls, Mr. *Endicot* was chosen their first Governour.

The Twelfth of *July Anno Dom. 1630. John Wentthrop* Esq; and the assistants, arrived with the Patent for the *Massachusetts*, the passage of the people that came along with him in ten Vessels came to 95000 pound: the Swine, Goats, Sheep, Neat, Horses cost to transport 12000 pound, besides the price they cost them; getting food for the people till they could clear the ground of wood amounted to 45000 pound: Nails, Glass, and other Iron work for their meeting and dwelling houses 13000 pound; Arms, Powder, Bullet, and Match, together with their Artillery 22000 pound, the whole sum amounts unto One hundred ninety two thousand pounds. They set down first upon *Noddles-Island*, afterwards they began to build upon the main. In 1637. there were not many houses in the Town of [p. 173.] *Boston*, amongst which were two houses of entertainment called Ordinaries, into which if a stranger went, he was presently followed by one appointed to that Office, who would thrust himself into his company uninvited, and if he called for more drink than the Officer thought in his judgment he could soberly bear away, he would presently countermand it, and appoint the proportion, beyond which he could not get one drop.

The Patent was granted to Sir *Henry Rosewell*, Sir *John Young* Knight, *Thomas Southcoat*, *John Humphrey*, *John Endicot*, and *Simon Whitecomb*, and to their Heirs, Assigns, and Associats for ever. These took to them other Associats, as Sir *Richard Saltonstall*, *Isaac Johnson*, *Samuel Aldersey*, *Jo. Ven*, *Matth. Craddock*, *George Harwood*, *Increase Nowell*, *Rich. Perry*, *Rich. Bellingham*, *Nathaniel Wright*, *Samuel Vasell*, *Theophilus Eaton*, *Thomas Goffe*, *Thomas Adams*, *Jo. Brown*, *Samuel Brown*, *Thomas Hutchins*, *Will. Vasell*, *Will. Pinchon* and *George*

*Foxcroft. Matth. Craddock* was ordained and constituted Governour by Patent, and *Thomas Goffe* Deputy Governour of the said Company, ther est Assistants.

That part of *New-England* granted to [p. 174.] these fore-mentioned Gentlemen lyeth and extendeth between a great River called *Monumach*, alias *Merrimach*, and the often frequented *Charles-River*, being in the bottom of a Bay called *Massachusetts*, alias *Mattachusetts*, alias *Massatusets-bay*; and also those lands within the space of three *English* miles, on the South part of the said *Charles-River*, or any or every part, and all the lands within three miles to the Southward part of the *Massachusetts-bay*, and all those lands which lye within the space of three *English* miles to the North-ward of the River *Merrimach*, or to the North-ward of any and every part thereof, and all lands whatsoever within the limits aforesaid, North and South, in lattitude, and in breadth and length and longitude of and within all the main land there, from the *Atlantick* and Western-Sea and Ocean on the East-part, to the South-Sea on the West-part, and all lands and grounds, place and places, soils, woods and wood-groves, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Waters, fishings and Hereditaments whatsoever lying within the aforesaid lands and limits, and every part and parcel thereof, and also all Islands lying in *America* aforesaid in the said Seas, or either of them on the Western or Eastern [p.175.] Coasts or parts of the said tracts of lands. Also all mines and minerals as well Royal of Gold, Silver, as others &c. With power to rule and govern both Sea and land, holden of the East mannor of *Greenwich* in *Com. Kent*, in free and common soccage, yielding and paying to the King the fifth part of the Oar of Gold and Silver which shall be found at any time.

This Colony is a body Corporated and Politick in

fact by the name of the Governour and Company of the *Mattachusetts-bay* in *New-England*.

That there shall be one Governour, and Deputy-Governour, and Eighteen Assistants of the same Company from time to time.

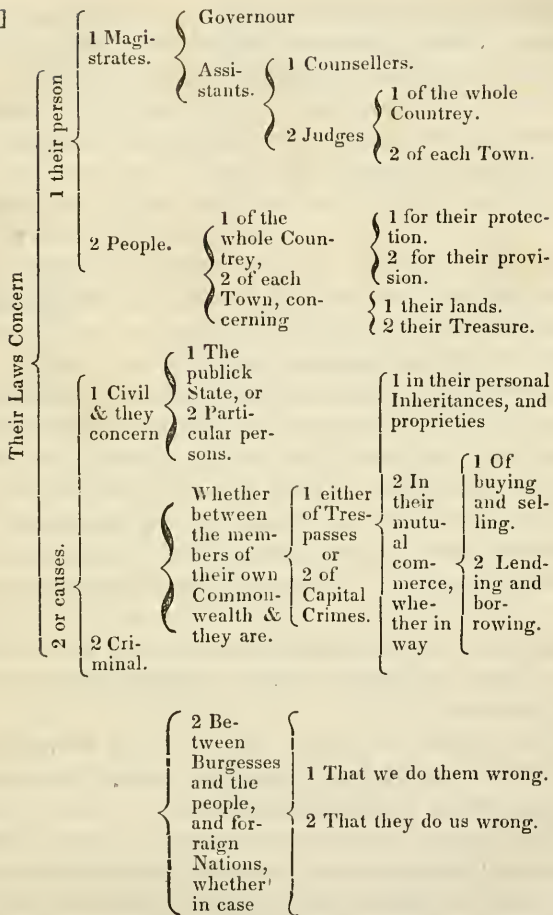
That the Governour and Deputy-Governour, Assistants and all other Officers to be chosen from amongst the freemen, the last *Wednesday* in *Easter-term* yearly in the general Court.

The Governour to take his Corporal Oath to be true and faithful to the Government, and to give the same Oath to the other Officers.

[p. 176.] To hold a Court once a month, and any seven to be a sufficient Court.

And that there shall be four general Courts kept in Term time, and one great general and solemn Assembly to make Laws and Ordinances; So they be not contrary and repugnant to the Laws and Statutes of the Realm of *England*. Their form of Government and what their Laws concern, you may see in the ensuing Table.

[p 177.]



[p. 178.] *Anno Dom.* 1646. they drew up a body of their Laws for the well ordering of their Commonwealth, as they not long since termed it.

The military part of their Commonwealth is governed by one Major-General, and three Serjeant Majors; to the Major-General belongeth particularly the Town of *Boston*, to the three Serjeant Majors belong the four Counties, but with submission

to the Major-General. The first Serjeant Major chosen for the County of *Suffolk* was Major *Gibbons*. For the County of *Middlesex* Major *Sedgwick*. For the County of *Essex* and *Northfolk* Major *Denison*.

Every Town sends two Burgesses to their great and solemn general Court.

For being drunk, they either whip or impose a fine of Five shillings; so for swearing and cursing, or boring through the tongue with a hot Iron.

For kissing a woman in the street, though in way of civil salute, whipping or a fine.

For Single fornication whipping or a fine.

For Adultery, put to death, and so for Witchcraft.

An *English* woman suffering an *Indian* to have carnal knowledge of her, had an *Indian* cut out exactly in red cloth sewed [p. 179.] upon her right Arm, and enjoined to wear it twelve moneths.

Scolds they gag and set them at their doors for certain hours, for all comers and goers by to gaze at.

Stealing is punished with restoring four fould, if able; if not, they are sold for some years, and so are poor debtors.

If you desire a further inspection to their Laws, I must refer you to them being in print, too many for to be inserted into this Relation.

The Governments of their Churches are Independent and Presbyterial, every Church (for so they call their particular Congregations) have one Pastor, one Teacher, Ruling Elders and Deacons.

They that are members of their Churches have the Sacraments administred to them, the rest that are out of the pale as they phrase it, are denied it. Many hundred Souls there be amongst them grown up to men & womens estate that were never Christened.

They judge every man and woman to pay Five shillings *per* day, who comes not to their Assemblies,



and impose fines of forty shillings and fifty shillings on such as meet together to worship God.

[p. 180.] Quakers they whip, banish, and hang if they return again.

Anabaptists they imprison, fine and weary out.

The Government both Civil and Ecclesiastical is in the hands of the thorow-pac'd Independents and rigid Presbyterians.

The grose *Goddons*, or great masters, as also some of their Merchants are damnably rich; generally all of their judgement, inexplicably covetous and proud, they receive your gifts but as an homage or tribute due to their transcendency, which is a fault their Clergie are also guilty of, whose living is upon the bounty of their hearers. On Sundays in the afternoon when Sermon is ended the people in the Galleries come down and march two a breast up one Ile and down the other, until they come before the desk, for Pulpit they have none: before the desk is a long pue where the Elders and Deacons sit, one of them with a mony box in his hand, into which the people as they pass put their offering, some a shilling, some two shillings, half a Crown, five shillings according to their ability and good will, after this they conclude with a Psalm; but this by the way.

The chiefest objects of discipline, true Religion, [p. 181.] and morality they want, some are of a *Linsie-woolsie* disposition, of several professions in Religion, all like *Æthiopians* white in the teeth only, full of ludification and injurious dealing, and cruelty the extreamest of all vices. The chiefest cause of *Noah's* floud, Prov. 27. 26. *Agni erant ad vestitum tuum*, is a frequent Text among them, no trading for a stranger with them, but with a *Græcian* faith, which is not to part with your ware without ready money, for they are generally in their payments rescusant and slow, great Syndics, or censors, or controllers of other mens manners, and savagely factious amongst themselves.

There are many strange women too, (in *Salomon's* sence) more the pittie, when a woman hath lost her Chastity, she hath no more to lose.

But mistake me not to general speeches, none but the guilty take exceptions, there are many sincere and religious people amongst them, deseryed by their charity and humility (the true Characters of Christianity) by their Zenodochie or hospitality, by their hearty submission to their Sovereign the King of *England*, by their diligent and honest labour in their callings, amongst these we may account the Royalists, who are lookt upon with an evil eye, and [p. 182.] tongue boulted or punished if they chance to lash out; the tame *Indian* (for so they call those that are born in the Countrey) are pretty honest too, and may in good time be known for honest Kings men.

They have store of Children, and are well accommodated with Servants, many hands make light work, many hands make a full fraught, but many mouths eat up all, as some old planters have experimented; of these some are *English*, others *Negroes*: of the *English* there are can eat till they sweat, and work till they freeze; & of the females that are like Mrs. *Winters* paddocks, very tender fingerd in cold weather.

There are none that beg in the Countrey, but there be Witches too many, bottle-bellied Witches amongst the Quakers, and others that produce many strange apparitions if you will believe report, of a *Shallop* at Sea man'd with women; of a Ship, and a great red Horse standing by the main-mast, the Ship being in a small *Cove* to the East-ward vanished of a suddain. Of a Witch that appeared aboard of a Ship twenty leagues to Sea to a Mariner who took up the Carpenters broad Axe and cleft her head with it, the Witch dying of the wound at home, with such like bugbears and *Terriculamentaes*.

[p. 183.] It is published in print, that there are not much less than Ten hundred thousand souls *English, Scotch and Irish* in *New-England*.

Most of their first Magistrates are dead, not above two left in the *Massachusetts*, but one at *Plimouth*, one at *Connecticut*, and one at *New-haven*, they having done their generation work are laid asleep in their beds of rest till the day of doom, there and then to receive their reward according as they have done be it good or evil. Things of great indurance we see come to ruine, and alter, as great Flouds and Seas dried up; mighty hills and mountains sunk into hollow bottoms: marvel not then that man is mortal, since his nature is unconstant and transitory.

The Diseases that the *English* are afflicted with, are the same that they have in *England*, with some proper to *New-England*, griping of the belly (accompanied with Feaver and Ague) which turns to the bloody-flux, a common disease in the Countrey, which together with the small pox hath carried away abundance of their children, for this the common medicines amongst the poorer sort are Pills of Cotton swallowed, or Sugar and Sallet-oyl boiled thick and made into Pills, Aloes pulverized [p. 184.] and taken in the pap of an Apple. I helped many of them with a sweating medicine only.

Also they are troubled with a disease in the mouth or throat which hath proved mortal to some in a very short time, Quinsies, and Imposthumations of the Almonds, with great distempers of cold. Some of our *New-England* writers affirm that the *English* are never or very rarely heard to sneeze or cough, as ordinarily they do in *England*, which is not true. For a cough or stitch upon cold, Wormwood, Sage, Marygolts, and Crabs-claws boiled in posset-drink and drunk off very warm, is a sovereign medicine.

Pleurisies and Empyemas are frequent there, both cured after one and the same way; but the last is a

desperate disease and kills many. For the Pleurisie I have given *Coriander*-seed prepared, *Carduus* seed, and *Harts-horn* pulverized with good success, the dose one dram in a cup of wine.

The Stone terribly afflicts many, and the Gout, and Sciatica, for which take Onions roasted, peeled and stamp't, then boil them with neats-feet oyl and Rhum to a plaister, and apply it to the hip.

Head-aches are frequent, Palsies, Dropsies, Worms, Noli-me-tangeres, Cancers, [p. 185.] pestilent Feavers. Scurvies, the body corrupted with Sea-diet, Beef and Pork tainted, Butter and Cheese corrupted, fish rotten, a long voyage, coming into the searching sharpness of a purer climate, causeth death and sickness amongst them.

Men and Women keep their complexions, but lose their Teeth: the Women are pittifully Tooth-shaken; whether through the coldness of the climate, or by sweet-meats of which they have store, I am not able to affirm, for the Toothach I have found the following medicine very available, Brimstone and Gunpowder compounded with butter, rub the mandible with it, the outside being first warm'd.

For falling off of the hair occasioned by the coldness of the climate, and to make it curl, take of the strong water called Rhum and wash or bath your head therewith, it is an admirable remedie.

For kibed heels, to heal them take the yellowest part of Rozen, pulverize it and work it in the palm of your hand with the tallow of a Candle to a salve, and lay of it to the sore.

For frozen limbs, a plaister framed with Soap, Bay-salt, and Molosses is sure, or Cow-dung boiled in milk and applied.

For Warts and Corns, bathe them with Sea-water.

[p. 186.] There was in the Countrey not long since living two men that voided worms seven times

their length. Likewise a young maid that was troubled with a sore pricking at her heart, still as she lean'd her body, or stept down with her foot to the one side or the other; this maid during her distemper voided worms of the length of a finger all hairy with black heads; it so fell out that the maid dyed; her friends desirous to discover the cause of the distemper of her heart, had her open'd, and found two crooked bones growing upon the top of the heart, which as she bowed her body to the right or left side would job their points into one and the same place, till they had worn a hole quite through. At *Cape-Porpus* lived an honest poor planter of middle-age, and strong of body, but so extreamly troubled with two lumps (or wens as I conjectured) within him, on each side one, that he could not rest for them day nor night, being of great weight, and swagging to the one side or the other, according to the motion or posture of his body; at last he dyed in *Anno* 1668 as I think, or thereabouts. Some Chirurgeons there were that proffered to open him, but his wife would not assent to it, and so his disease was hidden in the Grave.

[p. 187.] It is the opinion of many men, that the blackness of the *Negroes* proceeded from the curse upon *Cham's* posterity, others again will have it to be the property of the climate where they live. I pass by other Philosophical reasons and skill, only render you my experimental knowledge: having a *Barbarie-moor* under cure, whose finger (prickt with the bone of a fish) was Impostumated, after I had lanc'd it and let out the Corruption the skin began to rise with proud flesh under it; this I wore away, and having made a sound bottom I incarnated it, and then laid on my skinning plaister, then I perceived that the *Moor* had one skin more than *Englishmen*; the skin that is basted to the flesh is bloody and of the same Azure colour with the veins,

but deeper than the colour of our *Europeans* veins. Over this is an other skin of a tawny colour, and upon that *Epidermis* or *Cuticula*, the flower of the skin (which is that Snakes cast) and this is tawny also, the colour of the blew skin mingling with the tawny makes them appear black. I do not peremptorily affirm this to be the cause, but submit to better judgment. More rarities of this nature I could make known unto you, but I hasten to an end; only a word or two of our *English* Creatures, and then to Sea again.

[p. 188.] I have given you an Account of such plants as prosper there, and of such as do not; but so briefly, that I conceive it necessary to afford you some what more of them. *Plantain* I told you sprang up in the Countrey after the *English* came, but it is but one sort, and that is broad-leaved plantain.

*Gilliflowers* thrive exceedingly there and are very-large, the Collibuy or humming-Bird is much pleased with them. Our *English* dames make Syrup of them without fire, they steep them in Wine till it be of a deep colour, and then they put to it spirit of *Vitriol*, it will keep as long as the other.

*Eglantine* or sweet *Bryer* is best sowed with *Juniper-berries*, two or three to one *Eglantine-berry* put into a hole made with a stick, the next year separate and remove them to your banks, in three years time they will make a hedge as high as a man, which you may keep thick and handsome with cutting.

Our *English Clover-grass* sowed thrives very well.

*Radishes* I have seen there as big as a mans Arm.

*Flax* and *Hemp* flourish gallantly.

Our *Wheat* i. e. summer *Wheat* many [p. 189.] times changeth into *Rye*, and is subject to be blasted, some say with a vapour breaking out of the earth, others, with a wind North-east or North-west, at such time as it flowereth, others again say it is with lightning. I have observed, that when a land of

*Wheat* hath been smitten with a blast at one Corner, it hath infected the rest in a weeks time, it begins at the stem (which will be spotted and goes upwards to the ear making it fruitless: in 1669 the pond that lyeth between *Water-town* and *Cambridge*, cast its fish dead upon the shore, forc't by a mineral vapour as was conjectured.)

Our fruit-Trees prosper abundantly, *Apple-trees*, *Pear-trees*, *Quince-trees*, *Cherry-trees*, *Plum-trees*, *Barberry-trees*. I have observed with admiration, that the Kernels sown or the Succors planted produce as fair & good fruit, without grafting, as the Tree from whence they were taken: the Countrey is replenished with fair and large Orchards. It was affirmed by one Mr. *Woolcut* (a magistrate in *Connecticut* Colony) at the Captains Messe (of which I was) aboard the Ship I came home in, that he made Five hundred Hogsheads of *Syder* out of his own Orchard in one year. *Syder* is very plentiful in the Countrey, ordinarily sold for Ten shillings a Hogshead. At the [p. 190.] Tap-houses in *Boston* I have had an Ale-quart spic'd and sweetned with Sugar for a groat, but I shall insert a more delicate mixture of it. Take of *Maligo-Raisons*, stamp them and put milk to them, and put them in an *Hippocras* bag and let it drain out of it self, put a quantity of this with a spoonful or two of Syrup of *Clove-Gilliflowers* into every bottle, when you bottle your *Syder*, and your *Planter* will have a liquor that exceeds *passada*, the Nectar of the Countrey.

The *Quinces*, *Cherries*, *Damsons*, set the Dames a work, *Marmalad* and preserved *Damsons* is to be met with in every house. It was not long before I left the Countrey that I made *Cherry wine*, and so may others, for there are good store of them both red and black.

Their fruit-trees are subject to two diseases, the *Meazels*, which is when they are burned and scorch-

ed with the Sun, and lowsiness, when the wood-peckers job holes in their bark: the way to cure them when they are lowsie is to bore a hole into the main root with an Augur, and pour in a quantity of Brandie or Rhum, and then stop it up with a pin made of the same Tree.

The first Neat carried thither was to [p. 191.] *New-Plimouth Anno 1624* these thrive and increase exceedingly, but grow less in body than those they are bred of yearly.

Horses there are numerous, and here and there a good one, they let them run all the year abroad, and in the winter seldom provide any fother for them, (except it be Magistrates, great Masters and Troopers Horses) which brings them very low in flesh till the spring, and so crest fallen, that their crests never rise again. Here I first met with that excrescence called *Hippomanes*, which by some is said to grow on the forehead of a foal new cast, and that the Mare bites it off as soon as foaled; but this is but a fable. A neighbour at *Black-point* having a Mare with foal tyed her up in his Barn, the next day she foaled, and the man standing by spied a thing like a foals tongue to drop out of the foals mouth, which he took up and presented me with it, telling me withall, that he had heard many wonderful things reported of it, and that it was rank poyson. I accepted of it gladly and brought it home with me, when it was dry it lookt like Glew, but of a dark brown colour; to omit all other uses for it, this I can assure you that a piece of it soakt in warm water or cold, will take spots out of woolen Clothes being rub'd thereon.

[p. 192.] *Goats* were the first small Cattle they had in the Countrey, he was counted no body that had not a Trip or Flock of *Goats*: a hee-*Goat* gelt at *Michaelmas* and turn'd out to feed will be fat in a moneths time, & is as good meat as a weather. I



was taught by a *Barbary Negro* a medicine which before I proceed any further I will impart unto you, and that was for a swelling under the throat. Take *Goats* hair and clay and boil them in fair water to a poultis, and apply it very warm.

*Sheep* now they have good store, these and *Goats* bring forth two, sometimes three *Lambs* and *Kids* at a time.

*Hoggs* are here innumerable, every planter hath a Heard, when they feed upon shell-fish and the like, as they do that are kept near the Sea and by the fishers stages, they tast fishie and rank; but fed with white Oak-Acorns, or *Indian-Corn* and Pease there is not better Pork in the whole world: besides they sometimes have the *Meazels*, which is known when their hinder legs are shorter than ordinary.

*Catts* and *Dogs* are as common as in *England*, but our *Dogs* in time degenerate; yet they have gallant *Dogs* both for fowl & wild Beasts all over the Countrey: the *Indians* store themselves with them, being much [p. 193.] better for their turns, than their breed of wild dogs, which are (as I conceive) like to the *Tasso-canes* or mountain dogs in *Italy*.

Of *English* Poultry too there is good store, they have commonly three broods in a year; the hens by that time they are three years old have spurs like the Cock, but not altogether so big, but as long, they use to crow often, which is so rare a thing in other Countries, that they have a proverb *Gallina recinit* a Hen crows. And in *England* it is accounted ominous; therefore our Farmers wives as soon as they hear a Hen crow wring off her neck, and so they serve their spur'd Hens, because they should not break their Eggs with their spurs when they sit. In the year 1637. which was when I went my first Voyage to *New-England* a good woman brought aboard with her a lusty Cock and Hen that had

horns like spurs growing out on each side of their Combs, but she spoiled the breed, killing of them at Sea, to feed upon, for she loved a fresh bit.

In *Anno* 164 $\frac{7}{8}$ . Certain *Indians* coming to our house clad in *Deere-skin* coats, desired leave to lodge all night in our kitchen, it being a very rainie season, some of them lay down in the middle of the Room, and others under the Table, in the morning they [p. 194.] went away before any of the people were up; the poultry had their breakfast usually in cold weather in the kitchen, and because they should not hinder the passing of the people too and again, it was thrown under the Table; in the afternoon they began to hang the wing, in the night the sickest dropt dead from the perch, and the next day most of them dyed; we could not of a sudden gness at the cause, but thought the *Indians* had either bewitched, or poysoned them: it came at last into my head, seeing their Crops very full, or rather much swell'd, to open them, where I found as much *Deers* hair as Corn, they that pickt up none of the hair lived and did well.

In the year 1667. *October* the 7th amongst our poultry we had one white game Cock of the *French* kind, a bird of high price, when he was three years old he drooped and his spirit was quite gone; one of our *Negro* maids finding him in the yard dead brought him into the house and acquainted me with it. I caused her to draw him, when his guts were all drawn out she put in her hand again and felt a lump in his body as big as a half-penny loaf, strongly fastned to his back, and much ado she had to pull it out; I found it to be a tuff bag, containing stuff like liver, and very heavie, at one end [p. 195.] of the bag, another little bag filled with a fatty matter, his gizzard, liver, and heart wasted. The Pipe or Roupe is a common disease amongst their poultry infecting one another with it. I conceive it cometh

of a cold moisture of the brain, they will be very sleepe with it, the best cure for it is *Garlick*, and smoaking of them with dried *Hysope*.

In *September* following my Arrivage in the *Massachusetts* about the twelfth hour of the eight day, I shipt my self and goods in a Bark bound to the Eastward, meeting as we sailed out the *Dutch Governour* of *New-Netherlands*, who was received and entertained at *Boston* by the Governour and Magistrates with great solemnity. About nine of the clock at night we came to *Salem* and lay aboard all night.

The Ninth day we went ashore to view the Town which is a mile long, and lay that night at a Merchants house.

The Tenth day we came from *Salem* about twelve of the clock back to *Marble-head*: here we went ashore and recreated our selves with Musick and a cup of Sack and saw the Town, about ten at night we returned to our Bark and lay aboard.

The Eleventh being Saturday, and the wind contrary, we came to *Charles-town*, [p. 196.] again about twelve of the clock we took store of *Mackarel*.

The Thirteenth being Monday, we went aboard again about nine of the clock in the morning and out to Sea, about Sun going down we took store of *Mackarel*. The wind was scanty all along, and in the night time we durst not bear much sail, because of the Rocks and foaming breakers that lay in our way.

The Fourteenth day we came up with *Pascataway*, or *Pascatique*, where there is a large River and a fair harbour, within here is seated a Colony, properly belonging to the Heirs of Captain *Mason* sometime since of *London*; but taken into the Colony of *Massachusetts*, by what right I will not here discuss.

The chiefest places of note are the *Bay* or *Harbour* North from *Boston*, on the West-side of the Harbour are built many fair houses, and so in another part called *Strawberry-bank*.

By the Harbour is an Island which of late days is filled with buildings, besides there are two Towns more seated up higher upon the River, the one called *Dover*; the River-banks are clothed with stately Timber, and here are two miles meadow land and arable enough; the other town is called *Excester*.

[p. 197.] At the River *Pascataway* begins the Province of *Main*: having pleased our selves with the sight of *Pascataway* at a distance we sailed on, and came to *Black-point*.

The Fifteenth day, about eight of the clock at night, where the next day I was shrewdly pinched with a great frost, but having two or three bottles of excellent *Passada*, and good cheer bestowed upon me I made a shift to bear it out, and now we are in the Province of *Main*.

The Province of *Main*, (or the Countrey of the *Traquoës*) heretofore called *Laconia* or *New-Summersetshire*, is a Colony belonging to the Grandson of Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* of *Ashton Phillips* in the County of *Sommerset*, the said Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* did expend in planting several parts of *New-England* above Twenty thousand pounds *sterling*; and when he was between three and four score years of age did personally engage in our Royal Martyrs service; and particularly in the Seige of *Bristow*, and was plundered and imprisoned several times, by reason whereof he was discountenanced by the pretended Commissioners for forraign plantations, and his Province incroached upon by the *Massachusetts* Colony, who assumed the Government thereof. His Majestie that now Reigneth sent over his [p. 198.] Commissioners to reduce them within their bounds, and to put Mr. *Gorges* again into possession. But there falling out a contest about it, the Commissioners settled it in the Kings name (until the business should be determined before his Majestie) and gave Commissions to the Judge of their Courts, and the

Justices to Govern and Act according to the Laws of *England*, & by such Laws of their own as were not repugnant to them: But as soon as the Commissioners were returned for *England*, the *Massachusetts* enter the province in a hostile manner with a Troop of Horse and Foot and turn'd the Judge and his Assistants off the Bench, Imprisoned the Major or Commander of the Militia, threatned the Judge, and some others that were faithful to Mr. *Gorges* interests. I could discover many other foul proceedings, but for some reasons which might be given, I conceive it not convenient to make report thereof to vulgar ears; & *quæ supra nos nihil ad nos*. Onely this I could wish, that there might be some consideration of the great losses, charge and labour, which hath been sustained by the Judge, and some others for above thirty years in upholding the rights of Mr. *Gorge* and his Sacred Majesties Dominion against a many stubborn and elusive people.

[p. 199.] *Anno Dom.* 1623. Mr. *Robert Gorge*, Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* brother had for his good service granted him by Patent from the Council of *Plimouth* all that part of the Land commonly called *Massachusick*, situated on the North-side of the Bay of *Massachusetts*.

Not long after this Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* had granted to him by Patent from the midst of *Merrimack-River* to the great River *Sagadehock*, then called *Laconia*.

In 1635. Capt *William Gorge*, Sir *Ferdinando's* Nephew, was sent over Governour of the Province of *Main*, then called *New-Summersetshire*.

Sir *Ferdinando Gorge* received a Charter-Royal from King *Charles* the first the third of *April* in the Fifteenth of his Raign, granting to him all that part and portion of *New-England*, lying and being between the River of *Pascataway*, that is, beginning at the entrance of *Pascataway-hurbour*, and so to pass up

the same into the River of *Newichawanoë* or *Neghechewanck*, and through the same unto the farthest head thereof aforesaid, North-eastward along the Sea-coasts, for Sixty miles to *Sagadehoc*-River to *Kenebeck*, even as far as the head thereof, and up into the main land North-westward for the space of one hundred and twenty [p. 200.] miles. To these Territories are adjoynd the North half-Isle of *Sholes*, with several other Islands, it lyeth between 44 degrees and 45 of Northerly latitude. The River *Canada* on the North-east the Sea coast South, amongst many large Royalties, Jurisdictions and Immunities was also granted to the said Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*, the same Royalties, priviledges and franchises as are, or of right ought to be enjoyed by the Bishop of *Durham* in the County Palatine of *Durham*; the planters to pay for every hundred Acres of land yearly, two shillings six pence, that is such land as is given to them and their Heirs for ever.

The Officers by Patent are a Deputy Governour, a Chancellor, a Treasurer, a Marshal for Souldiers, an Admiraltie for Sea affairs, and a Judge of the Admiraltie, a Master of Ordinance, a Secretary, &c.

Towns there are not many in this province. *Kittery* situated not far from *Pascataway* is the most populous.

Next to that Eastward is seated by a River near the Sea *Gorgiana*, a Majoraltie, and the Metropolitan of the province.

Further to the Eastward is the Town of *Wells*.

*Cape-Porpus* Eastward of that, where there is a Town by the Sea side of the same name, [p. 201.] the houses scatteringly built, all these Towns have store of salt and fresh marsh with arable land, and are well stockt with Cattle.

About eight or nine mile to the Eastward of *Cape-Porpus*, is *Winter harbour*, a noted place for Fishers, here they have many stages.

*Saco* adjoyns to this, and both make one scattering Town of large extent, well stored with Cattle, arable land and marshes, and a Saw-mill.

Six mile to the Eastward of *Saco* & forty mile from *Gorgiana* is seated the Town of *Black point*, consisting of about fifty dwelling houses, and a Magazine or *Doganne*, scatteringly built, they have store of neat and horses, of sheep near upon Seven or Eight hundred, much arable and Marsh salt and fresh, and a Corn-mill.

To the Southward of the *point* (upon which are stages for fishermen) lye two small Islands beyond the *point*, North-eastward runs the River *Spurwinch*.

Four miles from *Black-point*, one mile from *Spurwinch*-River Eastward lyeth *Richmans-Island*, whose longitude is 317 degrees 30 seconds, and latitude 43 degrees and 34 minutes, it is three mile in circumference, and hath a passable and gravelly ford on the [p, 202.] North-side, between the main and the Sea at low-water: here are found excellent Whetstones, and here likewise are stages for fishermen.

Nine mile Eastward of *Black-point* lyeth scatteringly the Town of *Casco* upon a large Bay, stored with Cattle, Sheep, Swine, abundance of marsh and Arable land, a Corn-mill or two, with stages for fishermen.

Further East-ward is the Town of *Kenebeck* seated upon the River.

Further yet East-ward is *Sagadehock*, where there are many houses scattering, and all along stages for fishermen, these too are storéd with Cattle and Corn-lands.

The mountains and hills that are to be taken notice of, are first *Acomenticus* hills, between *Kettery* and *Gorgiana*, the high hills of *Ossapey* to the Westward of *Saco* River, where the princely *Pilhanaw*

Ayries, the white mountains, to the North-ward of *Black-point*, the highest *Terrasse* in *New-England*, you have the description of it in my Treatise of the rarities of *New-England*.

A Neighbour of mine rashly wandering out after some stray'd Cattle, lost his way, and coming as we conceived by his Relation near to the head spring of some of the branches of *Black-point* River or *Saco*-River, [p. 203.] light into a Tract of land for God knowes how many miles full of delfes and dingles, and dangerous precipices, Rocks and inextricable difficulties which did justly daunt, yea quite deter him from endeavouring to pass any further: many such like places are to be met with in *New-England*.

The ponds or lakes in this province are very large and many, out of which the great Rivers have their original; we read of the lake *Balsena* that is thirty miles about, here are that come very near to it, stored with all sorts of fresh water fish; and if you will believe report, in one of them huge fishes like Whales are to be seen, and some of them have fair Islands in them. Twelve mile from *Casco-bay*, and passable for men and horses, is a lake called by the *Indians* *Sebug*, on the brink thereof at one end is the famous Rock shap'd like a *Moose-Deere* or *Helk*, Diaphanous, and called the *Moose-Rock*. Here are found stones like Crystal, and *Lapis Specularis* or *Muscovia* glass both white and purple.

On the East-side of *Black-point* River upon a plain, close to the Sea-bank is a pond two mile in compass, fish it produceth, but those very small and black, and a number of Frogs and Snakes, and much [p. 204.] frequented by wild-fowl, *Ducks*, *Teal*, and wild-*Swins*, and *Geese*, especially spring and fall when they pass along to the South-ward, and return again to the North-ward where they breed.

The principal Rivers in the province of *Main*, are *Pascataway*-River, *York*-River, *Kenibunck*-River, near



to this River clay bullets were cast up by a mineral vapour, this River is by the Town of *Wells*. Then *Saco*-River on the East-side of the Town, the shore Rockie all along on both sides, where musick echoes from several places: seven miles up the River is a great fall where abundance of *Salmon* and *Lamprons* are taken at the fall; a great way up, the River runs upon the Rock, *in rupibus defendendo efficit rivus*, he cutteth out Rivers among the Rocks, saith *Job*, of the Almighty, *Job* 28. 10. A little above the fall is a saw-mill. Then *Black-point*-River divided into many branches; this as most of the Rivers in *New-England*, is bar'd with a bank of Sand, where the *Indians* take *Sturgeon* and *Basse*. *Spur-vinck*-River is next, which by his near approach to *Black-point*-river maketh that neck of land almost an Island. Further East-ward is *Kenebeck*-river fifty leagues off of *New-Plimouth* East-ward, and *Pechipscut* famous [p. 205.] for multitudes of mighty large *Sturgeon*. The last river of the province East-ward is the great river *Sagadehock* where Sir *John Pophams* Colony seated themselves.

The chief harbours are *Cape-porpus*, *Winter-harbour*, in which are some small Islands, *Black-point*, *Richmans-Island*, *Casco-bay* the largest in the province full of Islands.

From *Sagadehock* to *Nova-Scotia* is called the Duke of *Yorkes* province, here *Pemmaquid*, *Montinicus*, *Mohegan*, *Capeanawhagen*, where Capt. *Smith* fish for *Whales*; *Muscataquid*, all fill'd with dwelling houses and stages for fishermen, and have plenty of Cattle, arable land and marshes.

*Nova Scotia* was sold by the Lord *Starling* to the *French*, and is now wholly in their possession.

Now we are come to *New-found-land*, which is over against the gulf of *St. Lawrence*, an Island near as spacious as *Ireland*, and lyeth distant from the Continent as far as *England* is from the nearest part

of *France*, and near half the way between *Ireland* and *Virginia*, its longitude is 334 degrees 20 seconds, and North latitude 46 degrees 30 minutes, or as others will 53 minutes. *The longitude of places are uncertainly reported, but in latitudes most agree.* [p. 206.] *Longitude is the distance of the meridian of any place from the meridian which passeth over the Isles of Azores, where the beginning of longitude is said to be. The meridian is a great circle dividing the Equinoctial at right Angles into two equal parts, passing also through both the Poles, and the Zenith, to which circle the Sun coming twice every 24 hours, maketh the middle of the day, and the middle of the night. Every place hath a several meridian, but they all meet in the poles of the world. Latitude is counted from the Equinoctial to the end of 30 degrees on each side thereof. The Equinoctial is a great circle imagined in the Heavens, also dividing the heavens into two equal parts, and lying just in the middle betwixt the two poles, being in compass from West to East, 360 degrees, every degree thereof on the terrestrial Globe vauing 20 English\_miles [leagues?] or 60 miles.*

Into the Bay of St. *Lawrence* the River of St. *Lawrence* or *Canada* disimbogues it self, a River far exceeding any River in the elder world, thirty or forty mile over at the mouth, and in the Channel one hundred fathom deep; it runs on the back-side of *New-England* and *Virginia*: the *French* (it is said) have gone up six weeks voyage in it, and have not yet discovered the spring-head: the longitude is 334 degrees [p. 207.] 11 seconds, in 50 degrees 21 minutes of North latitude. This may satisfie a modest Reader, and I hope yield no offence to any. I shall onely speak a word or two of the people in the province of *Main* and the *Dukes* province, and so conclude.

The people in the province of *Main* may be di-

vided into Magistrates, Husbandmen, or Planters, and fishermen; of the Magistrates some be Royalists, the rest perverse Spirits, the like are the planters and fishers, of which some be planters and fishers both, others meer fishers.

Handicrafts-men there are but few, the Tumelor or Cooper, Smiths and Carpenters are best welcome amongst them, shop-keepers there are none, being supplied by the *Massachusetts* Merchant with all things they stand in need of, keeping here and there fair Magazines stored with *English* goods, but they set excessive prices on them, if they do not gain *Cent per Cent*, they cry out that they are losers, hence *English* shoes are sold for Eight and Nine shillings a pair, worsted stockings of Three shillings six pence a pair, for Seven and Eight shillings a pair, Douglass that is sold in *England* for one or two and twenty pence an ell, for four shillings a yard, Serges of two shillings or three shillings a yard, for Six and Seven [p. 208.] shillings a yard, and so all sorts of Commodities both for planters and fishermen, as Cables, Cordage, Anchors, Lines, Hooks, Nets, Canvas for sails, &c. Bisket twenty five shillings a hundred, Salt at an excessive rate, pickled-herrin for winter bait Four and five pound a barrel (with which they speed not so well as the waggish lad at *Cape-porpus*, who baited his hooks with the drown'd *Negro's* buttocks) so for Pork and Beef.

The planters are or should be restless pains takers, providing for their Cattle, planting and sowing of Corn, fencing their grounds, cutting and bringing home fuel, cleaving of claw-board and pipe-staves, fishing for fresh water fish and fowling takes up most of their time, if not all; the diligent hand maketh rich, but if they be of a droanish disposition as some are, they become wretchedly poor and miserable, scarce able to free themselves and family from importunate famine, especially in the winter for want of bread.

They have a custom of taking Tobacco, sleeping at noon, sitting long at meals some-times four times in a day, and now and then drinking a dram of the bottle extraordinarily: the smoaking of Tobacco, if moderately used refresheth the weary much, and so doth sleep.

[p. 209.] *A Traveller five hours doth crave  
To sleep, a Student seven will have,  
And nine sleeps every Idle knave.*

The Physitian allowes but three draughts at a meal, the first for need, the second for pleasure, and the third for sleep; but little observed by them, unless they have no other liquor to drink but water. In some places where the springs are frozen up, or at least the way to their springs made unpassable by reason of the snow and the like, they dress their meat in *Aqua Celestis*, i. e. melted snow, at other times it is very well cook't, and they feed upon (generally) as good flesh, Beef, Pork, Mutton; Fowl and fish as any is in the whole world besides.

Their Servants which are for the most part *English*, when they are out of their time, will not work under half a Crown a day, although it be for to make hay, and for less I do not see how they can, by reason of the dearness of clothing. If they hire them by the year, they pay them Fourteen or Fifteen pound, yea Twenty pound at the years end in Corn, Cattle and fish: some of these prove excellent fowlers, bringing in as many as will maintain their masters house; besides the profit that accrews by their feathers. [p. 210.] They use (when it is to be had) a great round shot, called *Barstable* shot, (which is best for fowl) made of a lead blacker than our common lead, to six pound of shot they allow one pound of powder, Cannon powder is esteemed best.

The fishermen take yearly upon the coasts many hundred kentals of Cod, hake, haddock, polluck &c.

which they split, salt and dry at their stages, making three voyages in a year. When they share their fish (which is at the end of every voyage) they separate the best from the worst, the first they call Merchantable fish, being sound, full grown fish and well made up, which is known when it is clear like a Lanthorn horn and without spots; the second sort they call refuse fish, that is such as is salt burnt, spotted, rotten, and carelessly ordered: these they put off to the *Massachusetts* Merchants; the merchantable for thirty and two and thirty ryals a kental, (a kental is an hundred and twelve pound weight) the refuse for Nine shillings and Ten shillings a kental, the Merchant sends the merchantable fish to *Lisbonne, Bilbo, Burdeaux, Marsiles, Talloon, Rochel, Roan*, and other Cities of *France*, to the *Canaries* with claw-board and pipe-staves which is there and at the *Charibs* a prime Commodity: the refuse fish they put [p. 211.] off at the *Charib-Islands, Barbadoes, Jamaica, &c.* who feed their *Negroes* with it.

To every Shallop belong four fishermen, a Master or Steersman, a midship-man, and a Foremast-man, and a shore man who washes it out of the salt, and dries it upon hurdles pitcht upon stakes breast high and tends their Cookery; these often get in one voyage Eight or Nine pound a man for their shares, but it doth some of them little good, for the Merchant to increase his gains by putting off his Commodity in the midst of their voyages, and at the end thereof comes in with a walking Tavern, a Bark laden with the Legitimate bloud of the rich grape, which they bring from *Phial, Madera, Canaries*, with *Brandy, Rhum, the Barbadoes strong-water, and Tobacco*, coming ashore he gives them a Taster or two, which so charms them. that for no perswasions that their employers can use will they go out to Sea, although fair and seasonable weather, for two or three days, nay sometimes a whole week till they

are wearied with drinking, taking ashore two or three Hogsheads of *Wine* and *Rhum* to drink off when the Merchant is gone. If a man of quality chance to come where they are roustering and guling in *Wine* with a dear felicity, he must be sociable and *Roly-poly* with them, taking off [p. 212.] their liberal cups as freely, or else be gone, which is best for him, for when *Wine* in their guts is at full Tide, they quarrel, fight and do one another mischief, which is the conclusion of their drunken computations. When the day of payment comes, they may justly complain of their costly sin of drunkenness, for their shares will do no more than pay the reckoning; if they save a Kental or two to buy shooes and stockings, shirts and wastcoats with, 'tis well, other-wayes they must enter into the Merchants books for such things as they stand in need off, becoming thereby the Merchants slaves, & when it riseth to a big sum are constrained to mortgage their plantation if they have any, the Merchant when the time is expired is sure to seize upon their plantation and stock of Cattle, turning them out of house and home, poor Creatures, to look out for a new habitation in some remote place where they begin the world again. The lavish planters have the same fate, partaking with them in the like bad husbandry, of these the Merchant buys Beef, Pork, Pease, Wheat and *Indian Corn*, and sells it again many times to the fishermen. Of the same nature are the people in the Dukes province, who not long before I left the Countrey petitioned the Governour and Magistrates in [p. 213.] the *Massachusetts* to take them into their Government, Birds of a feather will ralley together.

*Anno Dom.* 1671. The year being now well spent, and the Government of the province turned topsiturvy, being heartily weary and expecting the approach of winter, I took my leave of my friends at *Black-point*. And on the 28 of *August* being Mon-

day I shipt myself and my goods aboard of a shallop bound for *Boston*: towards Sun set, the wind being contrary, we put into *Gibbons* his Island, a small Island in *Winter-harbour* about two leagues from *Black-point* West-ward, here we stayed till the 30. day being Wednesday, about nine of the clock we set sail, and towards Sun-set came up with *Gorgiana*, the 31 day being Thursday we put into *Cape-Ann*-harbour about Sun-set. *September* the 1 being Saturday in the morning before day we set sail and came to *Boston* about three of the clock in the afternoon, where I found the Inhabitants exceedingly afflicted with griping of the guts, and Feaver, and Ague, and bloody Flux.

The Eight day of *October* being Wednesday, I boarded the new-Supply of *Boston* 190 Tun, a Ship of better sail than defence, her Guns being small, and for salutation only, the Master Capt. *Fairweather*, her [p. 214.] sailers 16. and as many passengers. Towards night I returned to *Boston* again, the next day being Thanksgiving day, on Fryday the Tenth day we weighed Anchor and fell down to *Hull*.

The 12 and 13 day about 20 leagues from *Cape-Sable* a bitter storm took us, beginning at seven of the clock at night, which put us in terrible fear of being driven upon the *Cape*, or the Island of *Sables* where many a tall ship hath been wrackt.

*November* the One and twenty about two of the clock afternoon we saw within kenning before us thick clouds, which put us in hope of land, the *Boson* brings out his purse, into which the passengers put their good will, then presently he nails it to the main-mast, up go the boyes to the main-mast-top sitting there like so many *Crowes*, when after a while one of them cryes out land, which was glad tidings to the wearied passengers, the boyes descend, and the purse being taken from the mast was distributed amongst them, the lad that first descryed land having

a double share: about three of the clock *Scilly* was three leagues off.

The Four and twentieth day we came to *Deal*, from thence the 25. to *Lee*, the 26. being Sunday we steemed the Tide to *Gravesend*, about two of the clock [p. 215.] afternoon. The 27 we came up with *Wollich* where I landed and refresht my self for that night, next day I footed it four or five miles to *Bexley* in *Kent* to visit a near kinsman, the next day proved rainie, the 30 day being Fryday my kinsman accommodated me with a Horse and his man to *Greenwich*, where I took a pair of Oars and went aboard our Ship then lying before *Radcliff*, here I lay that night. Next day being Saturday, and the first of *December* I cleared my goods, shot the bridge and landed at the *Temple* about seven of the clock at night, which makes my voyage homeward 7 weeks and four days, and from my first setting out from *London* to my returning to *London* again Eight years Six moneths and odd days.

Now by the merciful providence of the Almighty, having perform'd Two voyages to the North-east parts of the Western-world, I am safely arrived in my Native Countrey; having in part made good the *French* proverb, Travail where thou canst, but dye where thou oughtest; that is, in thine own Countrey.

FINIS.

[Between pages 216 and 227, in the copy from which this is reprinted, the numbering of the pages is confused. Page 216 is blank. This is followed by the title-leaf of the "Chronological Observations," the back of which is blank. The "Preface" occupies four pages, the first numbered 223, and the others not numbered. The first leaf of the Chronology itself is paged 223, 224; and the second leaf, without any break in the sense, is paged 227, 228.]



**Chronological**  
O B S E R V A T I O N S  
O F  
**AMERICA,**  
From the year of the World  
to the year of Christ,  
1673.

L O N D O N :

Printed for *Giles Widdowes*, at the *Green-  
Dragon* in *St. Paul's-Church-yard*, 1674.

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[p. 223.] **The Preface.**

**T**HE *Terrestrial World* is by our learned Geographers divided into four parts, Europe, Asia, Africa and America so named from Americus Vesputius the Florentine, Seven years after Columbus; although Columbus and Cabota deserved rather the honour of being Godfathers to it: notwithstanding by this name it is now known to us, but was utterly unknown to the Ancient Europeans before their times, I will not say to the Africans and Asians, for Plato in his *Timeus* relateth of a great Island, called *Atlantis*, and Philo the Jew in his book *De mundo*, that it was over-flown with water, by reason of a mighty Earthquake; The like happened to it 600 years

before *Plato*: thus was the *Atlantick* Ocean, caused to be a Sea, if you will believe the same *Philosopher*, who flourished 366 years before the Birth of our *Saviour*.

America is bounded on the South with the streight of *Magellan*, where there are many Islands distinguished by an interflowing Bay; the West with the pacifique Sea, or *mare-del-zur*, which Sea runs towards the North, separateing it from the East parts of Asia; on the East with the *Atlantick*, or our Western Ocean called *mare-del-Nort*; and on the North with the Sea that separateth it from *Groveland*, thorow which Seas the supposed passage to *China* lyeth; these North parts, as yet are but barely discovered by our voyagers.

The length of this new World between the streights of *Anian* and *Magellan* is 2400 German miles, in breadth between *Cabo de fortuna* near the *Anian* streights is 1300 German miles. About 18 leagues from *Nombre de dios*, on the South-Sea lyeth *Panama* (a City having three fair Monasteries in it) where the narrowest part of the Countrey is, it is much less than Asia, and far bigger than Europe, and as the rest of the world divided into Islands and Continent, the Continent supposed to contain about 1152400000 Acres.

The Native people I have spoken of already: The discoverers and Planters of Colonies, especially in the North-east parts; together with a continuation of the proceedings of the English in New-England, from the first year of their settling there to purpose, to this present year of our Lord 1673. with many other things by the way inserted and worth the observing I present unto your view in this ensuing Table.



*Anno Mundi*, 3720.

**B**ritain known to the *Græcians* as appeared by *Polybius* the *Greek* Historian 265 years before the Birth of our Saviour, & after him *Athenæus* a *Greek* Author of good account 170 before Christ, relateth that *Hiero* sent for a mast for a great Ship that he had built to *Britain*.

3740.

*Hanno* the *Carthaginian* flourished, who sent to discover the great Island *Atlantis*, i. e. *America*.

3873.

*Britain* unknown to the *Romans* was first discovered to them by *Julius Cæsar*, 54 years before the Birth of Christ, who took it to be part of the Continent of *France*, and got nothing but the sight of that part called afterwards *England*, which is the South of *Britain*.

*Anno Domini*, 86.

*Britain* discovered to be an Island, and conquered by *Julius Agricola* 136. years after *Julius Cæsars* entrance into it.

99.

[p. 224.] The Emperour *Trajan* flourished and stretched the Confines of the *Roman* Empire, unto the remotest Dominions of the *East-Indies*, who never before that time had heard of a *Roman*.

745.

*Boniface* Bishop of *Mens* a City in *Germany*, was accused before Pope *Zachary* in the time of *Ethelred* King of the *East-Angles* for Heresie, &c. in that he averred there were Antipodes. *St. Augustine* and *Lactantius* opinion was that there were none.

827.

*Egbert* the *Saxon* Monarch changed the name of the people in *England*, and called them *English-men*.

844.

The *Turks* or *Scythians* came from thence in the time of *Ethelwolf* King of the *West-Saxons*. If the *Ottoman-line* should fail, the *Chrim Tartar* is to succeed, being both of one Family.

959.

*Edgar* surnamed the Peaceable, the 30 Monarch of the *English*, caused the Wolves to be destroyed by imposing a Tribute upon the Princes of *Wales*; and *Fage* Prince of *North-Wales* paid him yearly 300 Wolves, [p. 227.] which continued three years space, in the fourth year there was not a Wolf to be found, and so the Tribute ceased.

1160.

In the Emperours *Frederick Barbarossa's* time, certain *West-Indians* came into *Germany*.

1170.

*Madoc* the Son of *Owen Gwineth* Prince of *North-Wales* his voyage to the *West-Indies*, he planted a Colony in the Western part of the Countrey, in our *Henry* the Seconds Raign.

1300.

*Flavio* of *Malphi* in *Naples* invented the Compass in our *Edward* the firsts time.

1330.

The *Canaries* discovered by an *English Ship*.

1337.

In *Edward* the third's time a Comet appeared, continuing 30 days.

1344.

*Machan* an *English-man* accidentally discovered *Madera-Island*.

1350.

*Estotiland* discovered by fishermen of *Freez-land*, in *Edward* the third's Raign.

1360.

The Franciscan-Fryer *Nicholas de Linno*, [228.] who is said to discover the Pole by his black art, went thither in the Raign of *Edward* the Third.

1372.

Sir *John Mandivel*, the Great Traveller dyed at *Leige* a City in the *Netherland* Provinces in *Edward* the Third's Raign.

1380.

*Nicholas* and *Antonio Zeni*, two Noble Gentlemen of *Venice* were driven by Tempest upon the Island of *Estotiland* or *Gronland*, in our *Edward* the Third's Raign.

1417.

The *Canaries* Conquered by *Betan-Court* a *Frenchman*.

1420.

The Island of *Madera* discovered in our *Henry* the Fifth's time.

1428.

The Island *Puerto Santo*, or *Holy-port* distant from *Madera* 40 miles, discovered by *Portingul* Mariners on *All-hallowes-day*, and therefore called *Holy-port*, it is in compass 150 miles, in *Henry* the Sixth's Raign.

1440.

The Island of *Cape de verd* discovered.

1452.

The *Marine* parts of *Guinea* discovered by the *Portingals* in *Henry* the Sixth's Raign.

1478.

[p. 229.] *Ferdinando* first Monarch of all *Spain*.

1485.

*Henry* the Seventh began to Reign.

1486.

The Kingdom of *Angola* and *Congo*, with the Islands of *St. George*, *St. James* and *St. Helens* discovered.

1488.

*Christopher Columbus* a *Genouese* offered the discovery of the *West-Indies* to *Henry* the Seventh.

1492.

*Christopher Columbus* sent to discover the *West-Indies* by *Ferdinando* King of *Arragon*, and *Isabella* Queen of *Castile*, who descended from *Edward* the Third King of *England*.

The *Caribby-Islands* the *Antilles* or *Canibal*, or *Camerean-Islands* now discovered by *Christopher Columbus*, who took possession of *Florida* and *Hispaniola* for the King of *Spain*.

1493.

*Alexander* the Sixt Pope of *Rome* a *Spaniard*, took upon him to divide the world by his Bull, betwixt the *Portingal* and the *Spaniard*, bearing date the fourth of *May*, giving to the one the East, and to the other the *West-Indies*.

[p. 230.] *St. Jean Porto Rico* discovered by *Christopher Columbus*, *Cuba* and *Jamaica* discovered by him, this was his second voyage.

1495.

*Sebastian Cabota* the first that attempted to discover the North-west passage at the charge of *Henry* the Seventh.

1497.

*Christopher Columbus* his third voyage to the *West-Indies*, and now he discovered the Countreys of *Paria* and *Cumana*, with the Islands of *Cubagua* and *Margarita*.

*John Cabota* and his Son *Sebastian Cabota* sent by *Henry the Seventh*, to discover the *West-Indies*, which they performed from the *Cape of Florida* to the 67 degree and a half of Northerly latitude, being said by some to be the first that discovered *Florida*, *Virginia*, and *New-found-land*.

*Vasques de Gama* his voyage to *Africa*.

1500.

*Christopher Columbus* his fourth and last voyage to the *West-Indies*.

*Jasper Corteriaglis* a *Portugal*, his voyage to discover the North-West passage, he discovered *Greenland*, or *Terra Corteriaglis*, or *Terra di Laborodoro*.

1501.

*Americus Vesputius* a *Florentine* imployed by the King of *Castile* and *Portingal*, to discover [p. 231.] the *West-Indies*, named from him Seven year after *Columbus*, *America*.

1506.

*Christopher Columbus* dyed.

1508.

*Henry the Seventh* dyed *August the Two* and *twentieth*.

*Henry the Eighth* King of *England*.

1514.

*Sebastian Cabota*, the Son of *John* made further discovery of all the North-east coasts from *Cape Florida* to *New-found-land*, and *Terra Laborador*.

1516.

The voyage of Sir *Thomas Pert* Vice-Admiral of *England*, and *Sebastian Cabota*, the Eighth of *Henry the Eighth* to *Brasil*, *St. Domingo*, and *St. Juan de puerto rico*.

1520.

*Ferdinando Magellano* a noble *Portingal* set forth

to sail about the world, but was 1521 unfortunately slain.

1522.

The *Bermuduz-Isle* 400 in number, being 500 miles distant from *Virginia*, and 3300 miles from the City of *London* in the latitude 32 degrees and 30 minutes, discovered now accidentally by *John Bermuduz* a *Spaniard*.

1523.

[p. 232.] *Stephen Gomez* his voyage to discover the North-west passage, some will have it in Twenty five.

1527.

*New-found-land* discovered by one *Andrew Thorn*, the Southern part but 600 leagues from *England*.

*John de Ponce* for the *Spaniard* took possession of *Florida*.

1528.

*Nevis* or *Mevis* planted now according to some writers.

1534.

*California* questioned, whether Island or Continent, first discovered by the *Spaniard*.

*Nova Francia* lying between the 40 and 50 degree of the *Artic-poles* *Altitude* discovered by *Jaques Carthier* in his first voyage, the first Colony planted in *Canada*.

1536.

The Puritan-Church policy began now in *Geneva*.

1542.

*Monsieur de Barvals* voyage to *Nova Francia*, sent to inhabite those parts.

1548.

*Henry* the Eighth dyed.



*Edward* the Sixth King of *England* began to Raign.

[p. 233.] *Sebastian Cabota* made grand Pilot of *England* by *Edward* the Sixth.

1550.

The sweating sickness in *England*,

1553.

*Edward* the Sixth dyed.

*Mary* Queen of *England* began to Raign.

*Sir Hugh Willoughby*, and all his men in two Ships in his first attempt to discover the North-east passage, were in *October* frozen to death in the Haven called *Arzima* in *Lapland*.

1558.

Queen *Mary* dyed.

*Elizabeth* Queen of *England* began to Raign *November* the Seventeenth.

1560.

*Salvaterra* a *Spaniard* his voyage to the North-west passage.

1562.

*Sir John Hawkins* first voyage to the *West-Indies*.

The first expedition of the *French* into *Florida*, undertaken by *John Ribald*.

1565.

Tobacco first brought into *England* by *Sir John Hawkins*, but it was first brought into use by *Sir Walter Rawleigh* many years after.

1566.

The Puritans began to appear in *England*.

1569.

[p. 234.] *Anthony Jenkinson* the first of the *English* that sailed through the *Caspian-Sea*.

1572.

Private Presbyteries now first erected in *England*.  
 Sir *Francis Drake's* first voyage to the *West-Indies*.

1573.

The *Hollanders* seek for aid from Queen *Elizabeth*.

1576.

Sir *Martin Frobisher* the first in Queen *Elizabeth's* days that sought for the North-west passage, or the streight, or passage to *China*, and *meta incognita*, in three several voyages, others will have it in 1577.

1577.

*November* the 17 Sir *Francis Drake* began his voyage about the world with five Ships, and 164 men setting sail from *Plimouth*, putting off *Cape de verde*. The beginning of *February*, he saw no Land till the fifth of *April*, being past the line 30 degrees of latitude, and in the 36 degree entered the River (*Plates*) whence he fell with the streight of *Magellan* the 21 of *August*, which with three of his Ships he passed, having cast off the other two as impediments to him, and the *Marigold* tossed from her General after [p. 235.] passage was no more seen. The other commanded by Capt. *Winter* shaken off also by Tempest, returned thorow the Streights and recovered *England*, only the *Pellican*, whereof himself was Admiral, held on her course to *Chile*, *Cochimbo*, *Cinnama*, *Palma*, *Lima*, upon the west of *America*, where he passed the line 1579 the first day of *March*, and so forth until he came to the latitude 47. Thinking by those North Seas to have found passage to *England*, but fogs, frosts and cold winds forced him to turn his course South-west from thence, and came to Anchor 38 degrees from the line, where the King of that Countrey presented

him his Net-work Crown of many coloured feathers, and therewith resigned his Scepter of Government unto his Dominion, which Countrey Sir *Francis Drake* took possession of in the Queens name, and named it *Nova Albion*, which is thought to be part of the Island of *California*.

Sir *Martin Frobisher's* second voyage.

1578.

Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* a *Devonshire* Knight attempted to discover *Virginia*, but without success.

Sir *Martin Frobisher's* third voyage to *Meta incognita*. *Freezeland* now called *West-England*, 25 leagues in length, in the latitude of 57.

[p. 236.] Sir *Francis Drake* now passed the Streights of *Magellan* in the Ship called the *Pellican*.

1579.

Sir *Francis Drake* discovered *Nova Albion* in the South-Sea.

Others will have Sir *Martin Frobisher's* first voyage to discover the North-west passage to be this year.

1580.

From *Nova Albion* he fell with *Ternate*, one of the Isles of *Molucco*, being courteously entertained of the King, and from thence he came unto the Isles of *Calebes*, to *Java Major*, to *Cape buona speranza*, and fell with the coasts of *Guinea*, where crossing again the line, he came to the height of the *Azores*, and thence to *England* upon the third of *November* 1580. after three years lacking twelve days, and was Knighted, and his Ship laid up at *Deptford* as a monument of his fame.

1581.

The Provinces of *Holland* again seek for aid to the Queen of *England*.

1582.

Sir *Humphrey Gilbert* took possession of *New-*

*found-land* or *Terra Nova*, in the harbour of *St. John*, for and in the name of [p. 237.] *Queen Elizabeth*, it lyeth over against the gulf of *St. Lawrence*, and is between 46 and 53 degrees of the North-poles Altitude.

1583.

*Sir Walter Rawleigh* in *Ireland*.

*Sir Humphrey Gilbert* attempted a plantation in some remote parts in *New-England*.

He perished in his return from *New-found-land*.

1584.

The woful year of subscription so called by the Brethren, or Disciplinarians.

*Sir Walter Rawleigh* obtained of *Queen Elizabeth* a Patent for the Discovery and peopling of unknown Countries, not actually possessed by any Christian Prince. Dated *March 25*. in the six and twentieth of her Raign.

*April* the 27 following, he set forth two Barkes under the Command of *Mr. Philip Amedas* and *Mr. Arthur Barlow*, who arrived on that part of *America*, which that *Virgin Queen* named *Virginia*, and thereof in her Majesties name took possession *July* the Thirteenth.

1585.

Cautionary Towns and Forts in the low-Countrys delivered unto *Queen Elizabeth's* hands.

*Sir Richard Greenvile* was sent by *Sir* [p. 238.] *Walter Rawleigh* *April* the Ninth, with a Fleet of 7 sail to *Virginia*, and was stiled the General of *Virginia*. He landed in the Island of *St. John de porto Rico* *May* the Twelfth, and there fortified themselves and built a *Pinnasse*, &c. In *Virginia* they left 100 men under the Government of *Mr. Ralph Lane*, and others.

*Sir Francis Drake's* voyage to the *West-Indies*, wherein were taken the Cities of *St. Jago*, *St. Do-*

*mingo Cartagena*, and the Town of *St. Augustine* in *Flor da*.

Now (say some) Tobacco was first brought into *England* by *Mr. Ralph Lane* out of *Virginia*.

Others will have Tobacco to be first brought into *England* from *Peru*, by *Sir Francis Drake's* Mariners.

*Capt. John Davies* first voyage to discover the North-west passage, encouraged by *Sir Francis Walsingham*, principal Secretary.

1586.

*Mr. Thomas Candish* of *Trimely*, in the County of *Suffolk* Esq. began his voyage in the ship called the *Desire*, and two ships more to the South-Sea through the Streights of *Magellan* (and from thence round about the circumference of the whole earth) burnt and ransack'd in the entrance of *Chile*, [239.] *Peru* and *New-Spain*, near the great Island of *California* in the South-Sea; and returned to *Plimouth* with a pretious booty 1588, *September* the Eighth, being the Third since *Magellan*, that circuited the earth, our *English* voyagers were never out-stript by any.

The Natives in *Virginia* conspired against the *English*.

The same year *Sir Richard Greenville* General of *Virginia* arrived there with three ships, bringing relief from *Sir Walter Rawleigh* to the Colony.

*Mr. John Davies* second voyage to discover the North-west passage.

1587.

*Sir Walter Rawleigh* sent another Colony of 150 persons under the Government of *Mr. John White*.

*Mr. John Davies* third voyage to discover the North-west passage.

*Sir Francis Drake*, with four ships took from the *Spaniards* one million, 189200 Ducats in one voyage.

1588.

Queen *Elizabeth* opposed her Authority against the Brethrens books and writings.

Sir *Francis Drake* Vice-Admiral of the *English Fleet*, the Lord-Admiral bestowed the order of Knight-hood upon Mr. *John* [p. 240.] *Hawkins*, *Martin Frobisher* and others, *July* the Five and twentieth.

The *Spanish Armado* defeated, consisting of 130 ships, wherein were 19290 Souldiers, 2080 chained Rowers, 2630 great Ordnance, Commanded by *Perezius Guzman* Duke of *Medina Sedonia*, and under him *Johannes Martinus Recaldus* a great Seaman; The Fleet coming on like a half-moon, the horns of the front extending one from the other about 7 miles asunder, it was preparing 15 years, and was blackt to make it seem more terrible.

1589.

The *Portingal* voyage under the conduct of Sir *Francis Drake*.

Mr. *Thomas Candish* now finished his voyage about the world, as some will have it.

1590.

Now Tobacco first used in *England*, as some will have it.

1591.

The first *Englishman* that ever was in the *Bermuduze* or *Summer-Islands*, was one *Henry May*.

The voyage of Capt. *Newport* to the *West-Indies*, where upon the coast of *Hispaniola*, he took and burnt three Towns, and Nineteen sail of ships and Frigats.

Mr. *Thomas Candish* last voyage, in which he dyed.

1593.

[p. 241.] Sir *Martin Frobisher* Commander of the *English Fleet* slain in the quarrel of *H. King* of *Navarr*.

The last voyage of Sir *Francis Drake*, and Sir *John Hawkins* to the *West-Indies* with six ships of the Queens, and twelve other ships and Barks containing 2400 men and boyes, in which voyage they both dyed, and Sir *Francis Drake's* Coffen was thrown over board near *Porto bello*.

1594.

Sir *Robert Duddleleys* voyage to *Trinidad*, and the coast of *Paria*.

Mr. *James Lancasters* voyage to *Fernambuck* the port Town of *Olinda* in *Brazil*, in which voyage he took 29 ships and Frigats, surprized the said port Town, and there found the Cargazon or fraught of a rich<sup>d</sup> *Indian Carack*, which together with great abundance of Sugars and Cottons he brought from thence; lading therewith fifteen sail of tall ships and barks.

1595.

The voyage of Sir *Amias Preston*, & Capt. *George Sommers* to the *West-Indies*, where they took, sackt, spoiled and abandoned the Island of *Puerto Santo*, the Island of *Cock* near [p. 242.] *Margarita*, the Fort and Town of *Coro*, the stately City of *St. Jago de leon*, and the Town of *Cumana* ransomed, and *Jamaica* entered.

Sir *Walter Rawleigh's* voyage now to *Guiana*, discovered by him. In which voyage he took *St. Joseph* a Town upon *Trinidado*.

The *Sabbatarian* doctrine published by the Brethren.

1596.

The voyage to *Cadez*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* Rere-Admiral.

The voyage of Sir *Anthony Sherley* intended for the Island of *St. Tome*, but performed to *St. Jago, Dominga, Margarita*, along the coast of *Terra Firma*

to the Island of *Jamaica*, situated between 17 and 18 degrees of the North-poles elevation (which he conquered, but held it not long) from thence to the bay of *Hondurus*, 30 leagues up *Rio dolce*, and homeward by *New-found-land*.

1597.

The voyage to the *Azores*, Sir *Walter Rawleigh* Capt. of the Queens Guard Rere-Admiral.

*Porto-Rico*, taken by the Earl of *Cumberland*.

1599.

The Grand *Canary* taken by the *Dutch* Commander *Vanderdoes*.

1600.

[p. 243.] The Colonies in *Virginia* supplied by publick purse.

1602.

Queen *Elizabeth* dyed *March* the Four and twentieth.

King *James* began to Raign.

The North parts of *Virginia*, i. e. *New-England* further discovered by Capt. *Bartholomew Gosnold*, some will have him to be the first discoverer.

Capt. *George Weymouth's* voyage to discover the North-west passage.

Divers of our *English* in the North of *England* entered into a Covenant of worshipping of God.

1603.

King *James* came into *England*, the fifth of *April*.  
Monsieur *Champlains* voyage to *Canada*.

*November* the seventeenth Sir *Walter Rawleigh* Arraigned and Condemned.

1604.

Monsieur *du Point* and *du Monts* voyage to *Canada*.



1605.

Monsieur *du Point* and *du Monts* remove the French habitation to *Port-Royal*.

*James Halle's* voyage to *Greenland*, and to find out the North-west passage.

1606.

[p. 244.] The province of *Main* possessed by the English by publick Authority King *James*, Sir *John Popham*, &c.

A Colony first sent to *New-England* by Sir *John Popham* chief Justice of the Common pleas.

*James-town* founded in *Virginia*.

*James Halls* second voyage, to find out the North-west passage.

Mr. *John Knight* his North-west voyage, lost his ship sunk by the Ice.

A Colony sent to *Virginia*, called by the *Indians* *Wingandacoa*, the first that took firm possession there.

1607.

*Plimouth* Plantation in *New-England* attempted.

*St. Georges* Fort built at the mouth of the River *Sagadahoc*, under the Presidency of Capt. *George Popham* and Capt. *Ralph Gilbert*, who built the Fort.

*James Halls* third voyage to find out the North-west passage.

*Hudsons* first voyage to find out the North-west passage.

1608.

*Virginia* planted.

A Colony sent to *New-found-land*.

[p. 245.] Capt. *John Smith* fished now for *Whales* at *Monhiggen*.

*Hudsons* second voyage to the North-west met a *Mermaid* in the Sea. That there be such Creatures see *Plinie*, *Albertus Magnus*, *Aristotle*, *Eliau*, *Theodoros Gaza*, *Alexander* of *Alexandria*, *Gorgius Tra-*

*pozensus, Jul. Scaliger, Stows Annals in Anno Dom. 1204. at Oreford in Suffolk a Mareman taken.*

1609.

Sir *Thomas Gales* and Sir *George Summers* going to *Virginia*, suffered shipwreck upon the *Bermudos-Islands* where they continued till 1610.

*Hudsons* third voyage to *New-found-land* discovered *Mohegan-River* in *New-England*.

The *Dutch* set down by *Mohegan-River*.

1610.

Capt. *Whitburns* voyage to discover the North-west passage, saw a *Mermaid* in the harbour of *St. Johns* at *New-found-land* by the River side.

*Hudsons* last and fatal voyage to discover the North-west passage, where he was frozen to death.

*Dales-gift* founded in *Virginia*.

Sundry of the *English* nation removed out of the North of *England* into the *Netherlands*, and gathered a Church at *Leyden*, where they continued until the year 1620.

1611.

[p. 246.] Sir *Thomas Dale* Governour of *Virginia*.  
The famous Arch-Pirate *Peter Easton*.

1612.

*Bermudus* first planted, and Mr. *R. Moore* sent over Governour, the first that planted a Colony in the *Bermudus*.

*James Halls* fourth voyage to discover the North west passage, was slain by the Savages.

Capt. *Buttons* voyage to discover the North-west passage.

1613.

*Port-Royal* destroyed by Sir *Samuel Argol* Governour of *Virginia*.

Mr. *John Rolfe* a Gentleman of good behaviour fell in love with *Pocahontas*, the only Daughter of *Pow-*

haton a King in *Virginia* and married her, she was Christened and called the Lady *Rebecca*, and dyed at *Gravesend Anno Dom. 1617.* Sir *Lewis Stukely* brought up her Son *Thomas Rolf*.

1614.

*Bermudus* planted further.

*Powhatons* Daughter in *Virginia* Christened *Rebecca*.

Capt. *Gibbins* voyage to find out the North-west passage.

*New-Netherlands* began to be planted [p. 247.] upon *Mohegan-River*, Sir *Samuel Argol* routed them.

1615.

Sir *Richard Hawkins* voyage into those parts of *New-England*.

1616.

Capt. *Gibbins* second voyage to find out the North-west passage.

A new supply sent by Capt. *Daniel Tucker* to the *Bermudus*.

*Pocahontas* and Mr. *Rolf* her Husband went for *England* with Sir *Thomas Dale*, and arrived at *Plymouth* the 12 of June.

1617.

Sir *Walter Rawleighs* last and unfortunate voyage to *Guiana*, where he took *St. Thome* the only Town of *Guiana* possessed by the *Spaniards*.

1618.

The Comet or blazing-star whose motion was by some observed to be from East to West.

1619.

Sir *Walter Rawleigh* beheaded in the Parliament yard.

*Bermudas-Islands* divided into Tribes and Cantreds, to each tribe a Burrough.

1620.

The *English* in *Virginia* divided into several Burroughs.

1620.

[p. 248.] Letters Patents obtained from King *James* for the Northern part of *Virginia* i. e. *New-England*.

In *July* sundry of the *English* set sail from *Holland* for *Southampton*.

*August* the fift, they set sail from *Southampton* for *America*, and arrived the Eleventh of *November* at *Cape-Cod*, where they entered into a body politick, and chose one Mr. *John Carver* their Governour, calling the place where they settled *New-Plimouth*: in *January* and *February* following was a mortality among the *English*, which swept away half the Company.

Mrs. *Susanna White* delivered of a Son at *new-Plimouth*, Christened *Peregrine*; he was the first of the *English* that was born in *new-England*, and was afterwards the Lieutenant of the Military Company of *Marsh-field* in *Plimouth* Colony.

*New-Plimouth* built, the first Town in *new-England*.

*Squanto* an *Indian* in *new-England*, carried into *England* by Mr. *Hunt* a Master of a Ship, but brought home again by Mr. *Dormer* a Gentleman imployed by Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* for discovery.

1621.

[p. 249.] *April*, Mr. *John Carver* Governour of *new-Plimouth* dyed, and Mr. *William Brandford* was chosen Governour.

The Natives in *Virginia* murdered about 340 *English*.

1622.

The Fort at *new-Plimouth* built: a great drought this Summer, from *May* the Third, till the middle of *July* there was no Rain.

Mr. *Thomas Weston* Merchant sent over 67 lusty men who settled themselves in a part of the *Massachusetts-bay*, now called *Weymouth*.

The order of the Knights of *Novascotia* ordained by King *James* Hereditarie, they wear an *Orange* tawny Ribbin.

Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* Patent for the province of *Main* in *New-England*.

The *Dutch* tortured the *English* at *Amboina*, 1623.

*Westons* plantation wholly ruined by their disorders.

Mr. *Robert Gorge*, Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* Brother arrived in *Plimouth*, and began a Plantation of the *Massachusetts bay*, having Commission from the Council of *New-England* to be general Governour of the Country, carrying over one Mr. *Morrel* a Minister, [p. 250.] but being discouraged, he returned for *England*.

A fire at *Plimouth*, which did considerable damage, several of the Inhabitants through discontent and casualties removed into *Virginia*.

Three thousand *English* now upon the *Bermudus* ten Forts, and in those ten Forts 50 pieces of Ordnance.

1624.

The number of Magistrates increased to five now at *New-Plimouth*.

The first neat Cattle carried over into *New-England* to *New-Plimouth* was three Heifers and a Bull.

1625.

*St. Christophers-Island* planted now by the *English* 25 leagues in compass, a great many little Rivers, in 17 degrees and 25 minutes.

King *James* dyed in 1625, and King *Charles* the first began his *Raign March* the seven and twentieth.

1627.

The first distribution of Lands amongst the Inhabitants of *New-Plimouth*.

A Colony of *English* planted upon the Island of *Barbados*, which in a short time increased to 20000, besides *Negroes*.

1628.

Mr. *John Endicot* arrived in *New-England* [p. 251.] with some number of people, and set down first by *Cape-Ann*, at a place called afterwards *Gloster*, but their abiding place was at *Salem*, where they built the first Town in the *Massachusetts* Patent.

The *Indians* at the *Massachusetts*, were at that time by sickness decreased from 30000 to 300.

*Nevis* or *Mevis* planted now by the *English* 3 or 4000 upon it.

Mr. *Morton* of *Merrimount* taken prisoner by the *Massachusetts*, and sent into *England*.

.1629.

Three ships arrived at *Salem* bringing a great number of passengers from *England*; infectious diseases amongst them.

Mr. *Endicot* chosen Governour.

Mr. *Higginson*, Mr. *Skelton* and Mr. *Bright* Ministers arrived, upon the fifth of *August* was the first Church in the *Massachusetts* Colony gathered at *Salem*, from which year to this present year is 45 years, in the compass of these years in this Colony, there hath been gathered forty Churches, and 120 Towns built in all the Colonies of *New-England*.

The Church of *new-Plimouth*, was planted in *New-England* eight years before others.

The book of Common-prayer pleaded [p. 252.] for, and practised in *Massachusetts* Colony by two of the Patentees, but was at last prohibited by the Authority there.

1630.

The Tenth of *July*, *John Winthorp* Esq; and the Assistants arrived in *New-England*, with the Patent for the *Massachusetts*, they landed on the North-side of *Charles River*, with him went over *Thomas Dudley*, *Isaac Johnson*, Esquires; Mr. *John Wilson*, Mr. *George Phillips*, Mr. *Maverich* (the Father of Mr. *Samuel Maverich*, one of his Majesties Commissioners) Mr. *Wareham* Ministers.

The passage of the people in the *Eagle*, and nine other Vessels to *New-England* came to 9500 pounds. The Swine, Goats, Sheep, Neat and Horses cost to transport 12000 pounds, besides the price they cost. The *Eagle* was called the *Arabella* in honour of the Lady *Arabella*, wife to *Isaac Johnson* Esq; they set down first upon *Noddles-Island*, the Lady *Arabella* abode at *Salem*.

Mr. *Isaac Johnson* a Magistrate of the *Massachusetts*, and his Lady dyed soon after their arrival.

*John Winthorp* Esq; chosen Governour, for the remainder of the year, Mr. *Thomas Dudley* deputy Governour, Mr. *Simon Broadstreet* Secretary.

[p. 253.] *Charles-town* the first town built.

Mr. *Higginson* Teacher of *Salem Church* dyed.

1630.

A very sharp winter in *New-England*.

1631

Capt. *John Smith* Governour of *Virginia*, and Admiral of *New-England* now dyed in *London*.

*John Winthorp* Esq; chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts*. Mr. *Thomas Dudley* Deputy Governour.

Sir *Richard Saltingstall* went for *New-England*, set down at *Water-town*.

Five Churches gathered this year, the first at *Boston* Mr. *John Wilson* Pastor, the second at *Water-town*, by Mr. *Philips*, the third at *Dorchester* by

Mr. *Maverick* and Mr. *Warcham*, the fourth at *Roxbury* by Mr. *Eliot*, the fifth at *Linn* by Mr. *Stephen Batcheler* their first Teacher.

Dr. *Wilson* gave 1000 pound to *New-England*, with which they stored themselves with great Guns.

1632.

*John Winthorp* chosen Governour, Mr. *Thomas Dudley* Deputy Governour.

Sir *Christopher Gardiner* descended of the house of *Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, Knighted at *Jerusalem* of the Sepulcher, [p. 254.] arrived in *New-England* with a comely young woman his Concubine, settled himself in the Bay of *Massachusetts*, was rigidly used by the Magistrates, and by the Magistrates of *New-Plimouth* to which place he retired.

A terrible cold winter in *New-England*.

1633.

Mr. *Edward Winslow* chosen Governour of *New-Plimouth*.

The number of Magistrates at *New-Plimouth* increase to seven.

An infectious feaver amongst the Inhabitants of *New-Plimouth*, whereof many dyed.

Mr. *John Winthorp* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* Colony, Mr. *Thomas Dudley* Deputy Governour.

Mr. *Thomas Hooker*, Mr. *Hains* and Mr. *Cotton* Ministers arrived in *New-England* all in one ship, and Mr. *Stone* and Mr. *William Collier* a liberal Benefactor to the Colony of *New-Plimouth*.

Mr. *John Cotton* chosen Teacher of the first Church at *Boston*.

A Church at *Cambridge* gathered by Mr. *Thomas Hooker* their first Pastor.

Great swarms of strange flyes up and down the Countrey, which was a presage of the following mortality.



1634.

[p. 255.] Mr. *Thomas Prince* chosen Governour of *New-Plimouth*.

Mr. *Thomas Dudley* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* Colony, and Mr. *Roger Ludlow* Deputy-Governour.

The Countrey now was really placed in a posture of War, to be in readiness at all times.

In the Spring a great sickness among the *Indians*, by the small pox.

The *Pequets* War with the *Narragansets*.

Mr. *Skelton* Pastor to the Church at *Salem* dyed.

Mr. *John Norton*, and Mr. *Thomas Shepherd* arrive in *New-England*.

A Church gathered at *Ipswich*, the first Pastor Mr. *Nathaniel Ward*.

A Church gathered at *Newberry*.

Capt. *Stone* turn'd Pirate, at the *Dutch* plantation.

The cruel Massacre of Capt. *Stone* and Capt. *Norton* at *Connecticut-River*, by the *Pequet Indians*.

1635.

Mr. *John Haines* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* Colony, Mr. *Richard Bellingham* Deputy Governour.

Mr. *Zachary Sims* arrived in *New-England*, and Mr. *Richard Bellingham*.

[p. 256.] This year Eleven Ministers arrived in *New-England*.

Mr. *Norton* Teacher at *Ipswich*, Mr. *Richard Mather* Teacher at *Dorchester*.

Sir *Henry Vain* Junior, arrived in *New-England*, Mr. *Richard Saltingstal*, Sir *Richard Saltingstal's* Son, Mr. *Roger Harlackenden*, and *Hugh Peters*.

*Hugh Peters* chosen Pastor of *Salem*.

A Church at *Hartford* in the Colony of *Connecticut* now gathered.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *New-Plimouth*.

Capt. *William Gorges*, Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* Nephew sent over Governour of the province of *Main*, then called new *Summersetshire*.

Saturday the 15 of *August*, an Hurrican or mighty storm of wind and rain which did much hurt in *New-England*.

1636.

Sir *Henry Vane* Junior, Governour of the *Massachusetts* Colony, *John Winthorp* Esq; Deputy Governour, Mr. *Roger Harlackenden* leader of their military Forces.

Mr. *Edward Winslow* a *Worcestershire* man born, chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* Colony.

*Connecticut* Colony planted.

Mr. *John Oldham* murdered in his Barque by the *Indians* of *Block-Island*.

[p. 257.] A Church gathered at *Hingham*, Mr. *Peter Hubbard* arrived now in *New-Eng'land* Teacher at *Hingham*.

Mr. *Flint*, Mr. *Carter*, Mr. *Walton*, Ministers arrived now in *New-England*.

Mr. *Fenwich*, Mr. *Partrick*, Mr. *Nathaniel Rogers*, and Mr. *Samuel White*, arrived now in *New-England*.

A General Court held at *Boston* against Mrs. *Hutchinson* the *American Jezabel*, *August* the 30. where the opinions and errors of Mrs. *Hutchinson* and her Associates 80 errors were condemned.

A Counsel held at *New-town* about the same business *October* the second, and at *Boston* again.

1637.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *New-Plimouth* Colony.

Mr. *John Wentthorp* chosen Governour of *Massachusetts* Colony, Mr. *Thomas Dudley* chosen Deputy Governour.

*New-haven* Colony began now, Mr. *Eaton* chosen Governour, *John Davenport* Pastor.

Mr. *Hopkins* arrived now in *New-England*.

A second Church gathered at *Dedham*, Mr. *John Allen* Pastor.

The *Pequets* wars, in which war the *English* slew and took prisoners about 700 *Indians*, [p. 258.] amongst which 13 of their *Sachems* to the great terror of the Natives, they sent the male children of the *Pequets* to the *Bermudus*.

This year the *Antinomian* and *Familistical* errors were broached in the Countrey, especially at *Boston*.

A Synod called, which condemned these errors.

A General Court held at *New-town* against Mrs. *Hutchinson* and the rest.

Mrs. *Hutchinson* and others banished by the Magistrates of the *Massachusetts* Colony.

A hideous monster born at *Boston* of one Mrs. *Mary Dyer*.

Sir *Henry Vane* and the Lord *Lee* returned for *England*.

The Ministers that went for *New-England* chiefly in the ten first years, ninety four, of which returned for *England* twenty seven, dyed in the Countrey thirty six, yet alive in the Countrey thirty one.

The number of ships that transported passengers to *New-England*, in these times was 298 supposed: men, women and children as near as can be gessed 21200.

The *Spaniards* took the Island of *Providence*, one of the Summer-Islands from the English.

1638.

[p. 259.] Mr. *Thomas Prince* chosen Governour of *new-Plymouth* Colony.

Mr. *John Winthorp* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* Colony, Mr. *Thomas Dudley* Deputy Governour.

A Church now gathered at *Waymouth*, Mr. *Gen-*

nor Pastor, Mr. *Newman* succeeded Mr. *Thomas Thatcher*.

Three *English* men put to death at *Plimouth* for robbing and murdering an *Indian* near *Providence*.

*June* the second a great and terrible earthquake throughout the Countrey.

*Samuel Gorton* of *Warwick-shire*, a pestilent seducer, and blasphemous Atheist, the Author of the Sects of *Gortinians*, banish'd *Plimouth* plantation, whipt and banished from *Road-Island*, banisht the *Massachusetts* Colony.

Now they set up a Printing-press at *Boston* in the *Massachusetts*.

This year came over Mr. *William Thompson*, Mr. *Edmund Brown*, Mr. *David Frisk*.

Mr. *John Harvard*, the founder of *Harvard* Colledge at *Cambridge* in the *Massachusetts* Colony, deceased, gave 700 pound to the erecting of it.

1639.

[p. 260.] Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* Colony.

Mr. *John Winthorp* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* Colony, Mr. *Thomas Dudley* Deputy Governour.

Mr. *Higginson* Teacher at *Salem* Church, *Skelton* pastor, and an exhorting Elder. This was the first Church gathered in the *Massachusetts* Colony, and it increased to 43 Churches in joynt Communion with one another, and in these Churches were about 7750 souls.

Mr. *Herbert Pelham* now arrived in *New-England*.

A Church gathered at *Hampton*, Mr. *Daulton* pastor, and Mr. *Batcheler* Teacher.

Another Church gathered at *Salisbury*.

*October* the Eleventh and Twelfth, the *Spanish* Navy was set upon by the *Hollander* in the *Downs*, they were in all 60 sail, the *Spaniards* were beaten.

A very sharp winter in *New-England*.

1640.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* Colony.

Mr. *Thomas Dudley* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* Colony, and Mr. *Richard Bellingham* Deputy Governour.

[p. 261.] Civil Wars began in *England*.

Mr. *Huet* Minister arrived in *New-England*, Mr. *Peck* and Mr. *Saxton*.

A Church gathered at *Braintree*, Mr. *Wheelright* pastor.

Mr. *Henry Dunster* arrived in *New-England*.

1641.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* Colony.

Mr. *Richard Bellingham* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* Colony, Mr. *John Endicot* Deputy.

A Church gathered at *Glocester* in the *Massachusetts* Colony.

A sharp winter in *New-England*, the harbours and salt bayes frozen over so as passable for Men, Horses, Oxen and Carts five weeks.

1642.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* Colony.

Mr. *John Winthorp* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* Colony, *John Endicot* Esq; Deputy Governour.

This Spring Cowes and Cattle fell from 22 pound a Cow, to six, seven and eight pound a Cow of a sudden.

A Church now gathered at *Woburn* in the *Massachusetts* Colony.

[p. 262.] Thirteen able Ministers now at this time in *new-Plimouth* Jurisdiction.

*Harvard-Colledge* founded with a publick Library. Ministers bred in *New-England*, and (excepting

about 10) in *Harvard-Colledge* one hundred thirty two: of which dyed in the Countrey Ten, now living eighty one, removed to *England* forty one. *June Warwick* Parliament Admiral.

1643.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of the *new-Plimouth* Colony.

Mr. *John Winthorp* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* Colony, Mr. *John Endicot* Deputy Governour.

*May* 19. the first Combination of the four united Colonies, *viz. Plimouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut,* and *new-haven.*

1644.

Mr. *Edward Winslow* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* Colony.

*John Endicot* Esq; chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* Colony, *John Winthorp* Esq; Deputy Governour.

A Church gathered at *Haveril.* Mr. *Roger Harlackendin* dyed about this time.

A Church gathered at *Reading* in *New-England.*

A Church gathered at *Wenham,* both in the *Massachusetts* Colony.

[p. 263.] The Town of *Eastham* erected now by some in *Plimouth.*

1645.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* Colony.

Mr. *Thomas Dudley* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* Colony, and Mr. *John Winthorp* Deputy Governour, Mr. *John Endicot* major General.

A Church gathered at *Springfield.*

1646.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* Colony.

Mr. *John Winthrop* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts*, Mr. *Thomas Dudley* Deputy and Mr. *John Endicot* major General.

Two Suns appeared towards the latter end of the year.

This year they drew up a body of Laws for the well ordering of their Commonwealth (as they termed it) printed in 1648.

Three men of War arrived in *new-Plimouth* harbour under the Command of Capt. *Thomas Cromwell*, richly laden, a mutiny amongst the Sea-men, whereby one man was killed.

The second Synod at *Cambridge* touching the duty and power of magistrates in matters of Religion.

[p. 264.] Secondly, the nature and power of Synods.

Mr. *John Eliot* first preached to the *Indians* in their Native language, the principal Instruments of converting the *Indians*, Mr. *John Eliot* Senior, Mr. *John Eliot* Junior, Mr. *Thomas Maynew*, Mr. *Pierson*, Mr. *Brown*, Mr. *James*, and Mr. *Cotton*.

1647.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* Colony.

Mr. *John Winthrop* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* Colony, Mr. *Thomas Dudley* Deputy Governour, and Mr. *John Endicot* Major General.

Now Mr. *Thomas Hooker* pastor of the Church at *Hertford* dyed.

The *Tartars* over-run *China*.

1648.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* Colony.

*John Winthrop* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony, Mr. *Thomas Dudley* Deputy Governour, Mr. *John Endicot* major General.

A Church gathered at *Andover*.

A Church gathered at *Malden* Mr. *Sarjant* pastor.

A second Church gathered at *Boston*.

A third Synod at *Cambridge* publishing the platform of Discipline.

[p. 265.] *Jan.* 30. King *Charles* the first murdered.

*Charles* the Second began his Raign.

Their Laws in the *Massachusetts* colony printed.

1649.

*John Winthorp* Esq; Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony *March* the 26 deceased.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth*.

Mr. *John Endicot* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony.

Mr. *Thomas Dudley* Deputy Governour, Mr. *Gibbons* major General.

An innumerable Company of *Caterpillars* in some parts of *New-England* destroyed the fruits of the Earth.

*August* the 25 Mr. *Thomas Shepherd* Pastor of *Cambridge* Church dyed.

Mr. *Phillips* also dyed this year.

1650.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *Thomas Dudley* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony, Mr. *John Endicot* Deputy Governour, Mr. *Gibbons* major General.

A great mortality amongst children this year in *New-England*.

1651.

[p. 266.] Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *John Endicot* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony, Mr. *Thomas Dudley* Deputy Governour, Mr. *Gibbons* major General.



The City *Bilbo* totally cover'd with waters for 15 days, 16 foot above the tops of the highest houses, the loss was very much to the whole Kingdom, there being their stock of dried fish and dried Goat the general dyet of *Spain*.

*Barbados* surrendred to the Parliament, its longitude 322, latitude 13 degrees, 17 or 18 miles in compass.

*Hugh Peters* and Mr. *Wells*, and *John Baker* returned into *England*.

1652.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *New-Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *John Endicot* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony, Mr. *Thomas Dudley* Deputy Governour, Mr. *Gibbons* major General.

*John Cotton* Teacher of *Boston* Church dyed, a Comet was seen at the time of his sickness hanging over *New England*, which went out soon after his death.

[p. 267.] The Spirits that took Children in *England*, said to be set awork first by the Parliament, and *Hugh Peters* as chief Agent, Actor or Procurer.

1653.

*Oliver Cromwell* Usurped the Title of Protector *December* the Sixteenth.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *New-Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *Thomas Dudley* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony, Mr. *John Endicot* Deputy Governour, Mr. *Gibbons* major General.

Mr. *Thomas Dudley* Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony dyed, aged about 77 years at his house at *Roxebury*, *July* 31.

A great fire at *Boston* in *New-England*.

1654.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *New-Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *Bellingham* Governour, *Endicot* Deputy  
Major General *Gibbons* dyed this year.

1655.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* colony. Mr. *John Endicot* Governour of the *Massachusetts*, *Bellingham* Deputy.

*Jamaica* taken by the *English*.

1656.

[p. 268.] General *Mountague* taketh *Spanish* prizes.

Mr. *William Bradford* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* colony, Mr. *John Endicot* Governour of the *Massachusetts*, Mr. *Francis Willowby* Deputy.

1657.

Mr. *Thomas Prince* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *William Bradford* now dyed. Mr. *John Endicot* Governour, *Bellingham* Deputy.

Mr. *Theophilus Eaton* Governour of *New-haven* colony dyed.

Fifth monarchy-men rebell.

The Quakers arrive at *new-Plimouth*.

1658.

*Oliver Cromwell* dyed *September* the third.

*Richard Cromwell* set up.

Mr. *Thomas Prince* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *John Endicot* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts*, *Bellingham* Deputy.

A great Earth-quake in *New-England*.

Mr. *Ralph Partrick* minister at *Ruxbury* now deceased.

*John Philips* of *Marshfield* slain by thunder and lightning.

1659.

Mr. *Thomas Prince* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* colony.

[p. 269.] Mr. *John Endicot* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony.

The Quakers opinions vented up and down the Countrey

Mr. *Henry Dunster* first President of *Harvard* Colledge deceased.

*Richard Cromwel* ended *May* the seventh.

The Rump Parliament *December* the six and twentieth put down.

*William Robinson*, *Marmaduke Stevenson*, and *Mary Dyer* Quakers of *Rhod Island* sentenced to suffer death by Mr. *John Endicot* Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony, which was accordingly executed within a day or two, the prisoners being guarded by Capt. *James Oliver* with 200 Souldiers to the place of Execution, where the two men were hanged and the woman reprieved at the Gallows and banished.

1660.

Mr. *Thomas Prince* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* colony.

*John Endicot* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony, Mr. *Bellingham* Deputy.

*James Pierce* slain by lightning at *new-Plimouth*.

*May* the 29 King *Charles* the Second returned into *England*.

*June* the 20 a damnable cheat like to have been put upon *England* by a Brief for [p. 270.] *New-England*, which as it appeared was produced before the King came in, but not printed (by Mr. *Leach* in *Shoe-Lane*) till *June*, pretending that 18 *Turks* men of War the 24 of *January* 16 $\frac{5}{6}$  $\frac{2}{3}$  landed at a Town, called *Kingsword* (alluding to *Charles-town*) three miles from *Boston*, kill'd 40, took Mr. *Sims* minister prisoner, wounded him, kill'd his wife and three of his little children, carried him away with 57 more, burnt the Town, carried them to *Argier*, their loss amounting to 12000 pound, the *Turk* demand-

ing 8000 pound ransom to be paid within 7 moneths. Signed by *Thomas Margets, Edward Calamy, William Jenkin, William Vincent, George Wild, Joseph Caryl, John Menord, William Cooper, Thomas Manton* Ministers.

*Hugh Peters* put to death the 16 of *October*.

*Thomas Venner* a Wine-Cooper hang'd drawn and quartered *Jan.* 19.

1661.

The fifth Monarchy-men rise at *London*.

Mr. *Thomas Prince* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *John Endicot* chosen Governour of the *Masachusetts* colony, Mr. *Bellingham* Deputy.

Major *Atherton* now dyed in *New-England*.

1662.

[p. 271.] Sir *Henry Vane* beheaded, *June* the 14.

Mr. *Thomas Prince* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *John Endicot* chosen Governour of the *Masachusetts* colony.

*January* 26 and the 28 Earthquakes in *New-England*, 6 or 7 times in the space of Three days.

$\frac{1}{1} \frac{6}{6} \frac{6}{6} \frac{2}{3}$ .

*John Baker* unduely called Capt. *Baker*, hang'd at *Tiburn*, *December* the 11 of *February*.

1663.

Mr. *Thomas Prince* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *John Endicot* chosen Governour of the *Masachusetts* colony.

Mr. *Willowby* Deputy Governour and Mr. *Thomas Leveret* major General.

*April* the fifth Mr. *John Norton* Teacher at the first Church in *Boston* dyed suddenly.

Mr. *Samuel Newman* Teacher at *Rehoboth* in *New-England* now dyed.

Mr. *Samuel Stone* Teacher of *Hartford* Church in *New-England*, now dyed also.

Several Earth-quakes this year in *New-England*.  
[p. 272.] *Charles Chancie* batchelor of Divinity and President of *Harvard-Colledge* in *New-England*.

1654.

Mr. *Thomas Prince* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *John Endicot* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony, Mr. *Francis Willowby* Deputy Governour, Mr. *Thomas Leveret* Major General.

May the 20 the Kings Commissioners arrived in *New-England*, viz. Sir *Robert Carr*, Colonel *Nicols*, Colonel *Cartwright* and Mr. *Samuel Maverich*, with whom came one Mr. *Archdale* as Agent for Mr. *Ferdinando Gorges*, who brought to the colony in the province of *Main*, Mr. *F. Gorges* order from his Majesty *Charles* the Second, under his manual, and his Majesties Letters to the *Massachusetts* concerning the same, to be restored unto the quiet possession and enjoyment of the said province in *New-England*, and the Government thereof, the which during the civil Wars in *England* the *Massachusetts* colony had usurpt, and (by help of a *Jacobs* staff) most shamefully encroached upon Mr. *Gorges* rights and priviledges.

The 29 of *August*, the *Manadaes*, called *Novede Belgique*, or *New Netherlands*, their chief Town *New-Amsterdam*, now called [p. 273.] *New-Yorke*, Surrendered up unto Sir *Robert Carr* and Colonel *Nichols* his Majesties Commissioners; thirteen days after in *September* the Fort and Town of *Arania* now called *Albany*; twelve days after that, the Fort and Town of *Awsapha*; then *de la Ware* Castle man'd with *Dutch* and *Sweeds*, the three first Forts and Towns being built upon the River *Mohegan*, otherwise called *Hudsons* River.

The whole Bible Translated into the *Indian* Tongue, by Mr. *John Eliot* Senior, was now printed at *Cambridge* in *New-England*.

*December* a great and dreadful Comet, or blazing-star appeared in the South-east in *New-England* for the space of three moneths, which was accompanied with many sad effects, great mildews blasting in the Countrey the next Summer.

1665.

Mr. *Thomas Prince* chosen Governour of *new-Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *John Endicot* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony, Mr. *Francis Willowby* Deputy Governour, Mr. *Leveret* Major General.

Two Comets or blazing stars appeared in 4 moneths time in *England*, *December* 1664. and in *March* following.

Mr. *John Endicot* Governour of the [p. 274.] *Massachusetts* colony deceased, *March* the three and twentieth.

Capt. *Davenport* kill'd with lightning as he lay on his bed at the *Castle* by *Boston* in *New-England*, and several wounded.

Wheat exceedingly blasted and mildewed in *New-England*.

A thousand foot sent this year by the *French* King to *Canada*.

Colonel *Cartwright* in his voyage for *England* was taken by the *Dutch*.

The Isle of *Providence* taken by the *English* Buccaneers, *Puerto Rico* taken and plundered by the *English* Buccaneers and abandoned.

1666.

Mr. *Thomas Prince* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony.

Mr. *Richard Bellingham* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony, Mr. *Francis Willowby* Deputy Governour, Mr. *Leveret* major General.

St. *Christophers* taken by the *French*.

*July* the Lord *Willowby* of *Parham* cast away in a *Hurricane* about the *Caribby-Islands*.

The small pox at *Boston* in the *Massachusetts* colony.

Three kill'd in a moment by a blow of Thunder at *Marshfield* in *New-Plimouth* [p. 275.] colony, and four at *Pascataway* colony, and divers burnt with lightning, a great whirlwind at the same time.

This year also *New-England* had cast away and taken Thirty one Vessels, and some in 1667.

The mildews and blasting of Corn still continued.

1667.

Mr. *Thomas Prince* chosen Governour of *New-Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *Richard Bellingham* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony, Mr. *Fr. Willowby* Deputy Governour, and Mr. *Leveret* major General.

Sir *Robert Carr* dyed next day after his arrival at *Bristow* in *England* *June* the first.

Several vollies of shot heard discharged in the Air at *Nantascot*, two miles from *Boston* in the *Massachusetts* colony.

Mr. *John Davenport* chosen pastor of the Independent Church at *Boston*.

In *March* there appeared a sign in the Heavens in the form of a Spear, pointing directly to the *West*.

Sir *John Harman* defeated the *French* Fleet at the *Caribbes*.

Mr. *John Wilson* Pastor of *Boston* Church in the *Massachusetts* colony 37 years now [p. 276.] dyed, aged 79, he was Pastor of that Church three years before Mr. *Cotton*, twenty years with him, ten years with Mr. *Norton*, and four years after him.

1668.

Mr. *Thomas Pince* chosen Governour of *New-Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *Richard Bellingham* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony, Mr. *Fr. Willowby* Deputy Governour, and Mr. *Leveret* major General.

Mr. *Samuel Shepherd* Pastor of *Rowley* Church dyed.

*April* the 27 Mr. *Henry Flint* Teacher at *Braintry* dyed.

*July* the Ninth Mr. *Jonathan Mitchel* Pastor of the Church at *Cambridge* dyed, he was born at *Halifax* in *Yorkshire* in *England*, and was brought up in *Harvard-Colledge* at *Cambridge* in *New-England*.

*July* the Fifteenth, nine of the clock at night an Eclipse of the moon, till after Eleven darkened nine digits and thirty five minutes.

*July* the Seventeenth a great *Sperma Cæti* Whale Fifty five foot long, thrown up at *Winter-harbour* by *Casco* in the Province of *Main*.

*April* the Third, Fryday an Earthquake in *New-England*.

1669.

[p. 277.] Mr. *Thomas Prince* chosen Governour of *Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *Richard Bellingham* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony, Mr. *Fr. Willowby* Deputy Governour, Mr. *Leveret* major General.

Mr. *Oxenbridge* chosen Pastor of the Independent Church at *Boston*.

The wonderful burning of the mountain *Ætna*, or *Gibella* in *Cicilia* March.

1670.

Mr. *Thomas Prince* chosen Governour of *New-Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *Richard Bellingham* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony, Mr. *Fr. Willowby* Deputy Governour, Mr. *Leveret* major General.

Mr. *Fr. Willowby* Deputy Governour now dyed.



At a place called *Kenebunch*, which is in the Province of *Main*, not far from the River-side, a piece of clay ground was thrown up by a mineral vapour (as was supposed) over the tops of high oaks that grew between it and the River, into the River, stopping the course thereof, and leaving a hole Forty yards square, wherein [p. 278.] were Thousands of clay bullets as big as musquet bullets, and pieces of clay in shape like the barrel of a musquet. The like accident fell out at *Cusco*, One and twenty miles from it to the Eastward, much about the same time; And fish in some ponds in the Countrey thrown up dead upon the banks, supposed likewise to be kill'd with mineral vapours.

A wonderful number of Herrins cast up on shore at high water in *Black-point-Harbour* in the province of *Main*, so that they might have gone half way the leg in them for a mile together.

Mr. *Thatcher* chosen Pastor of the Presbyterian Church at *Boston*.

1671.

Mr. *Thomas Prince* Governour of new *Plimouth* colony.

Mr. *Richard Bellingham* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony, Mr. *Leveret* Deputy, and major General.

Elder *Pen* now dyed at *Boston*; the *English* troubled much with griping of the guts, and bloody Flux, of which several dyed.

October the Two and twentieth a Ship called the flying *Falcon* of *Amsterdam*, arrived at *Dover*, having been out since the first of *January* 1669. and been in the South-Seas [p. 279.] in the latitude of 50 degrees, having sailed 12900 *Dutch* leagues, the master told us he made main land, and discovered two Islands never before discovered, where were men all hairy, Eleven foot in height.

1672.

Mr. *Richard Bellingham* chosen Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony, Mr. *Leveret* Deputy, and major General.

1673.

Mr. *Richard Bellingham* Governour of the *Massachusetts* colony now deceased.

1674.

*Thomas Leveret* chosen Governour.  
Mr. *Simons* Deputy Governour.

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*FINIS.*

## NOTE

TO

### LECHFORD'S PLAINE DEALING — (*Ante*, p. 55.)

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AFTER Lechford's "Plaine Dealing," &c. had been struck off by the printer for the present volume, from the printed copy in the Ebeling Collection at Harvard College, it occurred to one of the Committee of publication, that a collation of the printed copy with a MS. in our archives might prove neither useless nor unacceptable. The only excuse he has to offer for inserting the results here, instead of in their more appropriate place, as notes, is his absence from the city when the printing was executed.

Mr. Savage and others have pronounced this MS. *the original*; but, without expressing a doubt on this point, if it be the original, it is only a skeleton of the book eventually published, in which, though nearly the same language occurs in very many passages, yet the differences, as will be shown, are also very great, amounting to near one half of the whole; nor is there in the MS. any clue of any kind by which to lead the author or the reader of the MS. to imagine that any thing is to be added, except in a solitary instance (see p. 86), and there no means are furnished by which to learn precisely what is to be inserted, nor where it could be found. It is obvious, therefore, that this MS. could not have been the *identical original* which Lechford eventually enlarged, nor that from which the printer copied. It was probably a duplicate original, made and deposited for security, lest the fruit of his labor should be lost, by fire or other accident.

The MS. was at some former period bound up with others, and was probably at that time perfect. It now consists but of 29 pages in small 4to. It is obviously ancient, whether we examine the appearance of the paper, of which the water-marks cannot be distinctly ascertained, or the color of the ink, or the character of the hand-writing; which last is remarkably fine of its kind. The *short hand*, of which there are short passages on pages 9, 16, 23, 24, and 27 (corresponding with pages 72, 79, 93, 94, and 97 of this volume) differs from any one that the writer has been able to find; and he regrets to add, that application to two members of our Society, who are accustomed to

short hand of many periods, has ended, like his own exertions, in an inability to furnish a translation of them; and the only consolation he has is, that a reference to passages of Scripture that appear in the English notes now printed, leads to the belief that their substance is contained in those notes. That the MS. was written prior to the printed copy seems certain, as well from these last considerations, as from the additions and verbal differences that distinguish the two copies:—That it was written *after* Lechford returned to England, is ascertained by its containing the passage on p. 73, alluding to his having left New England the August preceding: And that it was written *before* January, 1642, seems equally certain from the preface “To the Reader” of the London printed copy, being dated at “Clements Inne, January 17, 1641.”

Lechford, as appears from the first page of his preface “To the Reader,” had “suffered imprisonment and a kind of banishment out of” England on account of nonconformity; though he appears to have been, in the main, attached to the established church in July, 1640. See p. 119. Under date of 28 July, of that year, he writes (p. 119), “I am kept from the sacrament, and all place of preferment in the Commonwealth, and forced to get my living by writing petty things, which scarce finds me bread.” That he was kept from the sacrament may have been true; and doubtless it was so; but it was by means of *general* laws, passed long before Lechford came over, for the security of the partners that came here. The laws referred to are, 1st, The Act of May, 1631, (Col. Laws, p. 117,) by which no man was to be admitted a freeman who was not a member of some one of the churches *in the Colony*; and 2d, the Law of Dec. 1636, (Col. Laws, p. 42,) by which no one but a freeman was eligible to office. Lechford, when he came here, was unwilling to join the Congregational church, and there was then no other in the colony; and hence he was excluded *from all preferment in the Commonwealth*.\*

The wisdom of thus indirectly uniting church and state, it is not the intention of the writer to discuss. And after the array of great names that have spoken severely against what they deem intolerance, it may seem presuming to express even a doubt. But it seems quite possible that, in the establishment of

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\* Though in 1637 (Col. Laws, p. 191) it was thought necessary to take a further step to prevent the habitation of strangers in the colony by a law, like those that had long existed in Boston and Plymouth, which required a license from the magistrates; this law had no bearing, directly, on Lechford, for he was permitted to remain here, and of course must have been licensed under it. It was this law, passed in 1637, which produced the very able arguments of Governor Winthrop and Sir H. Vane (Hutch. Papers, 67 & *post*), in which, *inter alia*, Governor Winthrop, in opposition to Sir Henry Vane, insists, in favor of our rights under the charter, that “that which the king is pleased to bestow upon us, and we have accepted, is truly our owne.”

a new colony, constituted as was that of Massachusetts, of co-partners, pressed by dangers here, and in England; under a charter deemed by many a mere *private* one, with the objects and liabilities and powers of the old charter of Massachusetts, it might be very wise, and entirely just, and even absolutely necessary, to enact such laws; which, in point of fact, could only affect the few corporators themselves, who enacted them, and those persons that came *subsequently* to their enactment, principally without any other rights or claims than those that belong to any strangers coming within the jurisdiction of any private corporation. Such laws are necessarily temporary under the circumstances of a colony like that of Massachusetts. As the colony grew in strength and in numbers, the necessity for them grew less, and they were abrogated in course. It will be perceived, however, that the existence of the civil government, as constituted, was involved in many of the religious questions. A case of this sort will be hereafter mentioned.

With becoming deference, also, to the distinguished individuals before alluded to, the writer would suggest, that the constitution of the Church of England, prior to the Commonwealth, was such as to threaten the Colonists with transportation to England on charges of non-conformity, contumacy, &c.; and that this may have been, not simply an apology, but a conclusive reason in favor of passing such laws.

It should also be borne in mind, that by the royal ordinances of 1637 and 1638, those who designed coming to New England were subject to an examination both moral and religious, before they were suffered to leave the kingdom; so that none, but approved royalists and members of the Church of England, were allowed to come over.

With regard to the time of Lechford's arrival here and his departure for England, there have been some mistakes, and I perceive that Dr. Allen, in the late edition of his Biographical Dictionary, has fallen into them. Dr. Allen says, "he lived in Boston from 1638 to 1640." Now Lechford tells us, p. 63, that he had been absent from England "almost foure yeeres last past." On page 73 he speaks of having left New England in August last; which must have been August, 1641, because, 1st, the date of his preface is January 17, 1641 (1642 N. S.); and 2dly, because he dates a letter (p. 109) "Boston, July 5, 1641," and his "40 quæres" (p. 118), "Clements Inne, Nov. 16, 1641." He arrived here, therefore, probably in the fall or winter of 1637, and remained here till August, 1641.

After a pretty thorough search amongst the papers in the State Archives, I have been unable to find any thing regarding Lechford, except the two following passages, the first of which has already been referred to by Hutchinson, I. 398, and the second by Mr. Savage, 2 Winthrop's Hist. 36; but as neither

has been published at large, they are here furnished from the Records. No allusion has ever been made to the cause of the second of these decrees, but it seems to have been considered as referring to the first. The language, however, leads me to a different conclusion; but to what it does refer, I know not.

“A Quarter Court held at Boston the 3d day of the 7th month, A. D. 1639.

“Present — The Gov. [Winthrop], The Dep. Gov. [Dudley], Mr. Endecott, Mr. Humfrey, Mr. Bellingham, Mr. Saltonstall, Mr. Winthrop, jun., Mr. Bradstreete, Mr. Stoughton, Iner. Nowell.

“Mr. Thomas Lechford for going to the Jewry, and pleading with them out of Court is debarred from pleading any man's cause hereafter unlesse his owne, and admonished not to presume to meddle beyond what hee shal bee called by the Courte.” — 1 Records, 258.

“A Quarter Court held at Boston the first day of the 10th mo<sup>o</sup>. 1640.

“Present — Mr. Gov. (Dudley), Mr. Dep. (Bellingham), Mr. Winthrop, sen., Mr. Humfrey, Mr. Saltonstall, Mr. Winthrop, jun., Mr. Stoughton, and Increase Nowell.

“Mr. Thomas Lechford acknowledging hee had overshot himself, and is sorry for it, promising to attend his calling, and not to meddle with controversies, was dismissed.” — 1 Records, 294.

I will now give the instances in which that portion of the MS. now existing, differs from the printed copy. In doing this I shall endeavour to confine myself to those of some importance; but must solicit the favor of the reader, lest some of them should be considered trivial, though, in the opinion of the writer, having a bearing on points that cannot, with propriety, be alluded to in this article, already too long. Some of them may prove amusing at least.

The MS. begins with its own page 7, which is page 8 of the Ebeling copy, and page 68 of the copy contained in this volume, at the words — “the Elders formerly mentioned. Then the Elder requireth,” &c. It ends with its own page 36, being page 106, line 3, of this volume, with the word “perfected.”

The following references will be made to the pages of the copy contained in this volume.

*Page 69, line 15*, for “admonition” the MS. says “admission.”  
 “ “ “ 29, for “ignorant” “ “ “ “ignorance.”  
 “ 71, “ 11, before “from,” insert “and.”  
 “ “ “ at the foot of the page, opposite the paragraph, insert marginal reference, “Their privilege.”

Page 72, line 18, after "that" insert "if."

" " " 28, after "Captaine" insert "Israel Stoughton."

" " " last, for "Pastors" read "Pastor."

The marginal references opposite "ordinarily," &c. at the foot of the page, are not in the MS. unless in the *short-hand*, which I do not believe.

" 74, " 19, "and of late," to "rule" at the end of the paragraph, four lines not in the MS.

" 75, The marginal references and note, "These you see," "It ought not," and "Universities" are not in the MS.

" 76. The marginal reference to "I Cor." is not in the MS. and in the next marginal reference for "Sunday" the MS. has "Lord's day."

" 77. The marginal note "Once I stood" is not in the MS.

" 78, line 33, dele comma before, and insert it after, the word "sometimes."

" 79, note "b" in the margin ends in the MS. at "purim," unless the rest be in short-hand, which I suspect, in part.

Note "c" after "publique" in its 4th line insert "10 or 12," and erase "eleven or twelve" 5 lines below:— in its 13th line for "creed" read "creeds"; and in its 20th line after "parish" insert "churches." The words at the close of this note from "men" to "expounding" have been cut from the MS. in binding it.

In last line, for "begin" read "beginning."

Page 80, line 5, erase "good."

" " " 6, erase "But."

" " " 12, after "15" insert "verse the."

" " " 20, for "I humbly" read "some."

" " " 25, after "but their" insert "poverty and."

" " " last line but one of the text, erase "the most of."

" " " last line, erase from "and" to "Master."

In the note, which in MS. occupies the margin of a blank page (18th), are several alterations, not much affecting the sense.

Page 81, line 1, from "Martin" to "courts," 16 lines are not in the MS.

" " " 29, from "Now the" to "equal that," 6 lines not in the MS.

" 82, " 1 and 2 not in the MS.

" 83, " 21, erase "advise in" and insert "in hearing."

" " " 22, erase from "and in" to "Lawes" in the next line.

Page 83, line last, erase " And they themselves."

" 84, " 1 to "record" line 10, are not in the MS.

" " " 13, from "from" to "Majesty," 6 lines not in the MS.

" " " 28, from "And a" to the foot of the page, 11 lines not in the MS.

" 85, " 1 to "Law," 4 lines not in the MS.

" " " 24, from "And for" to the foot of the page, 15 lines not in the MS.

" 86, " 1, to "late," 8 lines not in the MS.

" " " 24, to the foot of the page, 12 lines not in the MS.

In the margin of this page, 23d, of the MS., after the words "quickly waste," is the following note, to which allusion has already been made: "Heere inserte certaine propositions to the generall court, &c. after the marke." There is no reference to what these *propositions* are, nor to the place where they might be found. They are however contained in the printed copy and constitute the last 12 lines of p. 86, and the whole of the 6 pages following, and 7 lines of p. 93, ending with the word "jubent" — no part of which is of course in the MS.

Page 93, the names "Peck" and "Brown" are spelled with the final e; and instead of "Knolls" is "Knolles."

" " line 6 from the bottom "one master Knight" is not to be found in the MS. In the margin of this page are a few lines of short hand, with the following: "2 Cor. 8, 23, and Philipp. 2, 25, for Apostles or Messengers of the churches and probably;" ending with 2 lines also of short hand.

" 94, the marginal note marked \* ends in the MS. with the word "England" in its 9th line; and notes for the residue, on p. 94 and 95, are, I believe, contained in the short hand, since a reference to "1 Cor. 6," is contained in both the MS. and the printed copy.

" 95. The marginal note marked by an asterisk, beginning "Eccles. 12" is not in the MS.

" 96, line 16, after "children" insert "and being a man of estate when he came [to] the country is undone."

" " " 21, after "Blackwood" insert "Mr. Thomas."

" " " 23, after "we did," is erased in the MS. "and I know not what stayed him, he is very aged and white."

" " " 26, for "Elder" read "Pastor," and insert the following from the MS. (p. 27) "There is Mr. Lenthall a minister out of office and



employment, and lives poorly.\* Mr. Doughty also is come to this Island. The place where the church is, is called New porte."

\* "He stood upon his ministric and against the church covenant in the Bay and diverse joyning to choose him their minister at Weymouth, by subscribing to a paper for that end. He was censured in the Generall Court at Boston, and so were they that joyned in that election and one of them named Brittainne for words saying that some of the ministers in the Bay were Brownists, and that they would not till it came to the sword's point, was whipt and had eleven stripes." †

Page 96, line 28, after "Newport" 3 lines, to "dissention," are not in the MS.

" " " 5th from the bottom, "pretended civill" not in the MS.

" 97, at the top of the MS. p. 27, is "Mr. Lenthall his controversie — Brittainne whept," and an half line in short hand, doubtless referring to the note on p. 96.

" " line 18, for "Blakeston" read "Blackstone."

" 98, " 19, &c., for "Simonds" read "Symonds."

" " " 34 and last, for "H. K." read "Hansard Knowles."

" 99, " 4, 6, and 15, for "K" read "Knowles."

" " " 4, erase "a" and insert after "Captaine" the name "Underhill."

" " " 10, for "Gorges" read "Gorgs," as afterwards.

" " " 31, after "divers" insert "well accomplisht and discreete," and erase from "and it is" to "venison" in the next line.

" 100, " 5, for "and" read "are."

" 101, The marginal note marked \* beginning "Wheat," is not in the MS.

† Is not this the James Britton, who was hanged for adultery in 1643, and of whom Gov. Winthrop gives some account, as a bad man, on pages 157, 158, and 159, in the second volume of Mr. Savage's edition? Britton "was whipt" about March, 1639. 1 Winth. 288, 289, where Mr. Savage, in a note, calls this "extraordinary tyranny," to which severe charge I am sorry to express my doubts. In addition to the remarks before made, I cannot forbear to add another on the subject of Mr. Lenthall. The doctrine contended for by him, that of admission to the church by baptism, was, it is believed, the distinctive doctrine of the Church of England, and it is believed to be almost strictly so now, other denominations requiring evidence of good character by propounding or by examination of the clergyman before admission. The question in this case brought up the whole matter of introducing foreign jurisdiction, &c.

- Page 102, " 13, for " Aprill " read " March."  
 " " " 17, from " The " to " New England," 12 lines are not in the MS.  
 " " " " last, for " coorse " read " coarse."  
 " 104, " 7, for " chirurgions " read " surgions."  
 " " " 21, for " fadome " read " fathome."
- Page 105, line 27. The text of the MS. ends at the word " family, the," on its p. 36; but in the margin, apparently intended as a note, it continues on to p. 106, line 3, and ends with the word " perfitted " instead of " perfected."
- " 106, " 1, before " He will " the MS. says " Mrs. Glover did worthily and wisely to marry him."

J. B.

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