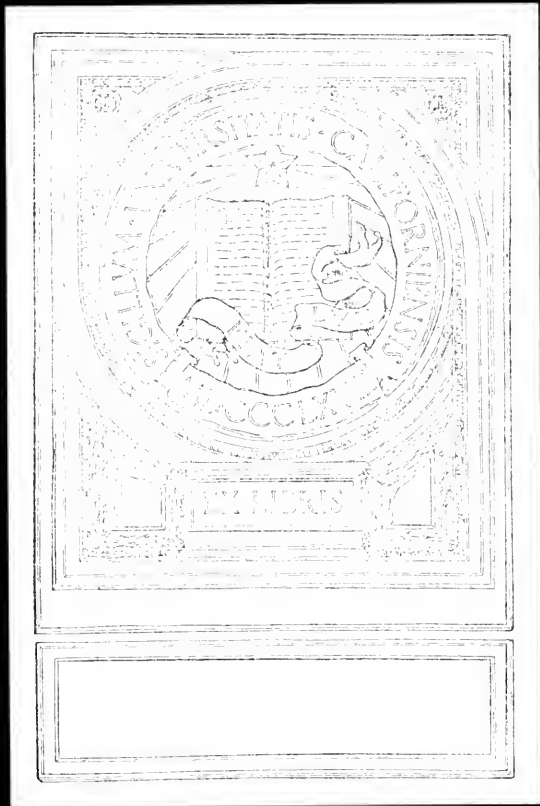


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13 Brownfield St  
15 August, 1864.

Deane,  
regards  
Editor.

Mr. Deane

My Dear Sir

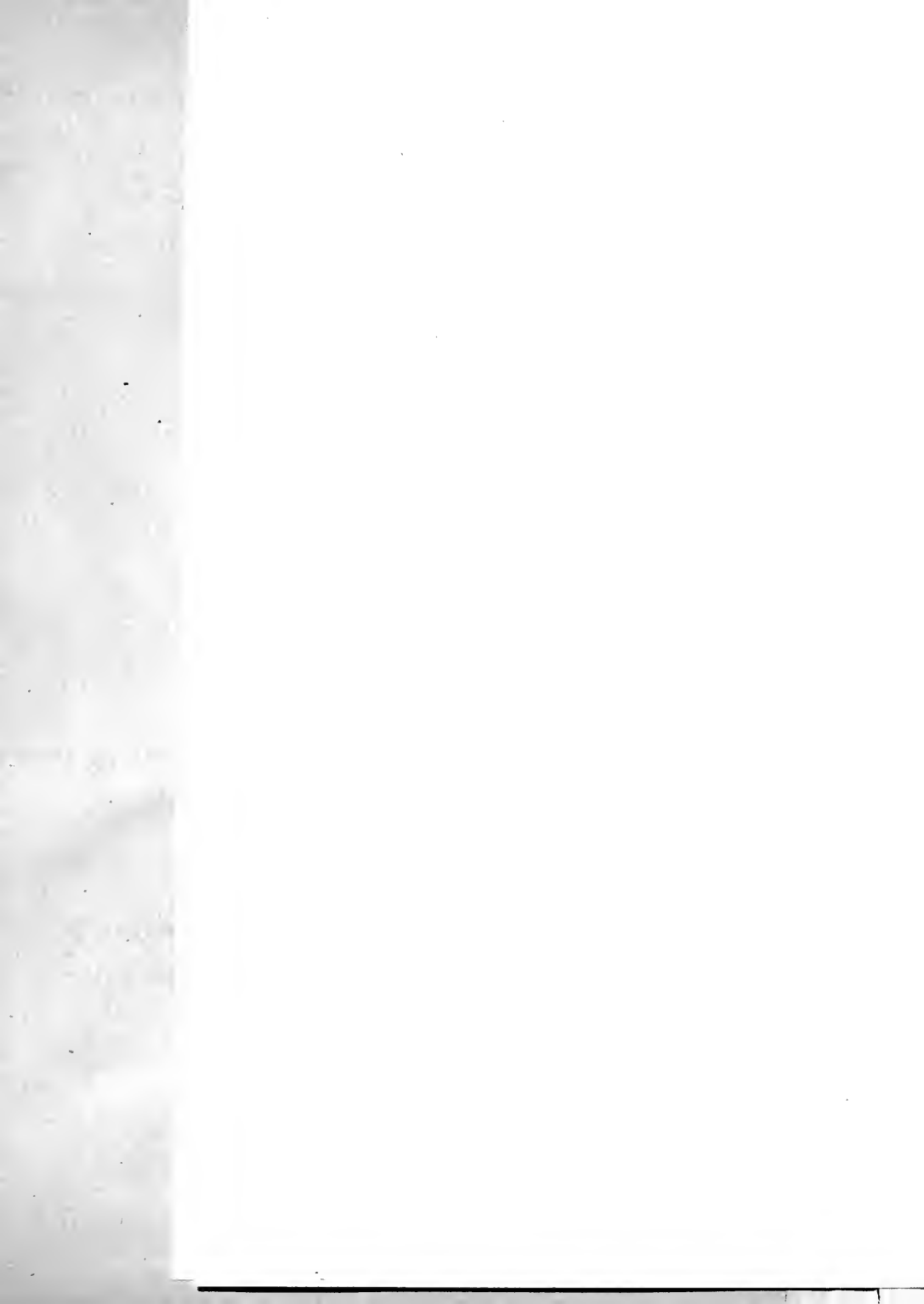
This is to thank you for  
a copy of "Letters of Phillis Wheatley," &c.  
I have a reprint of her Poems, but not  
a copy of the original edition, though  
I have formerly possessed several.

Yrs respy.

Chas. Deane

Charles Deane, Esq.

[ Accompanying this note from  
Mr Drake, was a copy of his reprint  
of Neather's "Relation", of which I had  
previously subscribed for and received  
a loose paper copy - Charles Deane ]



Charles Deane, Esq.  
With the regards of  
The Editor.





# Early History of New England.

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In 1862 I republished DR. INCREASE MATHER'S "Brief History of King Philip's War," with an Introduction and Notes. I now propose to republish his other work, (which covers the most interesting period of the History of New England,) entitled—"A RELATION OF THE TROUBLES WHICH HAVE HAPPENED IN NEW ENGLAND, BY REASON OF THE INDIANS THERE, FROM THE YEAR 1614, TO THE YEAR 1675." It was printed in Boston in 1677, in a small quarto volume.

This work, abounding in important facts, has never been republished.

I propose to issue it in the small 4to form, printed with antique type, uniform with the BRIEF HISTORY, with an Introduction and Annotations. It will comprise about 300 pages. Price for copies in paper, \$3 00; full bound in cloth, gilt tops, \$3 50. Ten copies will be printed on large paper, at \$10 00 per copy, in paper covers.

Subscribers names will be printed in the work.

Those desirous of the work will please give early notice to

SAMUEL G. DRAKE,

13 *Bromfield St.*

BOSTON, June, 1863.







EARLY HISTORY  
OF  
NEW ENGLAND;

BEING A RELATION OF

HOSTILE PASSAGES BETWEEN THE INDIANS  
AND EUROPEAN VOYAGERS AND  
FIRST SETTLERS:

AND A

FULL NARRATIVE OF HOSTILITIES, TO THE CLOSE OF THE  
WAR WITH THE PEQUOTS, IN THE YEAR 1637;

ALSO A

DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE ORIGIN OF THE WAR WITH  
KING PHILIP.

BY INCREASE MATHER.

*An Historical Discourse Concerning the Prevalency of Prayers*  
**With an Introduction and Notes,**

BY SAMUEL G. DRAKE.

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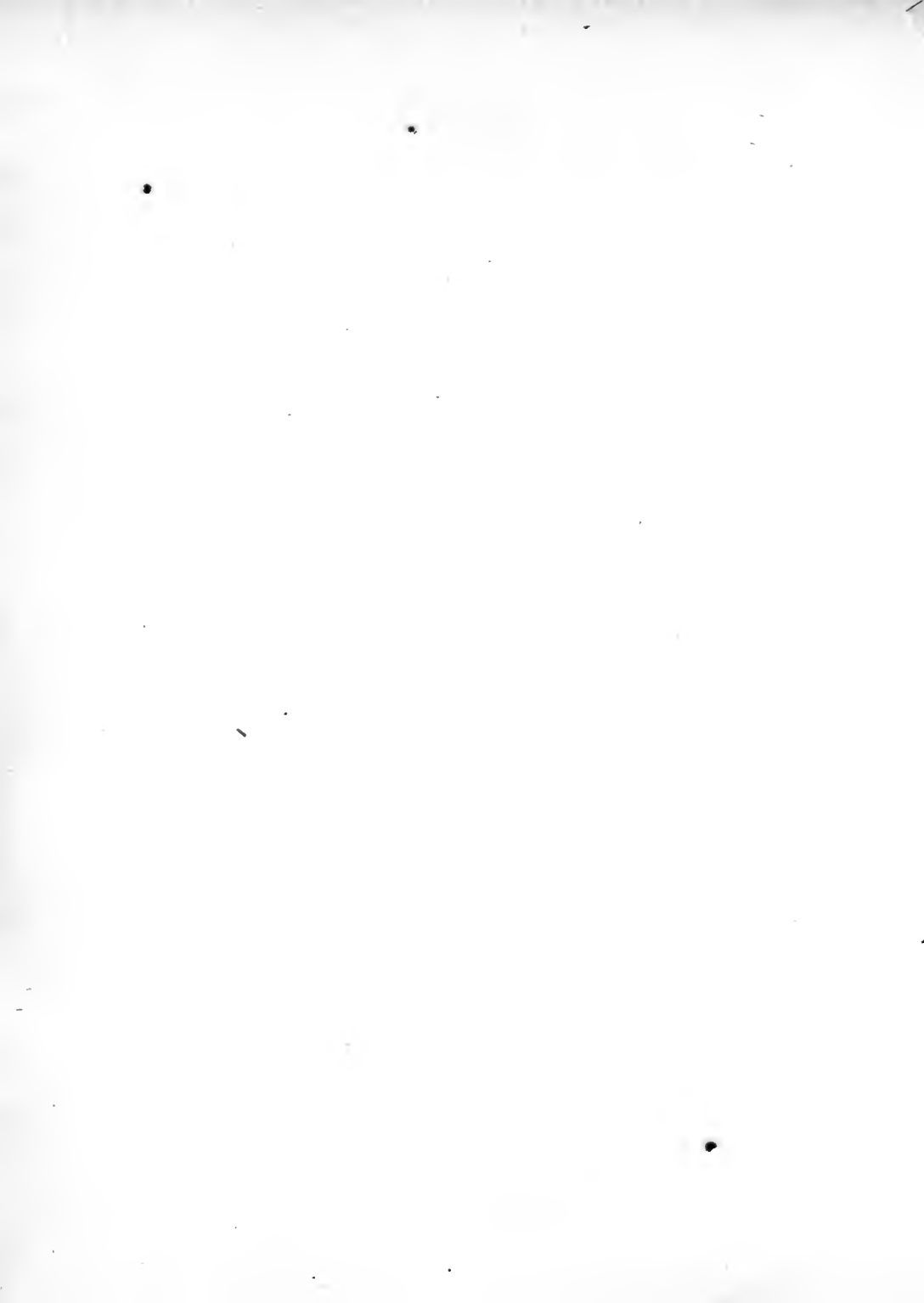
BOSTON:

PRINTED FOR THE EDITOR,  
AND SOLD BY HIM AT NO. 13 BROMFIELD-STREET.

ALSO BY J. MUNSELL, ALBANY, N. Y.

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1864.



E 82  
M 36  
1864

TO HIS EARLY AND CONSTANT FRIEND,  
**JOHN CARTER BROWN, ESQUIRE,**  
OF PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND,

Whose extensive and invaluable Collection of Works on the whole Range of American History and Antiquities is a Monument to his fine Taste, Judgment and persevering Industry, of which not only himself and his State should be proud, but New England likewise; inasmuch, as through his Kindness and Liberality his most useful Collection is not a sealed one, but is aiding in various Ways the Bibliographer and Historian: To him, therefore, this Volume is, by permission, respectfully Dedicated, by

THE EDITOR.

M514927







## INTRODUCTORY BY THE EDITOR

**F**OR many Years I had contemplated publishing Editions of the two Works of Dr. Increase Mather on Indian History; they having been for a long Time rarely to be met with. The first of these Works, in point of Time of Publication, was the *Brief History of Philip's War*, an Edition of which I issued last Year (1862). As soon as that was published I commenced preparing this to follow it. Various Demands upon my Time have prevented its earlier Appearance. Chronologically this should have appeared before the other Work; but so the Author wrote and so he published them; thus as it were writing History backwards. But some great Historians have since either followed Mr. Mather's

Plan, or employed one similar; for it was in this Way Mr. Hume wrote and published his celebrated History of England.

In respect to these two Works of Dr. Mather, while the First may be thought to be more important to Historians, the Latter is the more difficult to be found. The former is a contemporaneous History, while the latter is a History of a previous Age; chiefly drawn from Works since as well known as in the Time of this Author. This may account in some Degree for its having met with but a single Impression in one hundred and eighty-six Years.

Being possessed of nearly all of Mr. Mather's Authorities, I have been able to supply numerous and important Deficiencies in his Narrative. He doubtless felt himself obliged to compress his Materials as much as possible, so as not to make a large Book; for in his Time there were but few Buyers of even small Books.

There may be those disposed to berate and undervalue the Works of all the early Mathers, and to consider them of little or no Account. To such the Editor would say, that with full Consideration of the Condition of Society in New England when the Mathers wrote, he thinks they would change their

Opinion. We can have but a vague and indifferent View of the State which our Ancestors passed through, except by their Works. By bestowing a little Attention upon these we have in our Minds a very good Picture of the Steps by which we have arrived at our partially civilized Existence. To the Mathers then we owe a great deal, and we can acknowledge it without endorsing their peculiar Tenets or subjecting ourselves to the Charge of sharing in the Superstitions and Bigotry of their Age.

But a faint and imperfect Opinion can be formed of the Condition of New England from the brief Chronicles of the Period of the Pequot War. The Author is a good deal more Minute respecting that War than any of the early Writers upon it; but even from him we have a very incoherent Narrative. He did not possess all of the printed Accounts—neither Underhill's nor Vincent's; yet they are indispensable—being both by Eye-witnesses of the principal military Operations. Gardiner's History was not published, and its Existence does not appear to have been known to Mr. Mather. In some Respects it is the most valuable of the contemporary Records of the War. It gives us a political View, and with an "old soldier's" Honesty. Mason's History the Author possessed, though

viii      *Introductory by the Editor.*

under another Name. It came into Mr. Mather's Hands from Mr. John Allyn, then "Secretary of Connecticut Colony," who appears to have transcribed it with various Alterations and Additions, and allowed it to pass for his own Work. Mr. Mather says he prints it "without the least Alteration as to Sense, and very little as to the Words." As Mason's Work was afterwards printed as Mason left it; a comparison will show what Liberties Mr. Allyn took with it. Some of these Liberties will be pointed out in the Notes.

We are told by the Author of a very important manuscript Account of the Pequot War which he found in the Library of a brother Minister, but he was not able to learn the Name of the Author; and as if to prevent Others from learning, he does not tell us in whose Library he found it. He seems to have given us the Substance of it, and that confirms what he says of its Importance. But had he been at the Pains to collect Everything he could, manuscript and printed, and composed a faithful History from Materials so collected, we might have had a much better History of the Pequot War than we now possess. He does not seem to have profited at all by Correspondence, and not much from Conversation with those living in the Time of the War, or their Descendants. In his Detail of Transactions

he is provokingly silent respecting those who performed them. This was a serious Fault of nearly all Writers of History of that as well as a previous Age. Often no Name is mentioned but that of the Leader of the Expedition; and thus Oblivion hangs over the Memory of those who exposed their Lives to all the Dangers of a most dangerous Service, for the Benefit of us who come after them; thus denying their Posterity the Gratification of honouring their Names.

Perhaps we ought not to complain of Deficiencies in our early Authors, but rather to be thankful they have given us so much as they have. But the Reader of this History will not fail to observe, without our calling his Attention to such Facts as the following:—That he hears Nothing of the Agency of Roger Williams in preventing a Union between the Pequots and Narragansets for the avowed Destruction of the English; Nothing about the Efforts of Lieut. Gardiner in securing the Friendship of the Long Island Indians; Nothing about the Dissatisfaction of Plymouth in regard to the War; Nothing about the Complaints of Connecticut that Massachusetts had unnecessarily brought on the War; and Nothing about the relative Strength of the Colonies. And yet these Subjects are as Pillars to a Superstructure.

It is true that Writers near the Time of an Event are necessarily deficient in documentary Vouchers. But few Letters were written at the Period of the Pequot War, and of that few but a Moiety ever come to Light. Important Letters passed between Governor Vane and Lieut. Gardiner, but none of them have been preserved; at least none have been discovered. Mason perhaps never wrote one while upon his Expeditions, nor was it necessary, as he returned Home about as soon as a Messenger could have performed the Service of Bearer of Dispatches. Captain Stoughton<sup>1</sup> from the Army sent Home Letters. Officials at Home wrote Letters about the War. Winthrop on the Part of Massachusetts. Winflow<sup>2</sup> on that of Plymouth. Roger Williams wrote many. We have one, and but one, from the benevolent Mr. John Humfrey.<sup>3</sup> Among them all, saving those of Humfrey and Williams,<sup>4</sup> we find no Expressions counselling Mildness, Forbearance or Mercy towards the Indians.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix A.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>3</sup> See Appendix C.

<sup>4</sup> Since the above was written, a Letter of Roger Williams has ap-

peared, in which he says, in reference to the captive Pequots—"I much rejoice [to learn by Captain Patrick] that some of the Chiefe [Men] at Quonihticut (Mr. Heynes and Mr. Ludlow), are almost averse from killing Women and Children." —*Mafs. Hist. Colls.* 36, 196.

Nor is this so much to be wondered at, taking the actual Condition of the Country into View—the very few white People then in New England, and those scattered along a vast Extent of Sea-coast for two or three hundred Miles, with an unknown Number of Indians on every Hand—all jealous of those Intruders. Knowing that the Indians might at any time combine and destroy them while in their Weakness, they thought it necessary for their own Preservation to divide this jealous People as much as possible. And here it is fitting to remark that Jealousies always grow up, spontaneously, as it were, between Races or Sections, where one is superior to the other in any Respect. The more ignorant Race or Section always fosters this Jealousy into Envy, and from Envy into deadly Hostility. It was thus arose the present most iniquitous Southern Rebellion. The Indians were perfect Secessionists. Their Philosophy of Liberty taught nothing higher in the Scale of Government. Hence they were constantly breaking up into distinct Communities or Clans. Several of these Clans or Communities were usually called a Tribe; and a Tribe held together no longer than it suited the Convenience of its individual Members. Secession was at all times imminent, and although the Parties were

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constantly reaping the bitter Fruits of Seceſſion, they had “no Power to prevent it,” as was averred by a recent Preſident of the United States, in reſpect to the American Union: thus virtually acknowledging that the Government of the Union was not in Advance of that of the Indians!

All barbarous Nations are natural Seceders. Incapable of binding themſelves together by any written Compact, the remedy for every Grievance, real or imaginary, was Deſertion or Seceſſion of the Party ſo aggrieved. Thus, continually weakened, a Tribe became nearly powerleſs to every foreign Foe. No Confederacy could hold together any Length of Time, becauſe private Ends were ſuperiour to publick Good. The Pequots ſeceded from an inland Tribe, and no ſooner were they permanently ſeated upon the Borders of the River bearing their Name, but a diſaffected Party broke from them, and became known as the Mohegans.

Precedents were never wanting for Seceſſion among a barbarous People. They acknowledged no Law but that of the ſtrongeſt. Their Exiſtence depended upon their Ability to keep forcible Poſſeſſion of whatever Place they found themſelves poſſeſſed of, or in their ability to diſpoſſeſs a neighbouring Community. From Time immemorial this



had been their State of Existence, and they had no other Traditions for their Guidance. Hence they lived in continual Fear; always in Expectation of an Attack from one dispossessed Clan or another, as their Progenitors, near and remote, had been. This was the State of the Indians in New England when the first white People became acquainted with them. When the Pilgrims came to Plymouth, the Narragansets were threatening the Wampanoags, and this was found to be the Secret of the ready Compliance of the Latter to the Wishes of their white Visitors; and when these travelled to the Bottom of the Bay they found the Country had been desolated by a barbarous War between the Massachusetts and Tarratines. The Mohegans had broken from the Pequots, and War existed between them. Other Wars doubtless existed between other Tribes. None of these Wars could be attributed to the evil Influences of white Men. At the same Time it is clear that in such a State of Existence Seceffion was continually going on, and consequently Wars must be perpetual. Yet some modern Writers have asserted that Indians were peaceful and not given to Treachery before they had been learned to be so through their Intercourse with Europeans. This Assertion is pretty fully disposed

of by what has been shown to have been the real Condition of the Country at and immediately after its Discovery and Settlement by the English. That the Wars among the Indians generally originated in bad Faith is scarcely to be doubted, it being conceded that Indians are much like other Races of Men, and that they are made up of good and bad Elements.

Roger Williams (and no man ever knew the Indians better), relates this remarkable Case of Treachery among them in his Vicinity in 1637: “The last Day of the Weeke [Saturday July 10th?] “Wequash the Pequet Guide neere Hand, slue his “Countryman Saffawwaw, a Pequet, also Miantun- “nomues special Darling, and a kind of Generall of “his Forces. There was Yesterday some Tumult “about it because Wequash liues with Canonicus, “and Miantunnomu pursues the Revenge and Jus- “tice, &c.” That is to say, the Narragansets required Vengeance to be taken on that Pequot in Justice for Wrongs done them. Mr. Williams speaks of the Justness of the Execution thus:—“Although We- “quash it may be haue treacherously almost, slain “him, yet I see the righteous Hand of the most “High Judge, thus: Saffawwaw turned to [joined] “the Nanhiggonficks and againe pretends a Returne

“to the Pequots, gets them forth the last Yeare  
“against the Nanhiggonficks and spying Advantage,  
“flue the chiefe Pequet Captain and whips off his  
“Head, and so againe [returns] to the Nanhiggon-  
“fick : their Treacheries exceede Machiavills,” &c.

In another Letter to the same Party he recom-  
mends dealing with them wisely and justly, as  
with Wolves endowed with men’s Brains.

That Civilization is not compatible with the  
Indian Character has been clearly established by  
Experiments oft repeated. The Exceptions in favor  
of some Tribes disappear with those Tribes. Some  
two hundred years Experience has pretty conclu-  
sively proved, that whenever a white or European  
Colony locates itself near an Indian Community,  
that Community melts away ; slowly perhaps, but  
steadily and surely. Well has Dryden somewhere  
expressed the Indian Lamentation :—

“ Old Prophecies foretell our Fall at Hand

“ When bearded Men in floating Castles land.”

Indians were always ready to “drive a Trade”  
with any People who visited them. Most Euro-  
peans took what Advantages they could of their  
Simplicity. The first Settlers of Plymouth gene-  
rally dealt honourably and liberally with them.  
Perhaps rather more so than the other Colonists of

New England. But it should not be pretended that Trade was not an Object with them; and yet it is entirely true that it was not a paramount One originally.

Indeed, with the Exception of Plymouth and one or two others, Settlements were made with a View to the Benefits arising from Traffick with the Natives. Perhaps it was more notoriously so with the Spanish Settlers. At all Events, the Author of Hudibras has in his inimitable Way settled the Matter as far as Song can settle Anything. The following Lines were intended for his Hudibras, but for some Reason were left out. The Passage was preserved by the celebrated John Aubrey, F. R. S., and is as follows:—

“ No Jesuit e’er took in Hand  
 “ To plant a Church in barren Land;  
 “ Nor ever thought it worth the While  
 “ A Swede or Rus to reconcile.  
 “ For where there is no Store of Wealth,  
 “ Souls are not worth the Charge of Health;  
 “ Spain in America had two Designs,  
 “ To sell their Gospel for their Mines.<sup>1</sup>  
 “ For, had the Mexicans been poor,  
 “ No Spaniard twice had landed on their Shore.”

At the Time the *Relation* was written, there were but Few remaining who were cotemporary

<sup>1</sup> *Wines* in Aubrey’s *Miscels.* ii, 264.

with the Events of which the Author treats. In a few Instances he seems to have profited by Information obtained from some of the Actors in the Scenes of that Day: But I do not remember above two or three Instances. It is to be regretted that he did not profit more by such Information. Perhaps he thought there might be Danger of drawing too freely from such Sources, not imagining that that Kind of Information would be more valued than most other by succeeding Historians. But when we take a near View of a Writer of his own Times, and compare what he has done with what is being done in our own, it may be we shall be found quite as delinquent as those who have gone before us. For who of us does not have Reason to regret his Remissness under similar Circumstances? Who has not neglected to inquire of aged Relatives and other Predecessors concerning family and other Memorials while they were able to give Information? In considering this Matter no one will fail to recur to our Want of Knowledge respecting our Progenitors in the Land whence they came. Because the almost entire Lack of this Kind of Information is quite remarkable; insomuch that scarcely one Family in fifty of the present Day has any Knowledge whence, or when

its Ancestors emigrated. In the Memorials they have left us, so seldom is Ancestry referred to that we are led to doubt if it were not designedly so. We indeed sometimes find in Documents of a business Nature the Country mentioned, as, "my Kindred in Old England," and similar vague Expressions.

Notwithstanding Dr. Mather's Works are mostly theological, and the greater Part of them were produced solely to enforce theological Views, there is nevertheless scarcely any of them into which he does not bring some valuable historical Facts; either by Preface or Note. And although these are sometimes very few, they are almost the only Parts of such Works of the least Value or Interest at this Day; and but for these incidental Items many of them would hardly have reached our Times. And although Dr. Mather was a man possessed of highly respectable Talents, there is indeed a wonderful Contrast between his political Sagacity and Wisdom, and his Details of certain Affairs requiring the most stupid Credulity. Compare his Acts in bringing about the Revolution of 1688 with the following Details: "A poor Man " being suspected to have stolen a Sheep was questioned for it; he foreswore the Thing, and wished,

“ that if he had stolen it, God would cause the  
“ Horns of the Sheep to grow upon him. This  
“ Man was seen within these few dayes by a Min-  
“ ister of great Repute for Piety, who saith that  
“ the Man hath an Horn growing out of one  
“ Corner of his Mouth, just like that of a Sheep ;  
“ from which he hath cut seventeen inches, and is  
“ forced to keep it tyed by a String to his Ear,  
“ to prevent its growing up to his Eye. This  
“ Minister not only saw but felt this Horn.”

This Circumstance is said to have happened in 1658, in Lismore in Ireland; and though it came second hand to our Author he believed the Story implicitly, and published it in his *Remarkable Providences*. One other will suffice for present Illustration. In the same curious Work, speaking of remarkable Cafes of Thunder and Lightning, this is recorded :  
“ It is not Herefie to believe that Satan has some-  
“ times a great Operation in causing Thunder  
“ Storms. I know this is vehemently denied by  
“ some: the late Witch Advocates [those who de-  
“ fended the so called Witches] call it Blasphemy ;  
“ and an old Council did anathmatize the Men that  
“ are thus perswaded ; but by their Favour an ortho-  
“ dox and rational Man may be of the Opinion  
“ that when the Devil has before him the Vapours

“ and Materials out of which the Thunder and  
 “ Lightning are generated, his Art is such as that  
 “ he can bring them into Form. If Chymists can  
 “ make their *aurum fulminous*, what strange Things  
 “ may this infernal Chymist effect? The Holy  
 “ Scriptures intimate as much as this cometh to.  
 “ In the sacred Story concerning Job, we find that  
 “ Satan did raise a great Wind which blew down  
 “ the House where Job’s Children were fasting.  
 “ And it is said that the Fire of God fell from  
 “ Heaven and burnt up the Sheep and the Servants.  
 “ This was no doubt Thunder and Lightning, and  
 “ such as was extraordinary, and is therefore ex-  
 “ pressed with the name of God, as is usual amongst  
 “ the Hebrews. Satan had a deep Policy in going  
 “ that way to work, thereby hoping to make Job  
 “ believe God was his Enemy.”

There seems to have been no Test by which it  
 could be satisfactorily determined to which Power  
 an apparently mischievous Phenomenon was to be  
 attributed. Hence there was Danger of charging  
 an Event to the wrong Party. But our Fathers do  
 not seem to have entertained many conscientious  
 Scruples about overcharging the Devil, and appear  
 willing to make him the Scape-goat in all dubious  
 Cases, not giving him even the benefit of a Doubt.



Among the Signers to a Commendation of our Author's *Cases of Conscience concerning Witchcraft*, published in 1693, is that of the venerable William Hubbard. How far he endorsed all the Views expressed in that Work cannot be certainly known; but the Fact of his Signature being there is presumptive Evidence of his general Assent to its Principles. Including Mr. Hubbard, there were fourteen Signers, and these were the principal Ministers in this Part of New-England.

These Ministers say, "That there are Devils  
" and Witches; the Scripture asserts, and Experi-  
" ence confirms that they are common Enemies of  
" Mankind, and set upon Mischiefs, is not to be  
" doubted: That the Devil can (by Divine Per-  
" mission) and often doth vex Men, in Body and  
" Estate, without the Instrumentality of Witches,  
" is undeniable." If the Commendators had left  
the Matter here, their Credit would stand much  
better in this Age, but they go on: "That he  
" often hath and delights to have the Concurrence  
" of Witches, and their Consent in harming Men,  
" is consonant to his native Malice to Man, and  
" too lamentably exemplified: That Witches,  
" when detected and convicted, ought to be exter-  
" minated and cut off, we have God's Warrant for."

It will be seen that these Observations are pretty carefully worded, and that although the Existence of Devil and Witches could not be denied, a grand Question, very difficult to be disposed of, naturally presents itself—such as, if the Devil can act without the Agency of a Witch, how is it to be determined when he employs their Agency?

Nevertheless these fourteen Ministers say in Conclusion, “All that we are concerned in, is to assert  
“our hearty Consent to, and Concurrence with  
“the Substance of what is contained in the following Discourse.”

In the Postscript to the *Cases of Conscience*, the Author seems as far gone as his Son in the Witch Delusion. Perhaps the Fourteen<sup>1</sup> did not include the Postscript in their Commendation. Indeed it is quite probable they knew Nothing of it until

<sup>1</sup> Their Names as signed to the original Commendation are very differently arranged in the printed Book; and as they are partly Autographs, I infer them here as they originally stood:

Charles Morton  
Michael Wiggleworth  
John Bayly  
Samuel Whiting  
Jabez Fox

Samuel Angier  
Nehemiah Walter

[Thus far in Dr. Mather's hand.  
*The rest are Autographs.*]

James Allen  
Sam<sup>l</sup> Willard  
William Hubbard  
Samuel Phillips  
Joseph Gerrish  
Jn<sup>o</sup> Wise  
Joseph Capen.

after the Book was printed. In that Addenda Mr. Mather says, if he had been one of the Judges at the Trial of Mr. Burroughs, he could not have acquitted him. And in the same Postscript he says, "Some I hear have taken up a Notion that " the Book newly published by my Son [*Wonders of the Invisible World*] is contradictory to this of " mine: 'Tis strange that such Imaginations should " enter into the Minds of Men: I perused and " approved of that Book before it was printed." Hence it is apparent that the elder Mather was at heart as much inclined to punish Witches as the younger. The only Difference being in their Temperaments: the elder was slow and cautious, while the younger was sanguine and impetuous.

This Postscript, in which these strong Convictions are found, did not probably appear in the original Edition of the *Cases of Conscience*. I have a manuscript Copy of it (chiefly in the Autograph of the Author) to which there is no Postscript.

As has been elsewhere observed, that although Dr. Mather's Works are chiefly Theological, almost all of them contain some valuable Facts. He is treated rather cruelly by Mr. Oldmixon in his account of the *British Dominions in North America*, which is duly noticed by his Biographer, and

scarcely requires to be alluded to here. All that need be said respecting the severe Attack of Oldmixon is, that it principally relates to his preaching. This Consideration alone renders his Criticisms of no Value at this Day.

There is no Biography so valuable and interesting as Autobiography. Under this Conviction I have made the following Extracts from Dr. Mather's Preface to a small Volume of Sermons, entitled *Awakening Truths, &c.*, published by him in Boston in an 18mo Volume, 1710. He says:

“ I was by my Parents devoted to the Service of  
 “ God in the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*. What  
 “ my Father was in *Lancashire* in *England*, all  
 “ *New England* knows. And many will bless  
 “ God to Eternity, that ever they did *know* him.  
 “ God has moreover been so gracious as to give me  
 “ to be born of a singularly pious, praying, holy  
 “ Mother. On her Death-bed, she desired to  
 “ speak with me her youngest Son: All that she  
 “ said to me, was, *For the Lords sake do thou devote*  
 “ *thyself to the Work of the Ministry; and remember*  
 “ *that Scripture, They that turn many to Righteous-*  
 “ *ness, shall shine as the Stars forever and ever.*  
 “ From that Day I resolved if the Lord would spare  
 “ my life, to obey that last Advice of my Parent. I

“ was then a Youth, but sixteen Years old, having  
“ been in the Colledge but four Years. It is im-  
“ possible for me to declare what Impreffion those  
“ laft Words of my dying Mother had upon my  
“ Spirit. God has been fo favourable to me, as to  
“ uphold me (the moft unworthy) in His Work, as  
“ a publick Preacher of His Word, for the Space  
“ of more than fifty Years; and this occasionally  
“ in very many Congregations, and in four feveral  
“ Lands. In many places in *England*, in *Gloucester*,  
“ and in many Affemblies in *Devon*, and in *Dorset* ;  
“ but efppecially in and near the City of *London*, in  
“ *Ireland*, in *Guernsey*; in *New England*, very often  
“ to the young Students in *Cambridge*, when for  
“ many Years I prefided over them, but moftly in  
“ *Boston*. It being now upwards of 48 years fince  
“ I began my publick Miniftry in this great Town,  
“ where I have ever fince been constantly *Labour-*  
“ *ing*, excepting thofe 4 Years, when I was em-  
“ ployed in *England* in Service for the *Churches* in  
“ *New England*.”

This Preface is dated—“ Boston Nov. 9, 1709.”

“ *The prefent Generation in New England is*  
“ *lamentably degenerate*. As fometimes Mofes fpake  
“ to the Children of Ifrael, Numb. 32. 14. Behold  
“ ye are rifen up in your Father’s ftead an increafe

“ of sinful Men. So may we say, the first Genera-  
 “ tion of Christians in New England, is in a Man-  
 “ ner gone off the Stage, and there is another and  
 “ more sinful Generation risen up in their stead.  
 “ We have in former Years enjoyed a Sun-shine of  
 “ Prosperity, and that hath been attended (as useth  
 “ to be) with great Apostasy. It is an apt Simili-  
 “ tude which some use, that as the Heat of the Sun  
 “ in Summer breeds a multitude of Insects, so doth  
 “ the warmth of Prosperity a Multitude of Apof-  
 “ tates. Men are loth to hear on this Ear, but [64]  
 “ if we should deny it, the Lord doth testify against  
 “ us that it is so, as *Joel. i. 2. Hear this ye old Men*  
 “ *and give Ear all ye Inhabitants of the Land, hath*  
 “ *this been in your Dayes, or even in the Dayes of your*  
 “ *Fathers, saith the Lord.* Were there (saith the  
 “ Prophet) such Iudgements formerly as now there  
 “ are, you may therefore conclude that you are de-  
 “ parted from God, and by your Sins have provoked  
 “ him so to punish you. Thus may it be spoken  
 “ with reference to our State and Case, and the Dif-  
 “ pensations of God towards us, you old Men that  
 “ are here before the Lord this Day, what say you  
 “ to this Question, did you know such Judgements  
 “ upon New England formerly, as of late we have  
 “ seen? was it so in the Dayes of our Fathers?

“ were there such general and killing Diseases? such  
“ a long continuing Warr? so many hundreds cut  
“ off by the Sword, yea, so many hundred Families  
“ brought to Ruine? Candlesticks removed out of  
“ their Places, and Plantations made desolate! In  
“ former Times we heard of little besides Settle-  
“ ment of Plantations, and gathering of Churches,  
“ but of late Years, in stead of that, Ruins have been  
“ multiplied, yea, Mischief upon Mischief. God  
“ hath been spending his Arrows, and heaping  
“ Mischief upon this Generation. This Generation  
“ is not like the first. How many ignorant Ones?  
“ how many scandalous Ones? There is great  
“ Rudeness amongst young Ones in this Land; and  
“ in that respect degeneracy from the good Man-  
“ ners of the Christian World. And such Sins as  
“ were not formerly known in *New England* are  
“ now become common, such as swearing, sinful  
“ gaming, &c. yea, the present Generation as to  
“ the Body of it, is an unconverted Generation . . . .  
“ We may see here and there one that hath much  
“ of his blessed Father’s Spirit and Principles, but  
“ how rare are such amongst us? Nay, the Interest  
“ of *New England* is now changed, from a reli-  
“ gious to a worldly Interest; and in this Thing is  
“ *the great* radical Apostasy of *New England*. Is

xxviii *Introductory by the Editor.*

“ not this to chuse a strange God? Hence do we  
“ see Warr in the Gates. And the Lord hath been  
“ letting this Generation bleed in the right Vein,  
“ since he hath taken the World away from them.  
“ Trade is almost ruined. Farms, Oxen, Mer-  
“ chandize, which Things have been sought after  
“ in the first Place, how have they failed? New  
“ England is not like this twenty Years, to be in  
“ that comfortable Estate it was in but two Years  
“ agoe.” P. 65.

The State of Families with respect to Govern-  
ment is thus laid open in the same Election Ser-  
mon in the before mentioned Volume:

“ Families are the Nurceryes for Church and  
“ Commonwealth, ruine Families, and ruine all.  
“ Order them well and the publick State will fare  
“ the better; the great Wound and Misery of *New*  
“ *England* is that Families are out of Order. As  
“ to the generality of Householders, Family Govern-  
“ ment is lost and gone; Servants do not fear their  
“ Masters, Children do not honour their Parents,  
“ in that respect the *English* are become like unto  
“ the *Indians*.” P. 91.

The Author was quite as hopeless of Old Eng-  
land as New several Years later, and in his Preface  
to *Ichabod* thus discourses: “ *England* (in whose



“ Peace we shall have Peace) seems to be ripe for  
“ Judgment. The grievous National Sins com-  
“ mitted in the late Reigns have not yet been ac-  
“ counted [atoned] for. Never was there a Nation  
“ in the World (the Jewish excepted) that sinned  
“ against the Light of the Gospel so as the English  
“ Nation has.” P. 8. This Train of Thought was  
suggested to the Author’s Mind in View of his  
Apprehensions that Popery had taken, or was about  
to take Possession of the English Government.  
His Fears were not only for England, as the fol-  
lowing Passage shows: “ Things at this Day, look  
“ with a Dismal Aspect, on all Protestant Churches  
“ throughout the World.”

The Millenium had been confidently looked for  
“ about these Times,” but rather despairingly at the  
Beginning of the last Century, owing to the be-  
lieved Increase of Popery. Mr. Mather says: “ So  
“ as that some who not long since hoped that the  
“ happy Dayes promised to the Church on Earth,  
“ were at the Door, begin now to fear that *the last*  
“ *Slaughter of the Witnesses* is yet to come.”

About 1710 our Author published “ A Discourse  
“ concerning Faith and Fervency in Prayer, and  
“ the Glorious Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ,  
“ on Earth, now approaching. Delivered in seve-

“ral Sermons; in which the Signs of the present  
 “Times are considered,” &c. In this Work the  
 learned Author argued very much as the Followers  
 of the late William Miller argued respecting the  
 End of the World. I have not seen a Copy of the  
 original Edition, and am indebted to the Kindness  
 of Mr. Thomas Waterman for the Use of a Copy  
 of the Work printed at Newry, in Ireland, as late  
 as 1820. It was republished “by Matthew Lank-  
 “tree, Minister of the Gospel among the Method-  
 “ists.” Mr. Lanktree says in his Title-page, that  
 he has “carefully revised and corrected it.” For  
 its Reproduction in that singular “Corner of the  
 World,” we can only account by a Presumption  
 that a millennial Excitement then prevailed there,  
 and that some Accident threw a Copy of the Ori-  
 ginal in the Way of Mr. Lanktree. Hence it ap-  
 pears that “End-of-the-world” Excitements are  
 no new Things, and are in a Manner periodical.  
 That of the greatest Note in modern Times, prob-  
 ably, was about 1588, when the papal Powers  
 attempted the Conquest of England, by the Armada.

In 1713 one of Dr. Mather’s Sermons was re-  
 printed in Edinburgh,<sup>1</sup> “by John Reid, in Liber-

<sup>1</sup> The only Copy of this Sermon which has ever come to my Knowledge, is owned by Mr. W. H. Whitmore, who remarks that it is not contained in the List of Dr. Mather’s Works as published by his Son. There are also several others not found in the List.

ton's Wynd." Its Title is, " A Sermon shewing,  
" that the present Dispensations of Providence de-  
" clare That wonderful Revolutions in the World are  
" near at Hand; with an Appendix, shewing some  
" Scripture Grounds to hope, that within a few  
" Years, glorious Prophecies and Promises will be  
" fulfilled." The Scotch Publisher prints the fol-  
" lowing on the reverse of the Title-page: " To the  
" Reader. The Author of the following Sermon  
" and Appendix, tho' little known in this Country,  
" is much esteemed in other Places of the World,  
" for his great Piety, Learning, and Solidity. For  
" many Years he has been a burning and shining  
" Light in the Church: Having published this  
" Piece last Year in Boston, he sent a Copy thereof  
" to his Correspondent in Scotland, who, according  
" to his Desire signified in a Letter, doth offer it  
" to Publick View, hoping it will not be unaccept-  
" able to his Country Men."

A leading Feature in Dr. Mather's Time was an almost universal Belief in "Special Providences;" and the recording of them was no new Idea in the Minds of the learned Men of that Day. There had been, in the Colonial Assembly of Plymouth, an Agitation of the Subject, to which Mr. Mather thus refers in his Election Sermon of 1677. After

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citing Psalms lxxviii 5 and 6, and cii, 18, he continues: " I perceive that some good Men are afraid  
" left our too great Neglect in this Matter, may be  
" one thing that God is offended at. And there  
" be two Considerations, which may cause such  
" Apprehensions not to seem Groundless, one is in  
" that this Thing hath been formerly urged. That  
" faithful Shepard who spake here in the Name of  
" the Lord upon the like Occasion, five years agoe, <sup>1</sup>  
" insisted upon this very Thing, and yet the Matter  
" remains unfinished to this Day. Moreover, whilst  
" the Body of the first Generation, whom God  
" planted in this Wilderness was alive, there were  
" Essays this Way, for it <sup>2</sup> was propounded to, and  
" concluded amongst the Commissioners of the  
" United Colonies above thirty Years agoe, that  
" there should be a Collection of Special Provi-  
" dences of God towards his New England People.  
" And that Memorials being duly communicated,  
" an History should be compiled according to  
" Truth, for the Benefit of Posterity, that they  
" might see how God had been with their Fathers,  
" in laying the Foundation of the Churches, and  
" of the Common Wealth. Now that such Things

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Shepard preached an Election Sermon, 1672.

<sup>2</sup> Records of the Commissioners, Sept. 9, 1646.

“ should be concluded, and yet never done, cannot  
“ please God. P. 71.

A Belief in “ Special Providences ” is very near  
akin to a Belief in Witchcraft, which is noticed as  
a prominent Feature of that Age.

In 1718 Dr. Mather preached a Series of fifteen  
Sermons, “ on the *Beatitudes*, as they are commonly  
“ called,” which was printed in Boston in 1719.  
The same was reprinted in Dublin in 1721, in a  
handsome octavo Volume. The Preface is dated  
“ Boston, August 8, 1718.” In the Close of this  
Preface he says : “ Now that I am entred on the  
“ eightieth Year of my Age, transcribing is irk-  
“ some to my trembling Hand,” &c.

At this Time he spoke encouragingly of the  
Success of Christianity among the Indians : “ It is  
“ a great Thing,” he remarks, “ (although little  
“ considered by the most among us) that there are  
“ at this Day, not less than thirty Congregations  
“ of Indians, who commonly assemble every Lord’s  
“ Day, to worship God. And there are above  
“ thirty Indians who are Teachers and Preachers  
“ of the Gospel to their Countrymen, who awhile  
“ ago were all Pagans. There are also Churches  
“ among them gathered according to the Order of  
“ the Gospel, with Pastors and Elders of their own

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“ ordaining with the Imposition of Hands. And  
“ some of the Indians are, as to Religion beyond  
“ many of the English among whom they live.”

About eighteen Years earlier,<sup>1</sup> he however spoke with great Despondency of the Indians and their Religion. “ Alas,” he exclaims, “ What can we  
“ think of, that has been the *Peculiar Glory* of  
“ New England, but the blasting Rebukes of  
“ Heaven has been upon it! That Work of *Gosp-*  
“ *pelizing the INDIANS*, has been one of the pe-  
“ culiar Glories of *New England*. I have in an-  
“ other Part of the World, heard great and noble  
“ Personages, and those too of several Nations,  
“ speaking honourably of *New England*, in that  
“ *there* the whole Bible has been translated into  
“ the *Indian Language*: And in that there some  
“ that a while since were *Pagans* are now become  
“ *Preachers* of the Gospel. I have received Letters  
“ from Men in *Foreign Universities*, signifying the  
“ Respect which their Divines had for *New Eng-*  
“ *land* on this Account. But since the Death of  
“ that Apostolical Man, Old Mr. *Eliot*, how has  
“ that glorious Work been dwindling and dying?  
“ What is the *First Church* that was gathered

<sup>1</sup> In his Sermons entitled *Icabod, ing from N. England*, printed 1701, or, *the Glory of the Lord is Depart-* see Pages 66-7, Edition 1729.

“ among the Natives come to? <sup>1</sup> There was of late  
“ a Design to divert those Supplies another Way,  
“ whereby the Preaching of the Gospel has been  
“ supported among the *Indians* in this Province,  
“ but those unhappy Proposals are at present hap-  
“ pily prevented from taking Effect: But how  
“ soon there may be new and fatal Attempts of  
“ that Nature who can say? The greatest Num-  
“ ber of *Indians* who have given clear Evidences  
“ of real Conversion to Christ, were in *Martha's*  
“ *Vineyard*, where there was of *them* a considerable  
“ Number of serious Christians, but God has sent  
“ Sickness amongst them which has swept away  
“ most of those in that Place who were of Reputa-  
“ tion for Godliness and real Christianity. As for  
“ many of those *Indians* who now make a Profes-  
“ sion of Christianity, Men who pass under the  
“ Name of *English Protestants* have debauched  
“ them with Drink, and so made them more  
“ brutish, and *inglorious Creatures*; yea, more the  
“ Children of Hell than they were before the Light  
“ of the Gospel came among them. So then *that*  
“ *Glory* is dolefully departing.”

<sup>1</sup> This First Indian Church was Side of Charles River, in what is  
at a Place called by the Indians, since Newton. See Homer's *Hist.*  
*Nonantum*. It was on the south *Newton*, p. 4.

And still later, 1726, Dr. Cotton Mather wrote:  
 “ It must be confessed and bewailed, that if our  
 “ memorable Eliot, when he lay in his dying Lan-  
 “ guishments about six and thirty Years ago, saw  
 “ Cause to mourn in that Complaint, ‘ There is a  
 “ Cloud, a dark Cloud, upon the Work of the  
 “ Gospel among the poor *Indians*, the Lord revive  
 “ and prosper that Work, and grant that it may  
 “ live when I am dead:’ there has been a growing  
 “ Occasion since his Death for such a Complaint.”<sup>1</sup>

And the elder Mather thus<sup>2</sup> speaks of his untiring Labours: “ It was our blessed Eliot, who has by a  
 “ great Man<sup>3</sup> been called, The American Apostle.”

The foregoing Extracts from the Author’s own Works not only show the Mind of one high in publick Estimation, but they show very clearly the governing Sentiments of the greater Number of the People of New England, at one of the most interesting Periods of its History.

It remains for the Editor to make his Acknowledgements to all those enough interested in the

<sup>1</sup> Attestation to Mayhew’s Indian Converts by the United Ministers of Boston, p. xvii. This though signed by the eleven Boston Ministers, is pretty evidently the Work of Dr. Cotton Mather.

<sup>2</sup> Awakening Truths, p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> It does not appear how early Mr. Eliot received the Title of *Apostle*. Perhaps the *great man* referred to conferred it.



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early Chronicles of New England, so much to Aid in their Republication as to become Subscribers to those he has undertaken, and to thank them for their generous Encouragement, as well in another, as in a pecuniary Way. To his Friend Mr. Charles Deane he is indebted for the Use of a fine and perfect Copy of the original Edition of the *Relation*, by which the proof Sheets of the present Edition have been corrected.

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In the Introduction to the *Brief History of King Philip's War*, considerable Use was made of a large Number of manuscript Letters, written by Samuel Mather, D. D., to his unfortunate tory Son. Since that Work was published I have met with the following Notice of Dr. Mather, which as it illustrates the Character of that remarkable Man, is here introduced:

“Died [in Boston, June 27th, 1785], Samuel  
“Mather, aged 79. He left positive Orders, that  
“his Interment should be private, and without any  
“Ceremony—also signified his Desire, that he  
“may not have any funeral Encomiums from any  
“Quarter.”—*Columbian Cent.*, 29 June, 1785.

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P. S. The same Rule has been observed in this Reprint as in that of the *Brief History*; namely, in following the Orthography and in the Use of italic Letters. In respect to the Use of Capitals, there being no Uniformity in the original Edition, the Compositor has been allowed to follow his own Taste in that Particular. The Punctuation has not been changed but very slightly.

The foot Notes are all chargeable to the Editor, and are therefore unsigned. The side References in the last Tract are the Author's.

A RELATION

*Of the Troubles which have hapned in*

New-England,

*By reason of the Indians there.*

From the Year 1614. to the Year 1675.

Wherein the frequent Conspiracies of the Indians to cutt off the English, and the wonderfull providence of God, in difappointing their devices, is declared.

Together with an *Historical Discorse* concerning the Prevalency of

P R A Y E R

Shewing that *New Englands* late delivrance from the Rage of the Heathen is an eminent Answer of Prayer.

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By INCREASE MATHER

*Teacher of a Church in Boston in New-England.*

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Job. 8. 8. *Enquire I pray thee of the former age, and prepare thyself to the search of their Fathers.*

Pfal. III. 2. *The works of the Lord are great, sought out of all them that have pleasure therein.*

Joel. 1. 3. *Tell ye your Children of it, and let your Children tell their Children, and their Children another Generation.*

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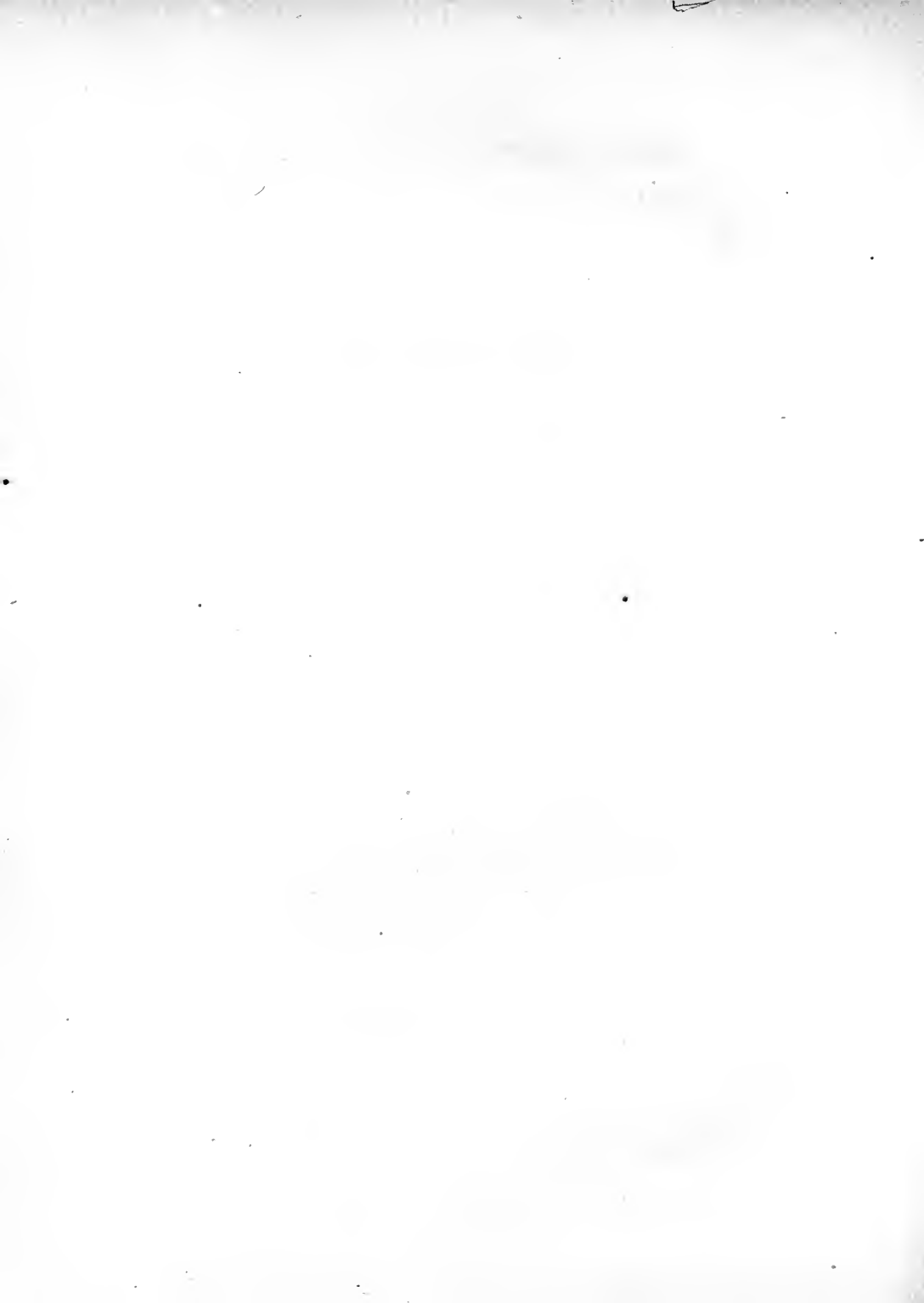
Historia est testis temporum, nuntia vetustatis, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitæ. *Cic. de Orat.*

*Alius alio plura invenire potest, nemo omnia.*

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B O S T O N ;

Printed and sold by *John Foster.* 1677.





[P. iii]

## TO THE READER.

**T**HE Occasion of my undertaking what is here presented, was a Letter which I received from a worthy Person, who upon the Perusal of that *Brief Historical Account* of the War with the Indians in *New England*, published the last Summer,<sup>1</sup> importuned me to write the Story of the *Pequot War*; taking his Motion into Consideration,<sup>2</sup> it came into my Thoughts, that it would be a Service and Benefit for Posterity, if all other general Troubles which have happened by the *Heathen* in this Land, were recorded and made known; and the rather, in that as to those *first Motions and Commotions* there are very few that know any thing of them.<sup>3</sup> Wherefore I set my

<sup>1</sup>This Work was republished with an Introduction and Notes by the present Editor. It is a small Tract in 4to, as it originally appeared, and contained but about sixty Pages. It was printed in Boston, by John Foster, and reprinted in London the same Year, for *Richard Chiswell*, 1676.

<sup>2</sup>The Writers of the Time of

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our Author are remarkable for beginning to tell Something and ending in telling Nothing, on Occasions like this.

<sup>3</sup>Forty Years had elapsed since the Pequot War had closed. The Author himself was not born till two Years after, and nearly all those who had been concerned in it had passed away.

self to make Enquiry into those Matters, and shall for the Satisfaction of the *Reader*, give him an Account where and from whence I obtained, what Light and Information touching these *Indian Troubles*, I have been any Wayes able to arrive unto.

Such Books as I had by me, that relate to any Thing of those Affaires I have been willing to resolve. e. g. *Johannes de Laet* his *Description of America*, written in Latin;<sup>4</sup> Also several of Capt. *Smith* his Books;<sup>5</sup> And *A Relation of the Discovery of New England*, published by the President and Council of New England, Anno 1622.<sup>6</sup> And the *Relation or Journal of the first Planters in Plymouth*<sup>7</sup> together with several Letters which some of them wrote to *England*, soon after their first com-

<sup>4</sup> De Laet was a Man of Learning, a Director of the Dutch East India Company. His Work on America is usually cited as *Novus Orbis*. It was published at Leyden in 1633, in Folio. He was the Author of several other Works, and had a Controversy with Grotius upon the Origin of the Indians. Master Benjamin Tompson did not forget him in his Lines upon Mr. Hubbard's *History of the Indian Wars*:

“Purchase wrote much, Hacluyt traversed far,  
Smith and Dutch John de Laet famous are.”

<sup>5</sup> Capt. Smith's Books are too well known to need any Account of them here. In some late Works an Attempt is made to cast Suspicion on Smith's Statements respecting his Discoveries in Virginia, but I would

caution Writers and Readers not to be too anxious to impeach a Character so well established for Veracity as is that of Capt. John Smith.

<sup>6</sup> A Tract of great Rarity. The only Copy I have ever seen is that in the British Museum. It is contained in Purchas, vol. iv, 1827-32.

<sup>7</sup> Usually cited as *Mourt's Journal*, or *Mourt's Relation*. It is reprinted in Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*. But that Compiler, because he was not acquainted with the Name of the original Publisher, set him down as a Myth; and a casual Examiner of his *Chronicles* might almost affirm it was not contained in his Book. It has also been republished by Mr. Cheever in New York several Years ago. He has, like Mr. Young, I am sorry to be

*In Hist. 5<sup>th</sup> ed. 1681*

ing into this Countrey; and Mr. *Winslow* (then whom hardly any one that hath deserved more eminently from New England) his *Good News from New England*,<sup>8</sup> [iv] published Anno 1624. which Relations are in the Hands of but few in this Countrey, and therefore I have been the larger in excerping Things out of them. They are epitomized in *Purchase* his *Pilgrims*<sup>9</sup> lib. 10. who declares that he had by him a Description of the Voiage made by Capt. *Hanham*<sup>10</sup> to *Sagadebock*, and the written Journals of Mr. *Raleigh Gilbert*,<sup>11</sup> and of Mr. *Harly* and Capt. *Hobson*,<sup>12</sup> who were in this Land before any English Plantation was settled therein. I doubt not but in those Scripts a more

obliged to state, sadly marred the Original; both having changed the Pilgrim Orthography to that of their own! Nothing can be more absurd, in my Opinion, than to change the Orthography of an old Author, and not change his Style. Why change one and not the other? I protest against a Change in either Case.

<sup>8</sup> This is also to be found reprinted in Young's *Chronicles of the Pilgrims*.

<sup>9</sup> The Author might as well have stated that the Articles to which he refers are contained in the fourth Volume of *Purchas*. *Purchas's* Volumes were published at different Times and their Titles vary. The first was issued 1613, in a stately Folio of 752 Pages. The Title commences, *Purchas his Pilgrimage. Or Relations of the World*.

At the Time this Volume was published the Author was "Minister at Estwood in Essex."

<sup>10</sup> Different Writers give the Name of this Captain, *Hanam*, *Haman* and *Hanham*. He made a Voyage to New England, 1606, in company with Capt. *Pring*. His Christian Name was *Thomas*.

<sup>11</sup> Son of the renowned Sir *Humphrey Gilbert*, whose Pedigree and Family are pretty fully described in Prince's *Worthies of Devon*, and his Authorities.

<sup>12</sup> Probably *Edward Harley* and *Nicholas Hobson*. See Prince and his Authorities. In Dr. *Drake's Shakespeare and his Times*, is a curious Omission of the Name of *Hobson*, by which the baptismal Name stands for the Surname.

full and particular Account is given, of the *first Concerns* with the *Indians* here.<sup>13</sup> But I could not come by the Sight of them, nor do I know certainly whither those things are extant.<sup>14</sup> I have also perused Sr. *Ferdinando Gorges Narration* of original Undertakings here.<sup>15</sup> Moreover I have read a large Manuscript of Governour *Bradford's* (written with his own Hand;) being expressive of what the *first Planters* in this Countrey met with, whether from the Heathen or otherwise, from the Year 1620. to the Year 1647.<sup>16</sup> As for the *Pequot Troubles*, the

<sup>13</sup>The "Scripts" here referred to went probably with Purchas's Papers, but what became of his Collections is not satisfactorily known. It is said that Purchas died "at his own House in London in 1628," and that he died in debt, owing to his great Outlays in publishing his *Pilgrimes*. Besides possessing the great Collection left by Hakluyt, he no doubt had a vast one of his own, for like Hakluyt he travelled into different Seaports to see those Captains who had been on important Voyages. Thus he tells us that in 1618 he saw Capt. John Winter at Bath, and that Winter gave him important Facts concerning Sir Francis Drake's Voyage, &c. *Pilgrimes*, iv, 1187.

<sup>14</sup>If any at this Time are wiser than our Author was then, such are unknown to the Editor.

<sup>15</sup>The Title of the Work is *A Brief Narration of the Originall Undertakings of the Advancement of*

*Plantations in the Parts of America. Especially shewing the Beginning, Progress, and Continuance of that of New England.* London: 1656. A small 4to.

<sup>16</sup>This MS., until recently, was supposed to have been irrecoverably lost; and there was good Reason for such a Supposition. It could be traced to Gov. Hutchinson, and it was well known that many of his Papers were destroyed by a Mob in the turbulent Times of the Stamp Act. But Bradford's MS. was not destroyed, though it was doubtless taken to England with many other Papers and Documents in Hutchinson's possession which did not belong to him (see Mather's *Brief History of King Philip's War*, p. 22-3). If any one had even a Shadow of Faith in its Existence, it was too much of a Shadow to send him upon a Search in which a rational Being would about as soon expect to find the Philosopher's Stone. But the long desired MS. was discovered; not



World is beholding to the Industry of Mr. *John Allyn*<sup>17</sup> of Hartford (as is in the subsequent Relation acknowledged) for what is thus made publick, respecting the great Commotions which then happened. Only I have been willing to add some Particulars out of a *Manuscript Narrative* of the *Pequot War*, which I lately met with in Reverend Mr. *Davenports* Library,<sup>18</sup> as also what Mr. *Johnson*,<sup>19</sup> or Mr. *Morton*<sup>20</sup> (out of Mr. *Bradford's* Manu-

by an American, but by a Gentleman of the Manuscript Department of the British Museum, Mr. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, as he himself informed me. He was rumaging in the Lambeth Library, among a Mass of Manuscripts, and when he detected this of Bradford he called the Attention of the Librarian to it, who allowed him to take it and to cause it to be repaired as it is now seen. Thus but for Mr. Hamilton's Interest in old MSS., and his calling the Attention of the Bishop of Oxford to it, Bradford's MS. might have slumbered for an indefinite Period beyond the present Generation. The Bishop having made Extracts from it and published them in his Ecclesiastical Work on the Church in the Colonies, the Existence of the MS. became known in this Country, and in due Time a Copy was obtained, and we now have it in print, as a Volume of Historical Collections by the Mass. Historical Society, 1856. Why it was not put forth on its own Merits, independent of a Series of Historical Collections, those who managed the Affair may explain.

<sup>17</sup> Mr. Allyn was Secretary of the Colony of Connecticut. He was not the Author of the Paper which he sent to Mr. Mather. He merely copied and sent him Mafon's Account of the Pequot War. He probably varied his Copy some from the Original. Whether he intended to pass it off as his own, it is difficult to say. At all events Mr. Mather appears to have been deceived.

<sup>18</sup> We are quite in the Dark respecting the Authorship of this Manuscript.

<sup>19</sup> Capt. Edward Johnson of Woburn, gives some Account of the Pequot War in his *Wonder-Working Providence, &c.*, sometimes cited as a *History of New England*. It was printed in 1654, anonymously. See Prince, *Introduction to his N. E. Chronology*.

<sup>20</sup> *New England's Memorial*, originally published in 1669. It is very meager in all respects, nor have recent Editions been what they should be.

script) hath heretofore noted. Touching the Narragansets; I have searched the publick Records of the Colonies,<sup>21</sup> and from thence excerp'd the Substance of what as here related, as to former Troubles from them or by their Means procured. The *Relation* concerning Alexander and his Brother *Philip*, wherwith this *Narrative* is concluded, I received from the present Honourable Governour of *Plymouth* (who succeeds his blessed Father, as in Place, so in Spirit) and from the faithful *Secretary* of that Colony. I am sensible that there is a Reality in that which *Erasmus* doth (after his Manner) wittily express *Adeò nunc in omnes et omnia grossatur comitata furiis ἢ Διαβολῇ ut non sit tutum ullum emittere librum, nisi satellitio munitum*;<sup>22</sup> wherefore [v] I thought it necessary to give this particular Account of the Authors from whom I received my Information, respecting Passages insisted on. Nor shall I seek for any other *Guard* against those, whose *Genius* is to calumniate Endeavours of this Kind.

I am not altogether ignorant of what is com-

<sup>21</sup> The Records of the United Colonies are those to which the Author probably refers. They were first printed in Hazard's *State Papers*. A vastly improved Edition of them has recently been issued at the Expense of the State of Massachusetts, under the careful Supervision of Mr. David Pulfifer.

<sup>22</sup> Those not familiar with Hebrew, Greek and Latin will regret

that the Author's Conviction as expressed in the following Note had not happened before he wrote this Treatise: "The Reader will not find in these Sermons [*Awakening Truths*, printed 1710] any studied fine Phrases, nor a Gingling with Latin, Greek and Hebrew Sentences. I have long been of holy Mr. Dod's mind, that ordinarily so much Latin is so much Flesh in a Sermon."

monly and truly observed, viz. That those *Histories* which are partly *Chronological* are the most profitable; and that they that undertake a Work of this Nature, should go by Prescript of that so much celebrated Verse,

*Quis, Quid, Vbi, Quibus auxiliis, Cur, Quomodo Quando.*

which I have endeavoured to remember. Nor hath that Maxim been wholly forgotten, *Stylus Historicus quo simplicior eo melior*. And J may expect that *Ingenuous Readers* will act according to that which a learned Man in his *Historica* layeth down as a Theorem, *Historici legantur cum moderatione et venia, h. e. cogitetur fieri non posse ut in omnibus circumstantiis sint Lyncei*. J have done what I could to come at the Truth, and plainly to declare it, knowing that that is (as useth to be said) *the Soul and Sun of History*, whose Property is, *Μ'ονη τῆ' ἀληθεία θυεῖν*.

As for what concerns the Story of the late War with the Indians, there are who have propounded, that some meet Persons might be improved in the several *Colonies* to collect what of Moment hath happened in each *Colony* since this War broke forth.<sup>23</sup> When *Cassiodorus* compiled an History out of the Collections of *Socrates, Theodoret, Sozomen*, it was of great Use in after Ages, bearing the Name of *Historia Tripartita*; if such a Course as hath been intimated should be attended, and the Design finished, a *Compleat History* many (*ἐανπες ἐπτ' ἐπέθεφ*) be composed out of those Collections, which J know

<sup>23</sup> This was an early Hint for the Formation of a Historical Society.

not but that it may derive the Name of *Historia Tripartita*, and be no lesse beneficial to Posterity, then some others have been. In the mean Time, the Reader must be satisfied with what is already extant.

The following *Relation* was written neer upon a Year ago; since which a Reverend Author has emitted a Narrative of the [vi] Troubles which have happened by the Indians in New England, whose Pains and Industry doth (in my Judgement) deserve an Acknowledgment.<sup>24</sup> Neverthelesse it hath been thought needful to publish this; considering that most of the Things here insisted on, are not so much as once taken Notice of in that *Narrative*.<sup>25</sup> And although the *Pequot War* be therein described (and that, as to the Substance of the Story, truly and impartially) it is not so fully done as is here to be seen. If this Endeavour shall contribute any Light or Help in writing an *History of New England*,<sup>26</sup> I hope they whose Hearts are

<sup>24</sup> The Acknowledgment of an Author's "Pains and Industry," is indeed a very cheap Commendation, and in this Case appears only to have been recognized for Condemnation. The Reader does not require to be told that the Rev. William Hubbard of Ipswich is referred to.

<sup>25</sup> The Title of Mr. Hubbard's Work is, *A Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians in New England, from the first Planting thereof in the Year 1607, to this present Year, 1677. But chiefly of*

*the late Troubles in the two last Years, 1675 and 1676. To which is added a Discourse about the Warrs with the Pequods in the Year 1637.* Boston: printed by John Foster, in the Year 1677. It is a closely printed Quarto of about 250 Pages. A much improved and corrected Edition appeared in London the same Year. The Title of the London Edition begins, *The Present State of New England. Being a Narrative, &c.*, as in the other Edition.

<sup>26</sup> The Author takes occasion in several of his Works to speak of a

upon seeking out and declaring the Works of God in the Generation which he cast them into, will accept of my Labour, however mean and inconsiderable. I shall do no more, but pray that the Blessing of Heaven may be upon Undertakings of this Nature.

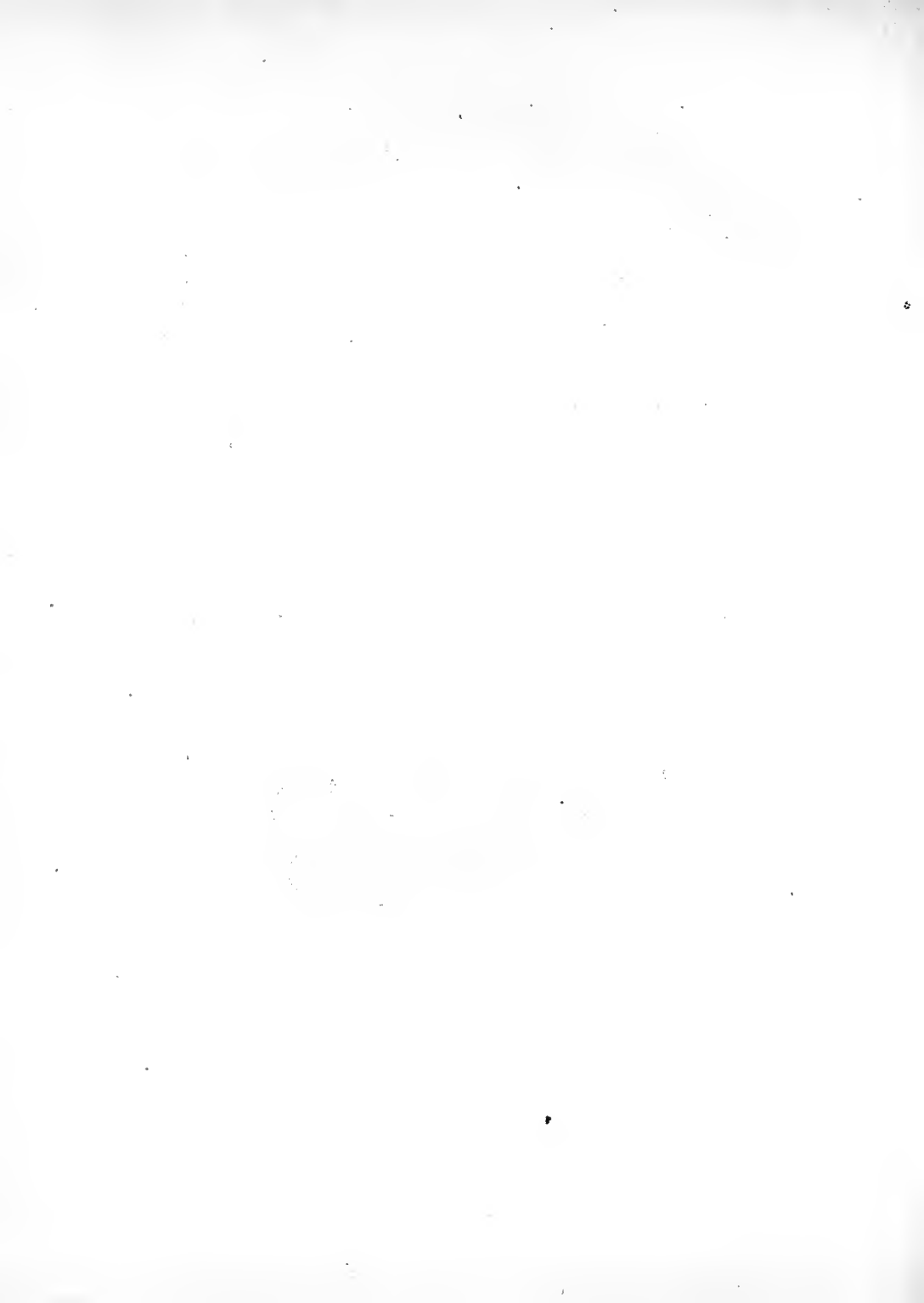
Boston N. E.

Sept. 14. 1677.

*Increase Mather.*

History of New England. Not long after this his Son commenced what he intended as such—his well known *Magnalia*.







[1]

A

RELATION  
of the first Troubles in  
New-England,

by Reasons of the INDIANS there.

IT is now above seventy Years, since that Part of this Continent which is known by the Name of NEW ENGLAND, was discovered and Possession thereof taken by the English. No Man that made it his Concern to be acquainted with Things of this Nature can be ignorant, that the *Northern* (or to us *Northeast*) Parts of this Land were the first wherein were English Inhabitants; whence it was for some Years known by the Name of the *Northern Plantation*, until such Time as

King *Charles* the first (then Prince of Wales) gave it the Name of *New England*.<sup>27</sup>

For in *Anno* 1602. and in the Year following some of our Countrymen made notable Discoveryes in that Land which lyeth North and by East of Virginia, between the Degrees of 43 and 45 northern Latitude.

Four or five Years after this that noble Lord, *Sir John Popham* (then Lord Chief Justice) sent out a Ship into these Parts to make further Discovery, who arriving at the Place designed, quickly returned, and made such a Report of what they had seen, as did greatly animate the Adventurers to go on with their begun Undertaking; whereupon in *Anno* 1607. a Gentleman [2] whose Name was *Popham* was sent into these Coasts, with two Ships and one hundred Land-men and Ordnance, and other Things necessary for their Sustentation and Defence, in order to the making Way for the Settlement of a Plantation. But that noble Lord being taken out of the World by sudden Death, also the Planters here meeting with sad Disasters (for in the Depth of Winter, their Lodgings and Stores were burnt, and Capt. *Popham* dyed amongst them) when the next Year a Vessel arrived bringing the

<sup>27</sup> The Author is not quite right in this Statement. Smith himself named the Country New England, as he found it to lie "opposite to Nova Albion in the South Sea, discovered by the most memorable Sir Francis Drake in his Voyage about the World, in regard whereof this is stiled New England." On show-

ing his Map to Prince Charles (afterwards Charles the First), then a Boy of about fifteen, he, at Smith's Request, substituted English Names for the Indian. This appears to be all the Agency Prince Charles had in naming New England; both whimsical and nonsensical. See Smith's *Gen. Historie*, ii, 176, 179.



News of the Lord *Pophams* Death, the whole Company of the English resolv'd upon a return home, which prov'd the Death of the English Plantation, at that Time design'd in these Parts of the World. Only Sr *Fr. Popham* (Son to the Lord Chief Justice) sent divers Times to these Coasts for Trade and Fishing.<sup>28</sup>

As yet there was not (so far as I can learn) any Disturbance from the *Indians*, then the only Natives of this Land.<sup>29</sup> But not long after this, an unworthy Ship-Master whose Name was *Hunt*, being sent forth into these Coasts on the Account of the fishing Trade, after he had made his Dispatch and was ready to sail, (under Pretence of trucking with them) enticed *Indians* into his Vessel, they in Confidence with his Honesty went aboard, to the Number of twenty from *Patuxet*, since called *Plymouth*, and seven from *Noffet* (now known by the Name of *Estam*) these did this *Hunt* seize upon, stow'd them under Hatches, and carried them to the Streights of *Gibraltar*, and there did he sell as many as he could of them for 20*l.* a Man, until it was known whence they came; for then the Friars in those Parts took away the rest of them, that so they might nurture them in the Popish Religion. The pernicious and avaritious Felony of this Ship-Master, in stealing and selling the *Indians* to the

<sup>28</sup> The Events glanced at in the preceding Paragraphs will be found minutely enough stated by Hubbard, Prince, Holmes, and others.

<sup>29</sup> It will be seen, however, that

the Author relates some *Troubles* between the *Indians* and *Voyagers* which must have happened anterior to this Period. See Smith's *Descript. N. Eng.*, 15, and his *Gen. Hist. N. Eng.*, ii, 194.

*Spaniards*, as hath been expressed, laid the Foundation to great *Troubles* which did, after that befall the English, especially in the *North-east* Parts of this Land. Yea that inhumane and barbarous Fact was the unhappy Occasion of the Loss of many a man's Estate and Life, which the Barbarians in those beginning Times did from thence seek to destroy.<sup>30</sup>

For when the Gentlemen Adventurers<sup>31</sup> did again dispatch a Vessel hither commanded by Capt. *Hobson*<sup>32</sup> in order to erecting a Plantation and set-

<sup>30</sup> Hunt was with Capt. Smith in his Voyage, and Smith gives us the Particulars of the Manner in which he kidnapped the Indians thus: "But one Thomas Hunt, when I was gone, thinking to prevent that Intent I had to make there a Plantation, thereby to keepe this abounding Country still in Obscurity, that onely he and some few Merchants more might enjoy wholly the Benefit of the Trade, and Profit of this Country, be- traied foure and twenty of those poore Saluages aboard his Ship, and most dishonestly and inhu- manely for their kinde vsage of me and all our Men, carried them with him to Maligo and there for a little priuate gaine sold those silly Saluages for Rials of Eight; but this vilde Act kept him euer after from any more imploiment to those Parts." *Descript. of N Eng.* See more from Smith in Note 37. The Indians told the Pilgrims in March, 1621, that Hunt took the Indians vnder colour of trucking with

"them, twentie out of this very Place [Plymouth] where we in- habite, and seuen Men from the Naufites." *Mourt in Purchas*, 1849. Other Accounts say twenty- four was the Number of Indians kidnapped No doubt some were killed, and these were reckoned by the Indians, while the English reckoned only those actually carried off.

<sup>31</sup> Sir Ferdinando Gorges seems to have been the chief Adventurer in this business.

<sup>32</sup> When Gorges had arranged to employ Capt. Hobson, he says: "I knew the Captain had some relation to Lord Southampton, and I not willing in those Days to undertake any Matter extraordinary without his Lordship's Advice; who approved of it so well that he adventured one hundred pounds in that Employment, and his Lord- ship being at that Time Com- mander of the Isle of Wight, where the Captain had his abid-

tling a Trade with the Natives here, *Hunt's* fore-mentioned Scandal, had caused the *Indians* to contract such a mortal Hatred against all Men of the English Nation, that it was no small Difficulty to settle any where within their Territories. And whereas there were two *Indians* called *Epenow* and *Manawet*, who having been carried out of these Parts of the World into *England* had learned to speak *English*, that were returned in *Hobsons* Vessel, as hoping they might be servicable toward the Design on foot, it [3] fell out otherwise; since being exasperated by what *Hunt* had done, they contrived with their Country-men how to be revenged upon the English. *Manawet* dyed within a short Time after the Ships Arrival. *Epenow* secretly plotted to free himself out of the English Hands, which he effected, though with great Hazard to himself and other *Salvages* that were his fellow *Conspirators*, which came to pass after this Manner.

Upon the Ships Arrival, many of the *Indians* (some of them being *Epenows* Kinsmen) came aboard and were kindly entertained by the Captain; at their Departure they promised to return the next Day, and bring some Trade with them. *Epenow* had not Liberty granted him to go on Shoar, only much Discourse (and probably a Contrivement for his Escape) was between him and the other *Indians*

“ ing under his Lordship, out of  
 “ his Nobleness was pleased to fur-  
 “ nish me with some land Soldiers,  
 “ and to commend me to a grave

“ Gentleman, one Capt. Hobson,  
 “ who was willing to go that Voy-  
 “ age and to adventure one hundred  
 “ pounds himself.” P. 15.

in the Vessel, which nobody but themselves could understand. The *Indians* returned at the Time appointed with twenty *Canoos*, but were shy of coming aboard. *Epenow* cunningly called to them as if he would have them come into the Vessel, to Trade, and suddenly did himself leap overboard: He was no sooner in the Water, but the *Indians* sent a Shower of Arrows into the Vessel, and came desperately near to the Ship, and (in despite of all the English Musketers aboard) went away with their Country-man *Epenow*.<sup>33</sup>

Divers of the *Indians* were then slain by the

<sup>33</sup>It appears from Gorges own Account that Epenow had made great Pretensions as to what the Country contained, and at the same Time pretended that if he revealed his Knowledge to the English, "he was sure to have his Brains knocked out as soon as he came ashore." But Gorges did not put implicit Faith in him: "For," says he, "I gave the Captain strict Charge to endeavour by all Means to prevent his Escape; and for the more Surety, I gave Order to have three Gentlemen of my own Kindred (two Brothers of Sturton's, and Master Matthews) to be ever at hand with him, clothing him with long Garments, fitly to be laid hold on if Occasion should require. Notwithstanding all this, his friends being all come at the Time appointed, with twenty Canoes, and lying at a certain Distance with their Bows ready,

"the Captain calls to them to come aboard; but they not moving, he speaks to Epenow to come unto him where he was, in the Fore-castle of the Ship. He being then in the Waist of the Ship between two of the Gentlemen that had him in guard, starts suddenly from them, and coming to the Captain, calls to his Friends in English to come aboard; in the interim slips himself overboard; and although he was taken hold of by one of the Company, yet being a strong and heavy Man, could not be stayed; and was no sooner in the Water but the Natives sent such a Shower of Arrows, and came withal desperately so near the Ship, that they carried him away in despite of all the Musketeers aboard, who were for the Number as good as our Nation did afford." P. 16. Consult *Gorges* for other Particulars.

*English*, and the Master of the *English* Vessel and several of the Company wounded by the *Indians*.<sup>34</sup>

Hereupon the Captain and the whole Company were discouraged, and returned to *England*, bringing nothing back with them but the News of their bad Success, and that there was a War broke out between the *English*, and the *Indians*.<sup>35</sup> The Time when these Troubles hapned, is controverted more than the Things themselves.<sup>36</sup> *Johannes de Laet* in his *Descriptio Indiæ Occidentalis*, writeth that it was between the Years 1608 and 1615. So doth *Purchas*. Sr. *Ferdinando Gorges* relates that he

<sup>34</sup> Gorges says nothing about any being killed or wounded. But *Purchas* says "they wounded the Master of our Ship, and diuers other of our Company, yet was not their Design without the Slaughter of some of their People, and the Hurt of others, compassed, as appeared afterwards." Vol. iv, p. 1829. Gorges complained that the Voyage was unnecessarily abandoned, as he had given Orders for its Prosecution elsewhere if this first Attempt failed. But if the Captain and others were badly wounded it is a good Reason for the Return of the Ship to England. See also the *Brief Relation of the President and Council of New England*, as reprinted in *Colls. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, ix, 2d Ser., p. 6.

<sup>35</sup> Here our Author follows *Purchas*, but not with sufficient Care, for the Reader is left in Doubt about "a War broke out," as to where

and when; while *Purchas* is clear and explicit, and in these Words: "Hereupon Captaine Hobson and his Company, conceuing the End of their Attempt to bee frustrate, resolued without more adoe to returne, and so those Hopes, that Charge and Voyage was lost also; for they brought home Nothing but the Newes of their euill Success of the vunfortunate Cause thereof, and of a Warr now near begun betweene the Inhabitants of those Parts and vs. A miserable Comfort for so weak Meanes as were now left, to pursue the Conclusion of so tedious an Enterprife." *Pilgrims*, iv, 1829. *Prince, Chronology*, 41.

<sup>36</sup> This Sentence seems to have been thrown in without Reflection, as by a careful Comparison of his Authorities the Author would have seen that Dates were available, to an Extent sufficient for his Purpose.

See Purchas  
to 5  
with

sent Capt. *Hobson* into these Parts in Anno 1614, and what *Hunt* did was before that, as being the grand procuring Cause of the Broyle between the English and the Indians, which first began in that Year.<sup>37</sup>

After these Things another Vessel was sent into these *Northern* Parts under the Command of Capt. *Rocraft*, he designed to winter there, but some of his own Ships Company conspired against him, intending his Death, he having secret Intelligence of this Plot against his Life, held his Peace until the Day was come wherein the intended Mischiefe was to be put in Execution, then unexpectedly apprehended the Conspirators; he was loth himself to put any to Death, though they were worthy of it. But therefore he resolved to leave them in the Wilderness, not knowing but they might haply discover something which might be advantageous.<sup>38</sup>

[4] Accordingly he furnished them with Ammunition, and some Victuals for their present Subsistence, and turned them Ashore to *Socodebock*,

<sup>37</sup> This is according to Smith's *Description of New England* in his *General History*, but in his *New England Trials*, 16 (Force's Edit.), he says the Place where Hunt kidnapped the Indians was so remote from that where Capt. Hobson was attacked, that that Act of Hunt could not have been the Cause of the Hostility. "However it was "alleged for an Excuse." Purchas calls Hunt's "Sauage hunting of "Sauages a new and Deuillish Project." *Pilgrims*, 1828.

<sup>38</sup> The Author omits much important Matter respecting Capt. Edward Rocraft's Proceedings. On his Arrival on the eastern Coast, he captured a French Vessel fishing and trading there. This Vessel he went into himself, and sent home the Men in his own Ship. After the Mutiny above recorded, Rocraft went to Virginia, and there getting into a Quarrel was killed. Pretty full Details may be read in Purchas, 1829-30. See also Belknap's *Amer. Biography*, i, 361.

himself with the rest of his Company departing to *Virginia*. Those English Mutineers got over to the Island of *Monbegin*, three Leagues from the Main, where they kept themselves safe from the Fury of the exasperated *Indians*, until the next Spring, when a Vessel that came on the Coast on a fishing Voyage, found them all (except one Person that died of Sicknefs in this Interim) alive, and carried them away back for England.

Not many Years after this, *viz.* in Anno 1619. a Gentleman whose Name was *Darmer* was sent to prosecute the Design of planting and settling a Trade in *New England*, and to endeavour that a right Understanding of Matters between the Indians and the English might be accomplished.

He therefore brought with him an *Indian* called *Squantum*, who was one of those that *Hunt* had treacherously carried away from *Patuxet*, but was bought by an English Merchant, and lived some Time with Mr. *Slany*<sup>39</sup> a Gentleman in *Cornbil*, until he could speak broken *English*, and after that at *New-found-land*, where Capt. *Mason* was then Governour, who was willing that Mr. *Darmer* should take *Squantum* with him to *New England*. Upon his Arrival here, he told his Country-men very strange Storyes, giving them to understand what Kind of Usage he had met with among the English where he had been, and how much the wicked Fact of that covetous *Hunt* was condemned,

<sup>39</sup> Probably "Master John Slany," for Squanto's being sent to Newfoundland. See Stow's *Survey of London*, p. 591, Edition folio, 1633.

fo that many of them began to converſe with, and become friendly toward the Engliſh, and Mr. *Darmer* conceited that he and *Squantum* had made a firm Peace between the Nations. But, *manet alta mente reſoſtum*—*Indians* are not wont to forget Injuries, when once they have ſuſtained any: ſo did that Gentleman find it to his after Sorrow: For being near the Place where *Hunt* had formerly betrayed the *Indians* aboard his Veſſel, they treacherouſly ſet upon him, and gave him fourteen Wounds, ſo that he had much adoe to eſcape with his Life. And though he got to *Virginia* after this, ſome write that he never recovered of thoſe Wounds which he received of the *Nauſit Indians*.<sup>40</sup> And *Epenow* (before mentioned) was the Cauſe of Capt. *Darmer's* being aſſaulted, whom he hapned to meet with at his firſt landing in that Place: The *Indian* being able to ſpeak *Engliſh*, reported to Capt. *Darmer* the Story of his Eſcape out of Capt. *Hobſon's* Veſſel, laughing heartily at the Conceit of it. The Captain told him that Sr. *Ferdinando Gorges* was much troubled that he ſhould meet with ſuch ill Uſage as to put him upon a Temptation to ſteal away. This *Salvage* after ſome Enquiries about Sr. *Ferdinando* (and his Family) with whom he had ſometimes lived in England, belike ſuſpecting that Capt. *Darmer*

<sup>40</sup> There can be no Queſtion as to the Death of Capt. *Dermer* in *Virginia*, but not immediately from the Effect of his Wounds, as may be ſeen in *Purchas*. “He fell ſicke of the Infirmities of that Place,

“and thereof dyed.” *Pilgrims*, iv, 1831. *Dermer* was well known to *Purchas*, who had received Letters from him while upon his Voyage. See his *Pilgrims*, iv, 1778-9, where a valuable one is inferred.



had a Purpose to surprize [5] him, he conspired with some of his Fellows to take the Captain, and laid Hands on him, who did with his Sword manfully defend himself against those barbarous and treacherous Assailants.<sup>41</sup> What other particular Mischiefs were done by the *Northern Indians* (or others) about this Time, I cannot learn: Only Capt. *Smith* writeth that he met with many of their *silly Encounters* (as he calls them) but without any Hurt.<sup>42</sup> Also a little before the first Planters in *Plymouth* Colony arrived in this Land, three

<sup>41</sup> Capt Smith makes this Summary of Capt. Dermer's Adventures: "Master Thomas Dirmire, an understanding and industrious Gentleman, that was also with me amongst the French-men, having lived about a Yeere in Newfoundland, returning to Plimoth, went for New England in this Ship, so much approved of this Countrey, that he staid there with five or six Men in a little Boat, finding two or three French men amongst the Salvages who had lost their Ship, augmented his Company, with whom he ranged the Coast to Virginia, where he was kindly welcomed and well refreshed, thence returned to New England againe, where having becne a Yeere, in his backe returne to Virginia he was so wounded by the Salvages, he died upon it." Vol. II, 219. See also Gorge's *Narration*, p. 20. According to Mourt (Purchas, 1849) Dermer's Fight was about July, 1620.

<sup>42</sup> The following is Smith's Account of some of his Skirmishes with the Indians. I suppose they happened while he was surveying the Coast of Massachusetts: "We found the People in those Parts very kinde, but in their fury no lesse valiant, for vpon a Quarrell we fought forty or fifty of them, till they had spent all their Arrowes, and then we tooke six or seven of their Canowes, which towards the Evening they ranomed for Beaver Skins, and at Quonahavit [Cohasset now] falling out there but with one of them, he with three others crossed the Harbour in a Canow to certaine Rockes whereby we must passe, and there let flie their Arrowes for our Shot, till we were out of Danger, yet one of them was slaine, and another shot through his Thigh. At Accomack [Plymouth harbor] we fought also with them, tho some were hurt, some slaine, yet within an houre after they became Friends." It seems that

Englishmen belonging to Sr *Ferdinando Gorges*, were killed by these *Salvages*, and two more narrowly escaped with their Lives. And thus far we have a *Cold Account* of the Design respecting the Advancement of a Plantation in the *Northern Parts of New England*.<sup>43</sup>

In Anno 1620. A Company of Christians belonging to the *Northern Parts of England*, who proposed not so much worldly as spiritual Ends in their Undertaking, ayming at the *Conversion* of the *Indians*, and the Establishment of the Worship of God in purity, did therefore transport themselves and Families into this howling Wilderness. The first Land they made was that of *Cape Cod*, Novemb. 9. where they came to an Anchor, and went on Shore, Novemb. 11. Perceiving the Incommodiousness of that Place for planting, they resolved to seek out for another that might be more accomodate. But their Shallop not being in trimm to be sent out upon Discovery, some were desirous to improve the Time, in making what Searches they could upon the Land thereabout.<sup>44</sup>

these Affairs occurred but a short Time before Capt. Hunt seized the Indians at and near Plymouth.

<sup>7</sup>  
43 The Author took little Pains about his Chronology. When the three of Gorge's Men were killed does not appear from any of the Accounts; but in a Conference with the Indians held by the Pilgrims on the 17th of March, 1621, those Indians told the Pilgrims that "about

" eight moneths agoe [the Naufites]  
" slew three Englishmen, and two  
" more hardly escaped by Flight  
" to Monhiggon." See Mourt in  
Purchas, iv, 1849, who adds, "they  
" were Sir Ferdinando Gorge his  
" Men." *Ibid.*

44 The Author in this and what follows relating to the Settlement of Plymouth, takes his Narrative from Mourt's and Bradford's Relations as

Novemb. 5. Sixteen Men well armed were set on Shore under the Conduct of Capt. *Miles Standish*. After they had gone about a Mile near the Shoar; they descryed five or six Indians, who like wild Creatures ran away from them at the first Sight, they followed them, by the Trace of their Footings, about ten Miles, til Night came on, but could not come to any Speech with them.<sup>45</sup>

At last they met with a Kettle wherein was Indian Corn, which after much Consultation they seized upon, resolving that if they could come to speak with *Indians*, they would return them their Kettle, and give them full Satisfaction for their Corn, which they intended for planting, not knowing how else to be supplied. So did they return the next Day, but lost themselves awhile in the Woods, and as they were wandering up and down, they hapned to espy a small Tree that was blown down, and some Acorns strewed underneath, whilst they were viewing of it, and wondering what it should mean, it gave a sudden Jerk, whereby one

abstracted in Purchas's *Pilgrims*. As those Works are accessible entire, in tolerable Reprints, few Notes will be needed so far as those are followed.

<sup>45</sup> This Paragraph is very much abridged. When "they had marched about the Space of a Mile by the Sea, they espied five or six People with a Dogge, coming towards them, who were Sauvages, who when they saw them, ran into the Woods and whistled the

"Dogge after them. At first they supposed them to be Master Jones, the Master and some of his Men, for they were a Shoare, and knew of their coming; but after they knew them to be Indians they marched after them into the Wood, least other of the Indians should lye in Ambush: but when the Indians saw our Men following them, they ran away with Might and Mainc." *Mourt in Purchas*, 1843-4. See also Belknap's *Amer. Biog.*, ii, 194-5.

of the Company was caught up by the Leg, it being an Indian Deer Trap;<sup>46</sup> the rest loosed him, and at last they found their Way to the Ship again.

After this their Shallop being fitted for the Purpose, they went a coasting [6] upon Discovery, but of some Dayes could meet with no *Indians*. Albeit they found old deserted Indian Forts, and more of their Corn and Baskets, and a Bottle of Oyle which doubtless some how was brought out of Europe.<sup>47</sup>

About the tenth of December, they discerned the Track of Indians Feet upon the Sand, and followed it, till they perceived where it struck up into the Woods, at last they light upon an Indian Path, which led them a great Way up into the Woods, and saw where there had been Corn planted, and found Indian Graves &c. but no Man appeared.<sup>48</sup>

So they returned to their Shallop, and some watching, others betook themselves to their Rest. But in the Night they were alarmed by the Senti-

<sup>46</sup> "Stephen Hopkins said it had  
" beene to catch some Deere; so as  
" we were looking at it, William  
" Bradford, being in the Reare,  
" when he came looking also vpon  
" it, and as he went about, it gave  
" a fodaine Ierke vp, and he was  
" immediately caught by the Legge."  
*Ibid.*, 1845.

<sup>47</sup> " We marched to the Place  
" where we had the Corne formerly,  
" which Place we called *Corne-hill*,  
" and digged and found the rest, of  
" which we were very glad: we  
" also digged in a Place a little far-  
" ther off, and found a Bottle of

" Oyle. We went to another Place  
" which we had seen before and  
" digged and found more Corn, viz.  
" two or three Baskets full of Indian  
" Wheat, and a Bag of Beans, with  
" a good many of faire Wheateares.  
" Whilst some of vs were digging  
" vp this, some others found another  
" Heape of Corne, which they dig-  
" ged vp also, so we had in all  
" about ten Bushels." *Mourt in*  
" *Purchas*, 1845.

<sup>48</sup> The "Indian Graves" are  
minutely described by *Mourt*, in  
*Purchas*, 1845, 1847. See also  
Belknap's *Amer. Biog.*; ii, 197.

nels crying *Arm, Arm*, supposing *Indians* to be near them. They heard a most hideous Howling, but one in the Company perswaded the rest, that it was the Noyse of Wolves and Foxes, which used (as he said) to make such a Noise in *New-found-Land* where he had been, too Gunns were shot off, at which the Noise ceased.

But betimes in the Morning,<sup>49</sup> on a sudden, they heard the same Voices again, and one of the Company cried *Indians, Indians*, and immediately Arrows came pouring in upon them. This barbarous Salutation was amazing to the English, but that which did most of all terrife was the horrid Cry of those Salvages, whose Note was after this Manner, *Woach woach ha haboac woach*. A stout Indian who was thought to be their Captain, standing behind a Tree let fly his Arrows apace, and stood three Shotts of a Musket, until one took full Aim at him, and (as 'tis supposed) forely wounded him, upon which he gave an extraordinary Shriek and went away, and all the other Indians fled with him. Providence so ordered as that none of the English received any Hurt, though they gathered up eighteen Arrows<sup>50</sup> (and many more were shot at them) some whereof were headed with Brass, others

<sup>49</sup> " About five a Clocke in the  
" Morning we began to be stirring,  
" vpon a sudden wee heard a great  
" and strange Cry, which we knew  
" to be the same Voices, though  
" they varied their Notes; one of  
" the Company being abroad came  
" running in, and cried, *They are*

" *Men, Indians, Indians;* and withal  
" their Arrows came flying amongst  
" vs,"

<sup>50</sup> " Wee tooke vp eightene of  
" their Arrows, which wee had  
" sent to England by Master Jones,"  
&c.

with Harts-horn, others with Eagles Claws, and sundry of the English had their Coats shot through and through.<sup>51</sup>

December 19. The English landed and resolved to endeavor the setting of a Plantation, at that Place which is now called *Plymouth*. No Indians then as yet appeared to give them any Disturbance: yea though some were sent to seek after them, they could find none.

There were not many Dayes<sup>52</sup> after this, two Englishmen<sup>53</sup> who being by the Side of a Pond hapned to see a Deer, and having Dogs with them, they pursued the Deer until such Time as they lost themselves in the Woods, where they were forced to lodge that Night, and were terrified with the Yelling (as it seemed to them) of two *Lions*, who

<sup>51</sup> I do not find this mentioned in Mourt or any other earlier Writer than our Author. But Mourt does say, "those Arrowes wee found " were almost couered with leaues; " yet by the speciall Providence of " God, none of them either hit or " hurt vs." *Purchas*, 1847. Yet in the separate Work of Mourt we read, "though many [Arrows] " came close by vs and on euey " Side of vs, and some Coates which " hung vp in our Barricado were " shot through and through."

It is not strange that there should be found some Variation in the different Narratives. Purchas is said to haue abridged Mourt's *Relation*. We know there is more in the *Relation* as originally printed than in Purchas. But he may have been

furnished with a Copy containing Erasures and verbal Alterations. Capt. Edward Johnson, who came over ten Years after the first Plymouth Settlers, was doubtless intimate with some of the first that came there, and heard from their own Lips some of the Circumstances of their Settlement. See his *Wonder-Working Providence*, Pages 17, 18, Ed. 4<sup>o</sup> London, 1654. See also *Bradford's History*, 85 and 86, who agrees exactly with Mourt, though in some Instances he is more particular, and in others less so.

<sup>52</sup> January 12th, 1621.

<sup>53</sup> " John Goodman and Peter " Browne." *Mourt*. Goodman died soon after *Bradford*.

roared exceedingly, and [7] a third that they thought very neer them: they betook themselves to a Tree purposing if the Lions should come to climb that for their Security; but they saw none.<sup>54</sup> The next Day they perceived that Indians had made Fires thereabouts, but it was well they met not with any until they came home, being then unarmed and not fit for Encounter with such Enemies.

Now it was that a special Providence of another Nature hapned: For the English having built an House in *Plymouth*, a Spark of Fire flying into the Thatch, it was instantly burnt down. Mr. *Carver* and Mr. *Bradford* were then sick, yet if they had not risen with good speed, they had been blown up with Powder. The House was full of Beds as they could lye one by another, and their Muskets charged, yet (through the good Providence of God) no hurt done.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Several of the early Writers imagined that Lions were found in New England. Those Writers do not seem to have known that the Lion could not exist so far north. Wood, Joffelyn, Johnson, Vanderdonk, and it may be others, write of the Existence of Lions in New England. The first named Author says: "I will not say that ever I saw any myself; but some have heard such terrible roarings, as have made them much aghast; which must be either Devils or Lions." But Morton, the Maligner, was probably more of a Naturalist than any of the Writers

above named. He says there are no Lions in New England. "It is contrary to the Nature of the Beast to frequent Places accustom'd to Snow; being like the Catt, that will hazard the burning of her Tayle rather than abide from the Fire." *New English Canaan*, Pt. ii, Chap. v.

<sup>55</sup> This Calamity befel them on the 14th of January, 1621. "The House was fired occasionally [accidentally] by a Sparke that flew into the Thatch, which instantly burnt it all up, but the Roof stood and little hurt; the most losse was

Febr. 16. An English-man that had gone forth upon a fowling Disign, espied twelve Indians marching towards the English Plantation and heard the Noise of many more not far off, he lay close until they were gone by, and then with all Speed returned home and gave the Alarm, but no Indians followed, only they took away the Tools of the English that had been at work in the Woods.

The next Day two Indians presented themselves at the Top of an Hill,<sup>56</sup> two English went out to parly with them,<sup>57</sup> but they ran away, and the Noise of a Multitude of them was heard on the other Side of the Hill.

In the Beginning of *March*, an Indian called *Samofet* came boldly along the Houses which they had built in Plymouth, and to their great Amazement spake to them in English, saying *Welcome Englishmen*: This Indian was a *Sagamore* belonging to the *Northern Parts* about *Monbiggen*,<sup>58</sup> where he had often conversed with English Fishermen, and he had learned to speak broken English; Hee was the first Indian that they of Plymouth had opportunity to discourse with. Hee could tel them of the *Huggery* (as he called it) i. e. *Fight*, which the English had with the *Nauisset*<sup>59</sup> Indians; and that

“ Master Caruer’s and [Mr.] William Bradford’s, who then lay sicke in Bed, and if they had not risen with good Speed, had been blowne vp with Powder.” *Mourt in Purchase*, iv. 1848.

<sup>57</sup> Capt. Standish and Stephen Hopkins. *Mourt*.

<sup>58</sup> Monhegan, an important and well known Island on the Coast of Maine. It was variously written, which has confused some Authors.

<sup>56</sup> Since called Watfon’s Hill. Its Indian Name was *Cantauganteest*.

<sup>59</sup> The Affair with the lamented



the Name of that Place was called *Patuxet* where a Multitude of Indians had formerly lived, but they were all dead of the Plague which had been there a few Years before the English came.<sup>60</sup> This

Dermer. A Letter written by him within a Month of his Disaster is preserved by Gov. Bradford in his History. Bradford says it was given him by a Friend. No doubt by Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

<sup>60</sup> It happened in 1617, or perhaps 1616-17. The most authentic Account of it is given by Capt. Dermer, in a Letter dated at Virginia, 27 Dec. 1619, "to his Worshipful Friend, M. Samvel Purchas." He says, he sailed from Monhegan May 19th. "I passed alongst the Coast where I found some ancient Plantations, not long since populous now vterly void; in other Places a Remnant remains, but not free of Sicknesse. Their Disease the Plague, for we might perceiue the Sores of some that had escaped, who described the Spots of such as vsually die. When I arrived at my Sauages native Country [afterwards Plymouth] (finding all dead) I trauelled alongst a daies Journey westward, to a Place called Nummasket [since Middleborough] where finding Inhabitants," &c. *Purchas*, 1778. Gov. Bradford says under Date of 1621, the Indians about Plymouth "not many, being dead and abundantly wasted in the late great Mortalitie which fell in all these Parts about three Years before the coming of the

English; wherein thousands of them dyed, they not being able to bury one another. Their Sculls and Bones were found in many Places lying still above Ground, where their Houses and Dwellings had been. A very sad Spectacle to behold. But they [the Indians] brought Word that the Narighansets lived but on the other side of that great Bay, and were a strong People, and many in Number, living compacte together, and had not been at all touched with this wasting Plague." Bradford's *Hist. Plymouth*, 102. Thomas Morton thinks the Disease was the Plague, and intimates that it was his Belief that "the Hand of God fell heavily upon them" for their Cruelty to the Crews of the Ships they had taken; and relates, that when one of their Captives told them God would destroy them for their Wickedness, boastingly replied that they were too strong for him; in other Words, "they were so many God could not kill them." But says that Author, "the Hand of God fell heavily upon them, with such a mortal Stroke, that they died on Heapes, as they lay in their Houses; and the Living that were able to shift for themselves would run away and let them dy, and let there Carcases ly above Ground without buriall. And the Bones

*Samofet* within a few Dayes after his Departure returned again, and brought *Squantum* (whom that wicked *Hunt* had stolen away and sold for a Slave) along with him: which *Squantum* was born in that Place. *Samofet* and *Squantum* made it their Bufiness to bring the English into Acquaintance with the next neighboring *Indians*:<sup>61</sup> wherefore they undertook to bring *Massasoit* (Father to that *Philip* who began the War with the *English* Jun. 24. 1675.) to treat with the *English* at Plymouth.

[8] Accordingly, March 22. *Massasoit* with his Brother *Quadequina* came accompanied with about fixty of his Men; and an Agreement of Peace between the *English* and *Indians* was then concluded

“ and Skulls upon the severall  
“ Places of their Habitations, made  
“ such a Spectacle after my coming  
“ into those Parts, that as I travailed  
“ in that Forrest, nere the Massa-  
“ chusetts, it seemed to me a new  
“ found Golgotha.” *New English*  
*Canaan*, iii.

<sup>61</sup> The first friendly Interview between the Pilgrims and the Indians is graphically and quaintly related in *Mourt's Journal*. It was omitted by Mr. Mather, because the Presence of Indians at the Time he wrote was too common a Thing to be of any Interest to his New England Readers. But no valid Excuse could be given for its Omiffion in these Times.

“ On this Day [Sunday, March  
“ 18] came againe the Sauvage, and  
“ brought with him fuc other tall

“ proper Men, they had every Man  
“ a Deeres Skin on him, and the  
“ Principall of them had a wild  
“ Cat's Skin, or such like, on the  
“ one Arme: they had most of them  
“ long Hofen vp to their Groynes,  
“ close made; and aboue their  
“ Groynes to their Wast another  
“ Leather, they were altogether  
“ like the *Irisb*-troufes; they are of  
“ complexion like our English Gip-  
“ seys, no Haire or very little on  
“ their Faces, on their Heads long  
“ Haire to the Shoulders, onely cut  
“ before; some truffed vp before  
“ with a Feather, broadwife, like a  
“ Fan, another a Fox Taile hang-  
“ ing out: those left (according to  
“ our Charge giuen him [Samofet]  
“ before) their Bowes and Arrowes  
“ a Quarter of a Mile from our  
“ Towne.” *Mourt in Purchase*,  
iv, 1849.

on. This Peace was in more Respects then one singularly advantagious to the *English*, whilst they were thus but few in Number, and Strangers in this Land.<sup>62</sup>

And as for the Reasons inducing *Massasoit* to this Accord with the *English*, there were several Things that prevailed with him thereunto; For *Squantum*<sup>63</sup> had told him what a great Prince *King James* was, and how well he would take it if his Subjects were kindly entertained, and how ill if

<sup>62</sup> *Massasoit's* Visit to Plymouth, and the Treaty then entered into between the English and Indians, forms one of the most interesting Chapters in the History of New England. As Justice to the Subject can hardly be done in a Note, and as many Works are accessible containing the full Details, a Reference to them must here suffice. See *Bradford's History*, *Morton's Memorial*, *Hubbard's Narrative*, *Prince's Annals*, *Holmes's Annals*, *Cheever*, and *Young's Edition of Mourt's Journal*, &c., &c.

<sup>63</sup> His Name is given in the early Accounts *Tisquantum*; in some of the later ones *Squanto*, and *Squanto*. He was one of the five Natives carried from New England by Capt. Weymouth in 1605. He had been so much with the English that he was a very tolerable Interpreter to the Pilgrims in their early Inter-course with the Indians. But he was a mischievous Fellow and caused much Trouble between the English and his Countrymen, by circulating false Reports. So much were they

incensed against him for his evil Practices, that *Massasoit* directed that he should be put to Death. But the Pilgrims knew not how to spare him he had made himself so useful to them as well in other respects as an Interpreter. They managed however to appease his Wrath, and *Squantum* escaped Death at that Time. He was born in or near Plymouth, and was the only one belonging to that Place who escaped the Plague before spoken of. In Nov. 1612, he accompanied the English to the southerly Part of Cape Cod to procure Corn, of which they stood in great need. Through *Tisquantum's* Intervention eight Hogheads were obtained. This Transaction was at a Place called by the Indians *Manamoycke*, since by the English *Monamoy*, now Chatham. Here *Tisquantum* was taken sick of Fever and in a few Days died. *Bradford* says he died of "an Indian Feavor, bleeding much at the Nose (which the Indians take for a Simptome of Death)." *Hist. Plymouth*, 128.

otherwise, and how easy it was for him to fend over Ships and Men enough to destroy *Massasoit* and all his People. At that Time also there was Enmity between *Massasoit* and the *Narragansets*, so that he hoped the *English* might be a Defence to him against them. Thus did the Feud which was kindled amongst the *Indians*, one against another, advantage the poor Church in Plymouth. *Sic Canes lingunt ulcera Lazari.*

Moreover the Consideration of the Guns, and other warlike Weapons which ours brought with them was terrible to the *Indians*, yea, they had more formidable Apprehensions thereof, than there was real Cause for: They imagined that the *English* could by their great Guns cause the Trees to fall down and kill the *Indians*. Furthermore *Squantum* did wickedly possess them with one Delusion about the *English*, which had dismal Impressions upon the Minds of these ignorant Barbarians; For whereas the Plague (a Disease which was never known in this Land before or since) had newly been raging amongst them, whereby many of their Towns were totally depopulated, and desolated: he made them believe that the *English* kept the Plague in a Place under Ground, and that they could let it loose upon the *Indians* when they would. An Indian called *Hobbomock* one of *Massasoit's* Counsellors, observing in one of the *English* Houses a kind of Cellar, where some Barrels of Powder were bestowed, enquired of *Squantum* what that was. To whom he replied, that there the *English* kept the Plague that he told them of, which they could let

loose upon Indians at Pleasure. When this *Hobbomock* become acquainted with the English, he seriously asked them whether they had any such Power, they answered him truly that they had not, but withall added that the God whom they served had Power to send that or any other Disease upon those that should doe any Wrong to his People. The Consideration of that also, was some Terror to the Indians.

In the Month of *June* 1621. The English sent Messengers<sup>64</sup> with a Present to *Massasoit* at *Pocanoket*,<sup>65</sup> By the Way they were accosted, with several of the Indians, who having them at an Advantage as they passed [9] through a River,<sup>66</sup> were ready to shoot at them: Only having Indian Guides Interpreters in their Company, who gave them to understand that they were Friends, no hurt was done.<sup>67</sup> Being come to *Massasoit*, they

<sup>64</sup> Stephen Hopkins and Edward Winflow. They fet out June 10th.

<sup>65</sup> “Partly to know where to find them, if Occasion serued, as also to see their Strength, discouer the Countrey, preuent Abuses in their disorderly coming vnto vs, make Satisfaction for some conceiued Iniuries to be done on our Parts, and to continue the League of Peace and Friendship betweene them and vs. And hauing a fit Opportunitie by Reason of a Sauage called *Tisquantum* (that could speak English) coming vnto vs: with all Expedition provided a Horsfeman’s Coat of red Cotton, and laced with a slight Lace for a Present, that both they and their

“Message might bee more acceptable amongst them.” *Mourt in Purchase*, 1851. Bradford’s *Hist.*, p. 102.

<sup>66</sup> Probably Tehticut River. “Being willing to hasten our Journey we went, and came thither at Sunne setting, where we found many of the Namafcheucks (they so calling the Men of Namafchet) fishing vpon a Ware which they had made on a Riuer which belonged to them, where they caught abundance of Baffe.” *Purchase*, *ib.*

<sup>67</sup> Our Author has given us such a miserable Abstract of his Authorities at this Point, that I should feel

presented him with a red Cotton Coat, whereon was some Lace, this he accepted with great Thankfulness, *and having put it on* (saith my Author) *He was not a little proud to behold himself, and his Men also to behold their King so bravely attired.* He then promised to continue in Amity with the English, and to take Care that his Men should not be injurious.<sup>68</sup>

that I had done Injustice were I to omit the following remarkably interesting Passage :

“ The next Morning [June 11th] we brake our Fast, tooke our leave and departed, being then accompanied with some fixe Sauages, hauing gone about fixe Miles by the Riuer side, at a knowne shoale Place, it being low Water, they spake to vs to put off our Breeches, for wee must wade thorow. Here let mee not forget the Valour and Courage of some of the Sauages, on the opposite Side of the Riuer, for there were remainning alieue onely two Men, both aged, especially the one being about threescore : These two espying a Company of Men entring the Riuer, ran very swiftly and low in the Grass to meet vs at the Banke, where with shrill Voyces and great Courage, standing charged vpon vs with their Bowes, they demanded what wee were, supposing vs to be Enemies, and thinking to take Advantage of vs in the Water : but seeing wee were Friends, they welcomed vs with such Food as they had, and we bestowed a

“ small Bracelet of Beads on them. “ Thus far we are sure the Tide “ ebbes and flowes.” Mourt *in Purchase*, iv, 1851-2. The Point at which they crossed is not clearly ascertained.

<sup>68</sup> When Hopkins and Winslow arrived at Massasoit's town, the Chief was not at home. He was immediately sent for, “ and being “ come we discharged our Peeeces, “ and saluted him, who after their “ Manner kindly welcomed vs, and “ tooke vs into his House, and set “ vs downe by him, where hauing “ delivered our Message and Presents, and having put the Coat on “ his Backe, and the Chaine about “ his Necke, he was not a little “ proud to behold himselfe, and his “ Men also to see their King so “ brauely attired.” Among other Things he said his Men should no more annoy the English at Plymouth by their ill timed Intrusions. He then deliuered “ a “ great Speech ” to his Men, setting forth his Importance, naming “ at “ least thirtie Places ” as belonging to him, to which they assented. The Speech appeared to delight

About this Time it was that an English Lad (one John Billington) lost himself in the Woods, living five Days upon Berries untill he fell into the Hands of the Indians. Some were (upon Massasoits Information) sent to Noffet to seek after him,<sup>69</sup> when they came thither the Indians flocked together, many not having seen Englishmen before: Amongst others there was an old Woman, judged to be an hundred Years old, who when she saw the English fell into an extream Passion of bitter weeping, the

the Indians, but very tedious to the Englishmen. He then “light-  
“ed tobacco for them and fell to  
“discoursing of England, and of the  
“King’s Maiestie, maruelling that  
“he would liue without a Wife.”  
*Mourt in Purchase*, iv, 1852. These  
English Messengers had a most un-  
comfortable Sojourn with Massaf-  
soit: “For what with bad lodging,  
“the Sauages barbarous Singing (for  
“they use to sing themselves asleepe),  
“Lice and Fleas within Doores,  
“and Muskeetoës without, wee  
“could hardly sleepe all the Time  
“of our being there.” *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> The Author as in numerous other Cafes throughout his *Relation*, does great Injustice to his Authorities; often rendering it difficult to supply his Defects in the compass of a Note. The English first hear of their lost Boy at Cummaquid, and with ten of their Number proceed thither with their two Indian Friends, Tisquantum and Tokamaham. Here they learned “that  
“the Boy was well, but that he

“was at Naufet; yet since we were  
“there they of [Cummaquid] de-  
“fired vs to come ashore and eat  
“with them: which as soone as  
“our Boate floated we did: and  
“went fixe ashore, hauing foure  
“Pledges for them in the Boate.  
“They brought vs to their Sachem  
“or Governour, whom they call  
“Iyanough, a Man not exceeding  
“twenty six Years of Age, but very  
“personable, gentle, courteous, and  
“faire conditioned, indeede not like  
“a Sauage, saue for his Attyre: his  
“Entertainment was answerable to  
“his Parts, and his Cheare plenti-  
“ful and various.” *Purchas*, 1853.

Cummaquid was at the Bottom of Barnstable Bay, sometimes called Cummaquid Bay.

Respecting *Iyanough*, Amos Otis, Esq., the Antiquary and Historian of Barnstable, remarks that it is his Opinion, that from Iyanough comes *Hyannis*; that Iyanough’s Town was that Part of Barnstable called Hyannis. *Hyanna* is early found on the Records. *MS. Letter*, 9 March, 1863. See APPENDIX, D.

Reason whereof being demanded, Answer was made, that she had three Sons once living in that Place, but they were all stolen away by that *Hunt* (before mentioned) and now she had no more left to relieve her in her old Age: The English were much grieved to see the poor Creature in such a Passion but telling her that it was only one wicked Man who did that Fact, and that they abhorred it, and withal giving her some Trifles she was satisfied. In fine the English Lad was brought al bedecked with *Peag*, and the *Sachim* of that Place (called *Aspinét*) made Peace with the English.<sup>70</sup>

Now it was that an Indian called *Coubatant*<sup>71</sup>

<sup>70</sup> “ After Dinner we tooke Boate  
 “ for Naufet [since Eastham], Iy-  
 “ nough and two of his Men ac-  
 “ companying vs. Ere we came  
 “ to Naufet, the Day and Tide  
 “ were almost spent, in so much as  
 “ we could not go in with our  
 “ Shallop; but the Sachim or Gov-  
 “ ernour of Cummaquid went ashore  
 “ and his Men with him, we also  
 “ sent Tisquantum to tell Aspinet,  
 “ the Sachem of Naufet, wherefore  
 “ we came. After Sunset Aspinet  
 “ came with a great Traine, and  
 “ brought the Boy with him, one  
 “ bearing him through the Water:  
 “ he had not lesse then an hundred  
 “ with him, the Half whereof came  
 “ to the Shallop side vnamed with  
 “ him, the other stood aloofe with  
 “ their Bowe and Arrowes. There  
 “ he delivered vs the Boy behung  
 “ with Beades, and made Peace with  
 “ vs, we bestowing a Knife on him,  
 “ and likewise on another that firsten-  
 “ tained the Boy.” *Purchase, ib.*

<sup>71</sup> Coubatant. Winslow calls him  
*Combitant*. *Purchas*, iv, 1861;  
 and Bradford *Corbitant*. The Affair  
 about to be related took place in  
 August, 1621. The Machinations  
 of Corbitant were discovered on the  
 Return of the Expedition to Naufet.  
 Winslow says, “ Word was brought  
 “ unto us that Coubatant, whom  
 “ they ever feared to be too con-  
 “ versant with the Narrohiggansets,  
 “ was at Namafchet, speaking dis-  
 “ dainfully of us, storming at the  
 “ Peace between Naufet, Cumma-  
 “ quid and us, and at Tisquantum,  
 “ the Worker of it; also at Toka-  
 “ mahamon and one Hobbamock,  
 “ two Indians our Allies, one of  
 “ which he would treacherously  
 “ have murdered a little before,  
 “ being a special and trusty Man of  
 “ Massafoyts.” *Mourt in Young*,  
 219.

Tisquantum and Hobbamock  
 were sent to Namafket to learn  
 Corbitant's Intentions. Tisquan-



(who, though a petty Sachem under Maffasoit, secretly conspired with the Narragansets against his Master) occasioned some Disturbance, seeking to destroy those Indians that were Friends to the English, especially *Hobbomock* and *Squantum*, saying if these were dead the English had lost their Tongue, watching his Advantage at a Time when those Indians were at *Namasket*, *Coubatant* took *Squantum* Prisoner, and held a Knife at *Hobbomocks* Breast, who broke from him, and gave the English at *Plymouth* to understand what had hapned; whereupon 14.<sup>72</sup> Men were sent armed to *Namasket*, in order to revenge *Squantum's* supposed Death. They surprized the House where *Coubatant* was thought to be, declaring the End of their coming, and that they would hurt no Man but him, charging all others not to stir at their Peril til they had searched for their Enemy; Consternation and Trembling seized on the Indians: yet some of them violently brake away, whence they were wounded (and afterwards [10] healed) by the English.<sup>73</sup> *Coubatant* was not there, but fled to another Place, but within a while *Squantum* was brought forth alive and set

tum was taken Prisoner, and was supposed to be killed, for Corbitant had said "if Tisquantum was dead, the English had lost their Tongue." But Hobbamock made his Escape and arriving at Plymouth gave the Alarm.

<sup>72</sup>Ten Men, says Winslow, under the Command of Capt. Standish.

<sup>73</sup>"As for those that were wounded, we were sorry for it, though themselves procured it in not staying in the House at our Command; yet if they would return home with vs our Svergeons should heal them. At this Offer one Man and a Woman that were wounded went home with vs." *Winslow.*

at Liberty. After this divers other *Sachims* sent gratulations to the English; yea those of the Isles of *Capawack* entreated their Friendship. *Coubatant* used the Mediation of *Massasoit* to make his Peace.

Things being brought to this peaceable State, so did they continue for a little Space, the *Church* in Plymouth being preserved by a Miracle of Providence, like a Flock of Sheep amidst a thousand *Wolves*; much what as *Luther* saith the *Church* should be pictured. Their next Neighbours amongst the Heathen did (as hath been expressed) of Enemies become their Friends, not shewing any Acts of Hostility.

Only in the latter End of the next Year, *Canonicus* the *Narraganset* Sachim, sent an Indian to them, who enquired for *Squantum*, at that Time gone somewhither else, whereupon the *Indian* left a Bundle of Arrows, wrapped in a Rattle Snakes Skin, and departed. When *Squantum* was returned, he informed the Governour that the Rattle Snakes Skin signified *Enmity*, and that the Design of this brutish Salutation was to intimate a Challenge, wherefore the Governour filled the Snakes Skin with Powder and Shot, and sent it back again, withal giving *Canonicus* to understand, that if he had Shipping at hand, he would endeavour to beat him out of his Countrey.<sup>74</sup> The Indians durst not let the Powder and Shot continue in their Houses, but every one was afraid to meddle with it, and at

<sup>74</sup> " This Message was sent by an Indian, and delivered in such Sort, " as it was no small Terror to the " Savage King." *Ibid.*

last it came back again to Plymouth.<sup>75</sup> And there was an End of that Matter. Only they at *Plymouth* were by this *Bruit* awakened to impale their Town, and fortify, lest there should be an Onset from the Enemy.<sup>76</sup>

In the meanwhile *Hobomock* (who resided with the English) informed that there was Reason to suspect that the *Massachusets* Indians were Confederate with the *Narragansets* in their bloody Designs; and *Squantum* in wicked Subtilty, laboured to make the *English* believe that *Massasoit* was false to them. Capt. *Standish* with ten Men<sup>77</sup> was sent to *Massachusets*: they had no sooner turned the Point of the Harbour<sup>78</sup> but there came an *Indian* running to some of the *English* that were from home, having his Face wounded, and the Blood fresh on the same (*Zopirus*<sup>79</sup>-like) calling to them to repair home, and of looking behind him, as if he had been pursued by Enemeyes, saying that at *Namasket* there were many of the *Narragansets*, and *Coubi-*

<sup>75</sup> Canonicus “ would not once touch the Powder and Shot, or suffer it to stay in his House or Country. Whereupon the Messenger refusing it, another took it up; and having been posted from Place to Place a long Time, at length came whole back again.” *Ib.*

<sup>76</sup> The fortifying the Town occupied all of the Month of February, 1622 “and some few Days; taking in the Top of the Hill under which our Town is situated.” *Ib.*

<sup>77</sup> “ With ten Men, accompanied with Tisquantum and Hobba-mock.” Winflow was doubtless one of the Party, as he writes of the Affair in the first Person. The Time is the Beginning of April, 1622. We thus make up the Number nearly as in the Text.

<sup>78</sup> Called the Gurnet’s Nose, but wherefore does not appear. Perhaps from *Gurnard’s* in the Isle of Wight.

<sup>79</sup> *Zopiro?*

*tant*, and that *Massasoit* was Confederate with them, purposing to assault the Town in the Captains Absence, professing that he had received that Wound in his Face, because he had spoken on the English their Behalfe. [11] Whenas all this was a Piece of artificial and mischievous Diffimulation, whereby the English were put into a sad Fright, and the Great Guns were discharged to remand the Captain back again, who immediately returned. *Hobbomock* was confident that that *Indian* dissembled, for he was assured of *Massasoit's* Fidelity; however that he would not engage in a Thing of that Nature, without consulting him who was one of his *Panies's*,<sup>80</sup> i. e. Champions and Counsellors, and it was against the Indian Custom for a *Sachim* to involve himself in War without them. Wherefore *Hobbomock* privately, upon the Governour's Advice sent his *Squaw* to *Massasoit* at *Pocanoket*, who seemed to be much troubled that the *English*, and he himself should be so abused. And upon Enquiry it was found to be *Squantum's* Knavery, who sought his own Ends and plaid his own Game; for he would in a clandestine Way, make the *Indians* believe that the *English* were resolved to cut them off, only he could prevent it, and so would obtain Gifts from his Countrymen to prevent their Destruction by the *English*, insomuch that the blind *Salvages* began to have him in greater Veneration then their *Sachim*; taking him for their *Protector*. And he would deal with

<sup>80</sup> "One of his chiefest Champions or Men of Valour." Winiflow, *ib.* The Word was extensively used by the Indians.

no leſſe Falſneſs towards the *Engliſh* then towards thoſe of his own Nation.

When *Maſſaſoit* underſtood theſe Things he repaired to the *Engliſh* Plantation, endeavoring to clear his Innocency, deſiring the Governour that *Squantum*, who had thus abuſed both *Engliſh* and Indians, might be put to Death for his Treason. The Governour pacified him as much as he could for the preſent, and though he deſerved to dy, both in reſpect of *Engliſh* and *Indians*, yet deſired he might be ſpared, becauſe they ſhould want an Interpreter.<sup>81</sup>

But not long after this, *Maſſaſoit* ſent divers *Indians*, who brought to the Governour, their Sachim's own Knife (according to the *Indian* Mode) that his Enemyes Head and Hands might be cut off therewith.

At that Inſtant when the Governour was about to deliver *Squantum* into the Hands of his Executioners, a Boat was ſeen at Sea, and there being even in thoſe Days Jealouſies, that the *French* would join with the Indians to Miſchief the *Engliſh*; and ſome ſuppoſing it might be a *French* Veſſel, he told the Indians he would ſee what that was before he delivered *Squantum* up to them. So did they go away diſpleaſed.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>81</sup> “ For theſe and like Abuſes, the Governour ſharply reprov'd him; yet was he ſo neceſſary and profitable an Inſtrument, as at that Time we could not miſs him.” *Winſlow*.

<sup>82</sup> *Winſlow* ſays theſe Meſſengers were “ mad with Rage and departed in great Heat.” Indeed it muſt be owned they had good Reaſon for their Anger. It was a Breach of good Faith his not being given up,

But this wrought well for the *English*; for it made *Squantum* be honest whether he would or no; inasmuch as his own Countreymen fought his Life; he saw it was his Interest to adhere to the *English*.

As for the Boat mentioned it proved to be one that belonged to a Ship that was fishing about *Monbiggen*.

These [12] Things hapned in May, 1622. in which Year it was that Mr. [Thomas] Weston (a Merchant of good Note in *London*) attempted the advancing a Plantation in this *Massachusetts Bay*.<sup>83</sup> He sent over two Ships, and about sixty Men to make a Beginning. The most of them were for the present refreshed at *Plymouth*, whilst some few Crafters went out to seek a convenient Place to sit down in. They pitched upon a Place within *Massachusetts Bay*, then called by the *Indians Wessagusset*,<sup>84</sup> at this Day known by the Name of *Weymouth*.

Mr. *Winslow* (who was afterwards Governour of *Plymouth Colony*) reports that the *Westonians*, instead of proving an Help to the other *English* Colony, had like, within a few Months, to have brought Ruine, not only upon themselves, but upon

as by the Treaty between *Massafoit* and the *English* shows. But it was a singular Case, and the great Necessity of the *English* must be their Justification.

<sup>83</sup> The precise Time of the Arrival of Weston's Colony is not stated

by the early Writers. *Winslow* says it was in the End of June or Beginning of July, 1622.

<sup>84</sup> This Indian Name finally settled down into *Wessagusset*. It is capable of great Variation, as will readily be perceived.

their Friends also: For Complaints were quickly brought to *Plymouth*, that the *English* at *Wessegeuf-quafet* did abuse the Indians by stealing their Corn from them, yea and one of them was so brutish as to turn *Indian*.<sup>85</sup>

Others of them were of such servile and slavish Dispositions, as that they became Servants to the *Indians*, who would hire them to work with them in making Canoos, which Canoos were intended for the Surprizal of the *English* Ship, in the Day when they would execute their designed Maffacre. Some of the Theeves were stockt and whipt, yea, one of them was at last put to Death to satifie the *Indians*, but it was then too late.<sup>86</sup>

By the End of *February*, they had spent all their Bread and Corn, not leaving any for Seed, nor would the *Indians* be induced to lend or sel them any, upon any Terms, hoping they would be starved to Death.

Wherefore, they purposed to take away the *Indians* Store from them by Violence, and therefore made Preparations accordingly. Only some of the Company (at leastwise one of them who is yet alive)

<sup>85</sup> " We heard many Complaints  
" both by the Indians and some  
" others of best Defert amongst  
" Master Weston's Colony, how  
" exceedingly their Company abased  
" themselves by vndirect Meanes,  
" to get Victuals from the Indians,  
" who dwell not far from them,  
" fetching them Wood and Water,  
" &c., and all for a meales Meate,  
" whereas in the meane Time they

" might with Diligence haue gotten  
" enough to haue serued them three  
" or four Times." *Winslow in*  
*Purchase*, iv, 1863. This was about  
the End of February, 1622-3.

<sup>86</sup> This Execution furnished Butler with the Hint out of which he made his scurrilous Rhymes in *Hudibras*, too well known to be here quoted.

being more honestly minded then others were, advised *John Saunders* their Overseer to write to *Plymouth* before they did actually attempt anything, which being done, they received Letters from the Governour there, signifying great Disapprobation of their intended Proceedings; whereupon they desisted.

These Motions must needs cause ill Blood between the Nations: so that the *Indians* grew very insolent in their Carriage, and there were secret Conspiracies to cut of the *English*. And inasmuch as they thought, that if they should destroy the *Westonians*, and leave the *Plymouthbeans* (who had not wronged them) alive, these would take an Opportunity to be revenged for those: wherefore they concluded to kill all before them, as was afterwards revealed by *Massasoit*, and by another Sachim [13] called *Wassapinarwet*,<sup>87</sup> brother to *Obtakieft*, the then Sachim of *Massachusetts*.

The *English* of *Plymouth* as yet being ignorant of the bloody Mischief which the treacherous Hearts of the *Indians* had concluded against them, attended their Occasions as formerly.

Upon a Time Capt. *Standish* going with some Men in a Shallop, to buy Corn of the *Indians* at *Nosset*, one of them stole certain Trifles out of the Shallop; whereupon the Captain repaired to the *Sachim*, and told him, that if he did not immediately restore those Things, he would revenge it

<sup>87</sup> "Who had formerly smarted Winflow, *ibid.* His Residence is  
"for partaking with Coubitant." not known.



before his Departure, and so took Leave for that Night.

The next Morning the *Sachim* came accompanied with his Train of *Salvages*, saluting the Captain in such a Manner as was hugely ridiculous to the English; for he put out his Tongue that one might see the Root of it, and so licked the Captain's Hands, al his Men doing the like, and endeavouring (according to the rude Information they had received from *Squantum*) to make him a Leg, he did perform his Ceremony after such an odd Manner, as the *English* were hard put to it to refrain from open Laughter.

*Spe&atum admissifrifum teneatis Amici?*

After these Complements were over, he restored the Things that were lost; withal declaring, that he had much beaten the *Indian* that did *Commooten* (i. e. steal) the Trifles mentioned.

But not long after this, the Captain was in no small hazard of his Life in another Place; for going to *Manomet* (now called *Sandwich*) and being entertained in the House of *Kunacum*,<sup>88</sup> the *Sachim* there, the *Indians* designed tut off him and his Men.

There was with him at this Time a *Cape-Indian* called *Paomet*, who pretended Friendship to the *English*, but was secretly joined in the bloody Confederacy. That he might not be suspected he professed special Affection towards the Captain, and

<sup>88</sup> The Author's Authorities all spell the Name of this Chief beginning with a C. Why he departed from them we see no Reason. Winslow writes *Canacum* (in *Purchas*, iv, 1866.)

would, as a Gift bestow some Corn upon him, and help him to carry the Corn to his Boat, and would lodge in the *Wigwam* with Capt. *Standish*, to manifest what Love and Honour he did bear towards him, having in the mean Time promised the Indians to kil him that Night, and when he was killed the rest were to dispatch his Men.

Also whilst he was entertained in the *Sachims* House, there came in two *Massachusetts Indians*, being desperate bloody Villains. The Name of the Chief of them was *Wittawamat*, who took a Dagger from about his Neck, and presented it to the *Sachim*, and made a Speech to him (which the Captain could not understand) boasting of his own Valour, [14] and how he had been the Death of Christians both *French* and *English* and what pitifull weak Creatures they were, that when they were killing, they died crying, and made sower Faces, more like Children then Men, and that whereas they were determined to kil the *English* (who had injured them) of Mr. *Westons* Plantation, the best way for their own Security was to kill them of *Plymouth* too, now their Captain being in their Hands, having but six Men with him, two or three in the *Wigwam*, and no more in the Shallop, it was a good Opportunity to begin.

The murderous Counsel of this audacious Bloud-sucker was highly applauded; and the *Indians* waited when Capt. *Standish* would fall asleep, that they might attempt the bloody Tragedy. But God so ordered that he could not sleep that Night. Also an *Indian* secretly stole some Beads from him;

which when the Captain perceived, he immediately called his six Men together, and they beset the *Sachims* House professing to him that as they would not doe Wrong to him, so neither would they receive any, and therefore, as they valued their Lives, they should forthwith restore the stolen Goods. Hereupon the *Sachim* bestirred himself to find out the Thief; and having done so, he cometh to the Captain desiring him to look into his Boat, if the Beads that he had missed were not there, who looking found them lying openly on the Cuddy, the *Indians* having slyly conveyed them thither. However, this did so daunt the Courage of the treacherous and cowardly *Indians*, that they attempted not their designed Mischiefe.

All this while, they of *Plimouth* Colony had no certain knowledge of the Evil that was intended against them by the Heathen, albeit the Conspiracy was very strong, for the *Indians* at *Nossét*, *Paomet*, *Saconet*, *Manomet*, *Matachieft*, *Agawam*, were all in this Confederacy to cut off the *English*. But God who hath a special Eye of Providence over his People, did at that Time so order, that *Massasoit* fell sick; whereupon the Governour that then was, desired Mr. *Winslow* and another Gentleman to give the sick *Sachim* a Visit, and administer some Physic to him. As they were upon their Journey toward *Pocanoket*, the Place of *Massasoits* Residence, the *Indians* by the Way told that he was dead and buried; which caused *Hobbomock* (their Guide through the Woods) to break forth into bitter Lamentations, crying out "*Neen womafu Sagimus!*"

“ O my loving Sachim, O my loving Sachim, thou  
 “ wast no Lyar, not cruel like other *Indians*, thy  
 “ Passion was soon over, thou wouldst hearken to  
 “ Reason from the meanest Subject, thou didst love  
 “ *Englishmen*; among *Indians* I shall never know  
 “ the like to thee.”

[15] So that it would have made the hardest Heart to have relented to hear him. Yet they proceeded in their Journey, being come so far as *Metapoiset*, they understood that *Massasoit* was not quite dead, but little Hopes of his Life.

When they came to *Pokanoket*, they found the *Indians Powawing* about *Massasoit*, making such a hellish Noise as was enough to make a wel Man sick, and was therefore very unlikely to make him that was sick wel.<sup>89</sup>

*Hobbomock* told him that the Governour of Plymouth had sent some Friends to visit him in his Sickness, and that they had brought some *Maskiet*, i. e. *Physick*, for him. Upon the receipt of which, he suddenly and strangely revived, and before their Departure gave them great Thanks for their Love, saying, that now he saw that the *English* at *Plymouth* were his real Friends.

As they were ready to return home, he privately told *Hobbomock* of the Plot among the *Massachusetts*

<sup>89</sup> As Mr. Winslow's Account suffers somewhat in the Text, I give it here in his own Words: “ When we came thither, we found the House so full of Men, as we could scarce get in, though they used their best Dilligence to make Way  
 “ for vs. There were they in the middest of their Charmes for him, making such a hellish Noise, as it distempered vs that were well, and therefore vnlike to ease him that was sicke.” *Purchase*, 1861. Less particular in *Bradford*, 131.

and other *Indians* to destroy the *English*,<sup>90</sup> and how they had solicited him to join with them, but he said that neither he, nor any of his Men were in that Combination. He advised that the Governour of *Plymouth* would, without delay, send and take off the *Principal Actors* in this wicked Designe, and then the rest would be afraid. And whereas the Governour had sometimes said they would not begin with the *Indians*, until the *Indians* began with them, he earnestly counselled him not to stay for that lest it should be too late.<sup>91</sup>

The first Day whilst on their Journey back again, they were accompanied with *Coubitant* the Sachim of *Metapoyset* (before mentioned) who was a politick and jocosse *Indian*, and still suspected to be false to the *English*. He asked Mr. *Winslow*, how they, being but two, dared to trust themselves amongst so many *Indians*? Answer was made that Love was without Fear, and they wished wel to the *Indians*, and therefore did not fear Evil from them.

<sup>90</sup> “ At our coming away, he called Hobbamocke to him, and priuately (none hearing saue two or three other of his Pueceses, who are of his Counsell) reuealed the Plot of the *Massacheuseucks* before spoken of, against Master Weston’s Colony, and so against vs, saying that the People of *Nauset* [*Eatham*], *Paomet* [about *Truro*], *Succouet* [perhaps *Falmouth*], *Mattachiest* [*Barnstable*], *Manomet* [*Sandwich*], *Agoway-*

*wam* [*Wareham*], and the *Isle of Capawack* [*Martha’s Vineyard*]. *Winslow* in *Purchas*, 1862.

<sup>91</sup> This savage Advice of the *Indians*, was as will be seen, adopted, though with reluctance, well knowing it could be justified only upon the Grounds of Necessity. It is hard to say at this Day that the Decision was wrong, in View of all the Circumstances; it was this Affair that much grieved Mr. *Robinson*.

But then, said the *Indian*, what is the Reason, that when we came to *Patuxet* you held the Mouthes of your Guns against us; he was told, that was the *English*, Manner of entertaining their Friends. At which the Sachim shaked his Head, withal declaring that he did not like such Salutations.<sup>92</sup> The next Day *Hobbomock* acquainted the *English* with what *Massasoit* had revealed to him.

So then being returned to *Plymouth* it was March 23.<sup>93</sup> resolved, to hearken to *Massasoits* Advice: many other Things at that Juncture appearing, which confirmed the Truth of what was by him discovered. [16] And considering that there was no dealing with Indians (as other Nations do with another) above board, it was thought most expedient by Policy, to catch them at unawares, as they are wont to do by others.<sup>94</sup> Wherefore Capt. *Standish* made Choice of eight Men to go with him to *Wesegusquaset*, pretending to Trade with

<sup>92</sup> "By the way," says Winflow, "I had much Conference with him, so likewise at his House, he being a notable Politician, yet full of merry Jestes and Squibs, and neuer better pleased then when the like are returned againe upon him." *Purchas*, iv, 1862.

<sup>93</sup> March 23d, 1622-3. "The three and twentieth of March being now come, which is a yearly Court Day, the Governour hauing a double Testimony, and many Circumstances agreeing with the Truth thereof, not being to vnder-

"take Warre without the Consent of the Body of the Company, made knowne the same in publique Court." Winflow in *Purchas*, *ib.* 1863. This was probably the first Declaration of War by the white People in New England.

<sup>94</sup> "Because (as all Men know that haue had to doe in that Kinde) it is impossible to deale with them vpon open Defiance, but to take them in such Traps as they lay for others; therefore he [Capt. Standish] should pretend Trade as at other Times." *Ibid.*

them, and then to take his Opportunity to feyze upon the *Ringleaders* amongst the Conspirators.<sup>95</sup>

Being arrived at the Massachusets Bay, two principal Conspirators behaved themselves very insolently. One of them called *Pickfuot*, who was a *Panees* or Counsellour, jeered at Capt. Standish because he was a Man of little Stature, and yet a Captain. Another, called *Wittawamat* (before mentioned) cast out bloody Expressions, shewing a sharp Knife, which had a Womans Face pictured on the Handle, saying that he had killed Frenchmen, and English too with that Knife, and that he had another Knife which had a Mans Face pictured on it, and his two Knives should marry shortly, *and that by and by it should eat though not speak*. Likewise another *Indian*, and *Wittawamats* Brother,

<sup>95</sup> The Author here makes an important Omiffion. Capt. Standish was instructed to repair first to Weston's Men at Wiffaguffet, "acquaint them with the Plot, and the End of his owne coming, that comparing it with their [the Indians] Carriages towards them [of Wessaguffett] he might better iudge of the Certainty of it, and more fitly take Opportunity to reuenge the same: but should forbare, if it were possible till such Time as he could make fure of Wituwamat, that bloudy and bold Villain, whose Head he had Order to bring with him, that hee might be a Warning and Terrour to all of that Disposition." *Ibid.* Standish was allowed to take as many Men as he desired. He "made

"Choice of eight, and would not take more because he would prevent lealoufi." That is, he took a small Number, that his Design might not be suspected, "knowing their guilty Consciences would soone be prouoked thereunto." *Ibid.*

But on the next Day, March 24th, before Standish began his March, came one [Phinehas Pratt] of Master Weston's Company by Land vnto vs, with his Packe at his Backe, who made a pittifull Narration of their lamentable and weake Estate, and of the Indians Carriages, whose Boldnesse increased abundantly, infomuch as the Victuals they got, they would take it out of their Pots and eat before their Faces; yea, if in any-

who in Bloodiness was like unto him, being present; Capt. *Standish* snatched *Pickuots* Knife from about his Neck, and killed him with his own Knife. At the same Time his Men fell upon *Wittawamat* and the other *Indian*, and slew them, and took *Wittawamats* Brother, and hanged him.

After this they set upon another Company of *Indians* and killed two or three of them, seeking still after more. At length they espied a File of *Indians* making towards them, but as the *English* came to the Encounter, they (i. e. the *Indians*) ran behind the Trees, and Shot at Capt. *Standish*, until one, as he was shooting, had his Arm broke by a bullet from one of Capt. *Standish* his Soldiers; whereupon he and the rest fled into a *Swamp*.

“ thing they gaine-said them, they  
 “ were ready to hold a Knife at their  
 “ Breasts; but to giue them Content  
 “ they had hanged one of them  
 “ that stole their Corne, and yet  
 “ they regarded it not: that another  
 “ of their Company was turned  
 “ Sauage, that their People had most  
 “ forsaken the Towne, and made  
 “ their Rendeuou where they got  
 “ their Victuals, because they would  
 “ not take Paines to bring it home:  
 “ that they had fold their Clothes  
 “ for Corne, and were ready to  
 “ starue both with Cold and Hunger  
 “ also, because they could not  
 “ indure to get Victuals by Reason  
 “ of their Nakednesse; and that  
 “ they were desperfed into three  
 “ Companies, scarce having any  
 “ Powder and Shot left. As this  
 “ Relation was grieuous to vs, so it

“ gaue vs good Encouragement to  
 “ procede in our Intendments.”  
*Ibid.*

On Pratt's leaving *Wessaguffet* an  
 Indian was sent after him to kill him  
 on the Way; but Pratt lost his  
 Path, and thus the Indian missed  
 him This intended Murderer went  
 to *Plymouth*, “pretending Friend-  
 “ ship and in Loue to see vs, but as  
 “ formerly others, so his End was  
 “ to see whether wee continued still  
 “ in Health and Strength, or fell  
 “ into Weakenesse like their Neigh-  
 “ bours, but here the Gouvernour  
 “ staid him, and sending for him to  
 “ the Fort, there gave the Guard  
 “ charge of him; so he was locked  
 “ in a Chaine to a Staple in the  
 “ Court of Guard, and there kept  
 “ till Capt. *Standish* should return.”  
*Ibid.*, 1864.



The Captain dared the Sachim to come out and fight like a Man, but in vain.

At the Time of these Skirmishes, there was an *Indian Youth*, who notwithstanding the Slaughter made amongst his Countreymen, came running to the *English*, desiring that he might be with them. He confessed that the *Indians* had resolved to cut off Mr. *Westons* Men, and that they only stayed for the finishing of two Canoes more (which if Capt. *Standish* had not so unexpectedly come upon them had been finished) that were intended for the Surprisal of the *English Ship* in the Harbour.

Also an *Indian Spye*,<sup>96</sup> who was taken Prisoner and detained at *Pilmouth*, when he saw Capt. *Standish* return with *Wittawamats* Head, looked on it with a guilty gasted Countenance, and then confessed the Plot that was in Hand to destroy the *English*, and that *Picksuot* and [17] *Wittawamat*, together with three Powaws, were the principal *Conspirators*.<sup>97</sup> He was released and sent to *Oktakiest*, the Sachim of the *Massachusets*, to signify what he must look for, in case he should continue in Hostility against the *English*. The Sachim being amazed and terrified with the *English* Successes, humbly begged for Peace, pretending that he could

<sup>96</sup> The Prisoner mentioned in the last Note.

<sup>97</sup> "Now was the Captain returned and receiued with Ioy, the Head being brought to the Fort and there set vp, the Gouvernours and Captaines with diuers others

"went vp the same further to examine the Prisoner, who looked pitiously on the Head; being asked whether he knew it, he answered yea. Then he confessed the Plot, and all the People prouoked Obtakiest their Sachim thereunto." Winflow in *Purchase*, iv, 1865.

not keep his Men in Order, and that it was against his Will that Evil had been done to, or designed against the *English*.

Furthermore, the Effect of these Things was, that the rest of these *Indians* were stricken with such Terror and Dread of the *English*, that they left their Houses and betook themselves to live in unhealthy *Swamps*, whereby they became subject to miserable Diseases that proved mortal to Multitudes of them. Particularly *Kunacum*, Sachim of *Manomet*; *Aspinet*, Sachim of *Nosset*; *Fanowgh*, Sachim of *Mattachieft*: These all fell sick and died.

This last Sachim said that *The God of the English was offended at the Indians, and would destroy them in his Anger.*

And these signal Appearances of God for his Church in *Plymouth*, must needs be a great Conviction to the Heathen. Howbeit these Motions ended in the Subversion and Ruine of Mr. *Westons* Plantation; God who determines the Bounds of Men's Habitations, having appointed that another People out of *England* should come afterwards and possess that Place, as at this Day.

And thus far is Mr. *Winslows* Relation of these *first Troubles* by *Indians* in these Parts, which I take to be undoubted Verity: For he was one that had particular Knowledge of those Things, and a Man of Truth and Conscience, that would not for the World willingly falsify in any Particular.

There is an old *Planter*<sup>98</sup> yet living in this Coun-

<sup>98</sup> This old Planter was Phinchas Pratt, before mentioned.

trey, being one of those that were employed by Mr. *Weston*, who also hath given some Account of these Matters.<sup>99</sup>

He doth relate and affirm, that at his first coming into this Countrey the *Englisb* were in a very distressed Condition by reason of Famine and Sickness which was amongst them, whereof many were already dead; and that they buried them in the Night that the *Indians* might not perceive how low they were brought.

This *Relator* doth moreover declare, that an *Indian Panies*, who secretly purposed bloody Destruction against the *Englisb* and made it his Design to learn the *Englisb* Tongue to the End he might more readily accomplish his hellish Devices;<sup>100</sup> told him that there had been a *French* Vessel cast away upon these Coasts, only they saved their Lives and their Goods, and that the *Indians* took their Goods from them, and made the *French men* their Servants, and that they wept very much, when [18] the *Indians* parted them from one another, that they made them eat such Meat as they gave their Dogs. Only one of them having a good Master, he provided a Wife for him, by whom he had a Son, and

<sup>99</sup> The exceedingly crude Narrative of Pratt is still in Existence, but in a very imperfect and damaged State. It is in the Hands of David Pulfifer, Esq., the well known Editor of the Colonial Records of Massachusetts and Plymouth—probably the same used by Mr. Mather. There is another Paper extant by Pratt, called a *Petition*, in Possession

of the Editor. These Mr. Richard Frothingham edited and they were printed in the 4th Volume of the 4th Series of *Col. Mass. Historical Society*.

<sup>100</sup> Pratt gives his Name as *Pex-south*, and Winslow Peckfuot. The same killed by Standish as just related.

lived longer then the rest of the *French men* did; and that one of them was wont to read much in a Book (some say it was the New Testament) and that the *Indians* enquiring of him what his Book said, he told them it did intimate, that there was a People like French men that would come into the Countrey and drive out the *Indians*, and that they were now afraid that the *English* were the People of whose coming the *French* man had foretold them.<sup>101</sup> And that another Ship from *France* came into the *Massachusetts Bay* with Goods to Truck, and that *Indian Panies* propounded to the Sachim, that if he would hearken to him, they would obtain all the *French mens* Goods for nothing; namely, by coming a Multitude of them aboard the Vessel, with great Store of Beaver, making as if they would Truck, and that they should come without Bows and Arrows, only should have Knives hid in the Flappets which the *Indians* wear about their Loins; and when he should give the *Watchword*, they

101 The following is Pratt's Account of Pekfuot's Narrative: "He employed himself to learn to speak English, observing all Things for his bloody Ends. He told me he loued Englishmen very well, but he loued me best of all. You say French men doe not loue you, but I will tell you what wee haue done to them. There was a Ship broken by a Storm. They saued most of their Goods and hid it in the Ground. We maed them tell vs whear it was. Then we made them our Sarvants. Thay weept much. When we parted them we

" gave them such Meat as our Dogs  
 " eate. One of them had a Booke  
 " he would often read in. We  
 " asked him what his Booke said.  
 " He answered it faith there will a  
 " People like French-men come  
 " into this Cuntry and drive you all  
 " a way, and now we thincke you  
 " are thay. We took away their  
 " Clothes. They liued but little  
 " while. One of them liued longer  
 " than the rest, for he had a good  
 " Master and gave him a Wiff.  
 " He is now dead but hath a Sonn  
 " aliuic."

should run their Knives into the *French mens* Bellies, which was accordingly executed by the *Indians*, and all the *French men* killed, only Monfier Finch the Master of the Vessel being wounded, ran down into the Hold, whereupon they promised him that if he would come up, they would not kill him; notwithstanding which, they brake their Word and murdered him also; and at last set the Ship on Fire.<sup>102</sup>

Some enquiring of him how long it was since the *Indians* first saw a Ship, he replied that he could not tel, but some old *Indians* reported that the first Ship seemed to them to be a floating Island, wrapped together with the Roots of Trees, and broken off from the Land, which with their *Canoos* they went to see, but when they found Men there and heard Gunns, they hasted to the Shore again, not a little amazed. (Some write that they shot Arrows at the first Ship they saw thinking to kill it.)

This Relator doth also affirm, that after Jealousies began between the English of Mr. *Westons*

<sup>102</sup> Peckfuot's Account as detailed by him to Pratt is thus: "An other Ship came into the Bay with much Goods to Trucke. Then I said to the Sacham, I will tell you how you shall have all for nothing. Bring all our Canows and all our Beauer and a great many Men, but no Bow nor Arrow, Clubs, nor Hatchits, but Knives vnder the Scins [Skins] about your Lines [Loins]. Throw vp much Beauer vpon thayr Deck. Sell it very cheep, and when I giue the Word,

" thrust your Knives in the French mens Bellys. Thus we killed them all. But Mounsear Finch, Master of thayr Ship, being wounded, leped into the Hold. Wo bid him come vp, but he would not. Then we cut their Cable and the Ship went Ashore and lay vpon her Sid and slept there. Finch came vp and we killed him. Then our Sachem devided thayr Goods and fiered theyr Ship and it maed a very great fier."

Plantation and the *Indians*, they built divers of their *Wigwams* at the End of a great Swamp, near to the *English*, that they might the more suddenly and effectually doe what was secretly contrived in their Hearts: and an *Indian* Squaw said to them, that ere long *Aberkieft* would bring many *Indians* that would kill all the English there and at *Patuxet*. After which the Sachim with a Company of his Men came armed towards them, and bringing them within the Pale of the *English* Plantation, he made a Speech to the *English* with [19] great Gravity, saying, “ When you first came into this “ Land, I was your Friend. We gave Gifts to one “ another. I let you have Land as much as we “ agreed for, and now I would know of you, if I “ or my Men have done you any Wrong.” Unto whom the *English* replied, that they desired, that he would first declare whether they had injured him.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>103</sup> The same as told by Pratt:  
 “ Som tim after this thayr Sachem  
 “ cam sudingly upon us with a great  
 “ Number of armed Men; but  
 “ thayr Spys seeing us in a rediness,  
 “ he and some of his chif Men  
 “ terned into one of thayr Howses  
 “ a Quarter of an Our. Then we  
 “ met them without the Pale of our  
 “ Plantation and brought them in.  
 “ Then said I to a young Man that  
 “ could best speke thayr Langwig,  
 “ Afke Pexworth whi they come  
 “ thus armed? He answered, our  
 “ Sacham is angry with you. I said,  
 “ Tell him if he be angry with us,  
 “ wee be angry with him. Then

“ said thayr Sachem, Englishmen,  
 “ when you com into the Country,  
 “ we gaue you Gifts and you gaue  
 “ vs Gifts, we bought and sold with  
 “ you and we weare Friends; and  
 “ now tell me if I or any of my  
 “ Men haue don you Rong. We  
 “ answered, First tell us if we haue  
 “ don you any Rong. He answer-  
 “ ed, Some of you Steele our Corne  
 “ and I have sent you Word  
 “ Times without Number and yet  
 “ our Corne is stole. I come to  
 “ see what you will doe. We an-  
 “ swered, It is one Man wich hath  
 “ don it. Your Men have seen vs  
 “ whip him divers Times, besides

The Sachem roundly rejoined, that either some or all of them had been abusive to him ; for they had stolen away his Corn, and though he had given them Notice of it Times without Number, yet there was no Satisfaction nor Reformation attained.

Hereupon the *English* took the principal *Thief* and bound him and delivered him to the Sachim, withall declaring, that he might do with him what he pleased. Nay (said he) Sachim do Justice themselves upon their own Men, and let their Neighbours do Justice upon theirs ; otherwise we conclude that they are all agreed, and then fight.

Now the Indians, some of them, began to tremble, and beholding the Guns which were mounted on the *English* Fort, they said one to another (in their Language) that little Guns would shoot through Houses, and great Guns would break down Trees, and make them fall and kill *Indians* round about. So did they depart at that Time dissatisfied and enraged.<sup>104</sup>

“ other Manor of Punishments, and  
 “ now, here he is, bound. We  
 “ give him vnto you to doe with him  
 “ what you please. He answered,  
 “ That is not just Dealing. If my  
 “ Men wrong my nabor Sacham,  
 “ or his Men, he sends me Word,  
 “ and I beat or kill my Men ac-  
 “ cording to the Ofence. All Sa-  
 “ chams do Justis by thayr own Men.  
 “ If not we say they ar all agreed,  
 “ and then we fite ; and now, I say,  
 “ you all steele my Corne.”

<sup>104</sup> Pratt's Account: “ At this

“ Time som of them seeing som of  
 “ our Men upon our Forte, begun  
 “ to start, saying, Machit Pesconk,  
 “ that is nawty Guns. Then look-  
 “ ing round about them, went away  
 “ in a great Rage. At this Time  
 “ we strenched our Wach untell  
 “ we had no Food left. In thes  
 “ Times the Salvages oftentime did  
 “ crep upon the Snow, starting  
 “ behind Boufhes and Trees to see  
 “ whether we kepe Wach or not.  
 “ [Many] Times I have rounded  
 “ [gone the Rounds] our Planta-  
 “ tion, untell I had no longer

The *English* now perceiving that the *Indians* were fully purposed to be revenged on them, they resolved to fight it out to the last Man.

As they were marching out of the Fort, seven or eight Men stood still, saying this is the second Time that the Salvages had demanded the Life of him that had wronged them, and therefore they would have him first put to Death, and if that would not satisfy, then to fight it out to the last, wherefore he was put to Death in the Sight of the Heathen; after which the English marched out towards them, but they dispersed themselves into the Woods.<sup>105</sup>

This *Relator* endeavored to give Notice to them in Plymouth, how that the Indians had contrived their Ruin, but he missed his Way between *Weymouth* and *Plymouth*; and it was well he did so; for by that Means he escaped the savage Hands of those *Indians*, who immediately pursued him, with a murderous Intention ere he could reach *Plymouth*, they were informed by *Massasoit* (as hath

“ [Stre]nth. Then in the Night,  
 “ goeing into our Corte of Gard, I  
 “ see one Man ded before me, an-  
 “ other at my writ Hand, and an-  
 “ other att my left, for Want of  
 “ Food. O, all the People in New  
 “ England that shall heare of these  
 “ Times of our week Beginning,  
 “ consider what was the Strenth  
 “ of the Arm of Flesh or the Witt  
 “ of Man.”

“ ender being bound, we lett him  
 “ louse, because we had no Food  
 “ to giue him, charging him to  
 “ gather Ground-nitts, Clams, and  
 “ Musells, as other Men did, and  
 “ steel no more. One or two Days  
 “ after this the Salvages brot him,  
 “ leading him by the Armes, say-  
 “ ing, Heare is the Corne. Com  
 “ see the Plase where he stole it.  
 “ Then we kep him bound som few  
 “ Days.”

<sup>105</sup> Pratt's Account: "The Of-



been declared) concerning what was plotted amongst the *Indians*.<sup>106</sup>

Finally there were (as this *Relator* testifieth) three several Skirmishes with the *Indians*. One at *Wese-*

<sup>106</sup> The Escape of Phinehas Pratt, although before mentioned, is one of those perilous Adventures calculated to excite in all Readers in all Times a Desire to know every Particular concerning it. Our Author altogether failed to give it in a Manner which its Interest deserves. I therefore give it in Pratt's own Words: The Men of Wessagusset having discovered that the Design of the surrounding Indians was to destroy all the English, beginning with them first, "I would have sent a Man to Plimoth, but non weare willing to goe. Then I said if Plimoth Men know not of this treacherous Plot, they and we are all ded Men. Therefore, if God willing, tomorrow I will goe. That Night a yong Man, wanting Witt, towld Pexworth yearly in the Morning. Pexworth came to me and said in Einglish, Me heare you go to Patuxit. You will loose your self. The Bears and the Wolfs will eate you. But because I love you I will send my Boy Nahamit with you, and I will give you Vicktualls to eat by the Way, and to be mery with your Friends when you come there. I said, Who towld you soe great a lye that I may kill him? He said it is noe lye. You shall not know. Then he went whom to his Howse. Then came five Men, armed. We said, Why

" come you thus armed? They  
 " said, We are Friends. You cary  
 " Guns wheare we dwell, and we  
 " cary Bowe and Arows wheare  
 " you dwell. Thes attended me  
 " seven or eight Days and Nights.  
 " Then thay suposing it was a lye,  
 " weare carlis of thayr Wach near  
 " two [h]ours on the Morning.  
 " Then said I to our Company,  
 " Now is the Time to run to Pli-  
 " moth, Is ther any Compas to be  
 " found? Thay said, None but  
 " them that belong to the Ship. I  
 " said, Thay are to bigg. I have  
 " borne no Armes of Defence this  
 " seven or eight Days. Now if I  
 " take my Armes they will mistrust  
 " me. Then they said, The Salvages  
 " will pshue after you and kill you,  
 " and we shall never see you agayne.  
 " Thus with other Words of great  
 " Lamentation we parted. Then  
 " I took a How and went to the  
 " Long Swamp neare by thayr  
 " Howses, and diged on the Ege  
 " thereof, as if I had bin looking  
 " for ground Nutts. But seeing no  
 " Man, I went in and run through it.  
 " Then looking round about me, I  
 " run southward tell three of the  
 " Clock; but the Snow being in  
 " many Places, I was the more dis-  
 " tressed, because of my Foot steps.  
 " The Sonn being beclouded, I  
 " wandered not knowing my Way;  
 " but att the goinge down of the  
 " Sonn, it appeared red. Then

*gufquafet*, before mentioned; another at a Place where the Town of *Dorchester* is since planted; and lastly at the Bay of *Agarwam* or *Ipswich*; in all which Engagements the *Indians* [20] were notably beaten, and the *English* received no considerable

“ hearing a great Howling of Wolfs,  
 “ I came to a River; the Water  
 “ being depe and cold, and many  
 “ Rocks, I passed through with  
 “ much adoe. Then was I in great  
 “ Distrefs. Faint for want of Food,  
 “ weary with running, fearing to  
 “ make a Fier becaufe of them that  
 “ pshued me. Then I came to a  
 “ depe Dell or Hole, ther being  
 “ much wood falen into it. Then  
 “ I faid in my thoughts, This is  
 “ God’s Providence, that heare I  
 “ may make a Fier. Then haveing  
 “ maed a Fier, the Stars began to  
 “ a pear, and I faw Urfa Magor  
 “ and the [north] Pole. The Day  
 “ I began to trafell . . . but being  
 “ unable, I went back to the Fier.  
 “ The Day fall[owing I fet out again,  
 “ the] Sonn fhined, and about three  
 “ of the Clock I came to that Part  
 “ of Plimoth Bay, wher ther is a  
 “ Town of later Time [called]  
 “ Duxbery. Then paffing by the  
 “ Water on my left Hand, cam to  
 “ a Brook, and ther was a Path.  
 “ Having but a short Time to con-  
 “ sider, [went on] fearing to goe  
 “ beyond the Plantation, I kept  
 “ running in the Path. Then paff-  
 “ ing through James Ryuer, I faid  
 “ in my Thoughts, Now am I as a  
 “ Deare chafed [by] the Wolfs. If  
 “ I perish, what will be the Con-  
 “ difch[on] of diftrefed English men!

“ then finding a Peec of a [ ] I  
 “ took it up and caried it in my  
 “ Hand. Then finding a [Peec]  
 “ of a Jurkin I caried them under  
 “ my Arme. Then faid I in my  
 “ [Thoughts] God hath given me  
 “ thefe two Tokens for my Com-  
 “ fort; that now he will giue me  
 “ my Live for a Pray. Then run-  
 “ ning down a Hill I [faw] an  
 “ English man coming in the Path  
 “ before me. Then I fat down on  
 “ a Tree, and rifing up to Salute  
 “ him, faid, Mr. Hamdin, I am  
 “ glad to fee you aliu. He faid,  
 “ I am glad and full of Wonder to  
 “ fee you aliu. Let us fitt downe.  
 “ I fee you are weary. I faid, Let  
 “ [me] eate fom parched Corne.  
 “ Then he faid, I know the Caufe  
 “ [of your] coming. Maffafoit hath  
 “ fent Word to the Gouernor to let  
 “ him [know] that Aberdikees  
 “ [Aberkieft] and his Confederates  
 “ haue contrived a Plot hoping to  
 “ [cut off] all English People in  
 “ one Day.” [Owing to Mutila-  
 “ tions nothing can be made of a few  
 “ Lines wvich follow.]

The News which Pratt brought to Plymouth fully confirmed the People there, that what Maffafoit had communicated was true, and hence the immediate AÆtion of Standish already related.

Damage; so that the Sachims entreated for Peace; nor were the *English* (provided it might be upon Terms safe and honorable) averse thereunto, *Pacem te poseimus omnes.*

These dark Clouds being thus comfortably dispelled and blown over, the first Planters in this Country received no considerable Disturbance from the *Indians* a long Time. It is true, that soon upon these Motions (viz. in August, Anno 1623), a Gentleman arrived here out of *England* (namely, Capt. *Robert Gorges*) being attended with many Servants, as purposing the Settlement of an *English* Plantation in this Bay of *Massachusetts*, and although that Plantation was quickly deserted and dissolved, other Things, and not any Anoyance from the Natives here caused those Designs to prove abortive.<sup>107</sup>

The like is to be affirmed concerning Mr. *Woolfastons* Plantation: For whereas he with several others, being Persons of Quality, did (in the Year 1625) with a Multitude of Servants come into this *Massachusetts Bay*, as intending to settle a Plantation therein, they met with such cross Providences as did discourage them, and at last dissipate them; yet nothing from the *Indians*.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>107</sup> Pratt thus speaks of Gorges' Colony: "Thus [our] Plantation being deserted, Capt. Robert Gore [Gorges] cam [into] the Country with six Gentlemen attending him, and diuers Men to doe his Labor, and other Men with thayer Families. They took Possession of our Plantation, but thayer Ship suply from England came to late.

" Thus was Famine thayr final overthrow. Most of them that liued returned for England."

<sup>108</sup> Of the next Colony Pratt thus remarks: "The Oforseers of the third Plantation in the Bay was Capt. Woolfaston and Mr. Rosdell. Thes seeing the Ruing of the former Plantation, said, We will

I have been informed, that this Gentleman, considering the unhappy Catastrophe's attending Mr. *Weston* and Mr. *Gorges*, their Plantings at *Wesagus-quaset*, conceited that the *Indian* Powas had brought that Place under some Fascination, and that *Englishmen* would never thrive upon *Enchanted Ground*, and therefore they would pitch down their Stakes in a Place nearer to Boston; even where the Town of *Brantree* has since flourished, but the Difficultyes of a Wilderness were too hard for them, that Mr. *Wollaston* removed a great Part of his Servants to *Virginia*, not having (so far as I can understand) received any Molestation from the *Indians* here.<sup>109</sup>

In Anno 1628. Mr. *Endecot* (who deserves to be honorably mentioned, as having been a Patriot in *New England*) arrived here with a *Patent*<sup>110</sup> for the Government of the *Massachusetts*.<sup>111</sup> He and others

“ not pich our Tents heare, leaft  
 “ we should doe as thay have done.  
 “ Notwithstanding these Gentlemen  
 “ wear wifs Men, they seemed to  
 “ blame the Oforfeers of the formur  
 “ Companies, not considering that  
 “ God plants and pull vp, bilds and  
 “ pull down, and terns the Wisdome  
 “ of wifs Men into Foolishness.  
 “ These caled the Name of thayr  
 “ Place Mount-woolifton. They  
 “ continued neare a Yeaere as others  
 “ had don before them; but Famin  
 “ was thayr final aforthrow.”

remarks (in his Braintree Address of 20 July, 1858) rather facetiously: “ What became of him nobody  
 “ knows; I am sure we do not care  
 “ to know.” This the Editor is far from endorsing. The Place where he settled was named Mount Wollaston. It was three Miles north of Westagusset. Wood, *N. Eng. Prospect*, 31, ed. 4<sup>o</sup>, 1635.

<sup>110</sup> The Author should have said *Commission*. The Patent remained with the Company in England.

<sup>109</sup> Nothing appears to be known of Capt. Wollaston, or Wallaston further than is contained in this Paragraph. We have not even his Christian Name. And Mr. Adams

<sup>111</sup> And yet, with astonishing Perversity it has been asserted that Endicott was not a Governour at this Time!—that he was nothing but a Captain! Serious Argument against

with him sat down at a Place called *Nabumkeik* (as in a Parenthesis let me here observe, that that *Indian* word is also *Hebrew* נבום *Nabum* signifieth *Consolation*, and ק"ה *Keik* is *Hebrew*, for *Boosome*, or *Haven*, and it so fals out, that the *English* have hapned to call that Place by another Name which is also *Hebrew*, viz. *Salem*). There did they enjoy Peace. Howbeit there are Antient Planters, who testifie that the *Indians* being possessed with some Fears left the *English* should in Time take their Countrey [21] from them, were conspiring to destroy them. And the small Handfull of Christians then in *Salem*, were alarmed with the Report of no less than a thousand barbarous Natives, coming to cut them off; and that upon a Lord's Day, whereupon they discharged several great Guns, the small Shot wherein made such a terrible Rattling among the Trees a far off, that the amazed *Indians* returned not a little affrighted.<sup>112</sup> And it was a wonderfull Providence of God, now to restrain the Heathen, since it so hapned, that about this Time there were some Tumults about the *English* themselves.<sup>113</sup> For whereas Mr. *Wollaston* and his Partners left some of their Servants here, and gave

such absurd Nonsense will hardly be expected. See *N. Eng. Hist.-Gen. Reg.* for Oct., 1853, and Jan. 1854. Or *Review of Savage's Wintthrop's Journal*, 18-22.

<sup>112</sup> This Affair happened in April and May, 1630. The Author no Doubt had his Information respecting it from some of the early Settlers, as it differs from the earlier writ-

ten Accounts; perhaps from Roger Conant, as he was living when the Author wrote. See *Dr. Felt's Annals of Salem*, i, 154.

<sup>113</sup> The Author has Reference, very probably, to the Troubles between Gov. Endicott and the Browns. See *Annals Salem*, i, 87, 136, &c. *History and Antiquities of Boston*, Pages 65, 73.

Order that a Man whose Name was *Filcher*, should command and oversee them. There was another, whose Name was *Thomas Morton*. He would needs take upon him to be *Lord of Mis-rule*; and having gained much by trading with the *Indians*, this *Morton* and his drunken Companions quickly wasted all in riotous Living.<sup>114</sup>

This was the Man that taught the *Indians* in these Parts *the Use of Gunns*; how they should charge and discharge them, and imployed them in hunting for him: and when they were instructed in the Use of these Instruments of Death, they would purchase them at any Rates; whereby the Safety of the *English* was not a little hazzarded.

In Conclusion, the English at *Plymouth* and *Salem*, agreed to seyze upon this *Morton*, which was

<sup>114</sup>The Story of Thos. Morton and his *Merry-Mount* Companions has been too often told to be introduced here. Morton was a remarkable Character, possessed of Learning, and perhaps was about half as a bad a Fellow—which would leave him quite bad enough—as the People of Plymouth and Salem report him to be. He was a Churchman, and seemed determined “to have a good Time generally,” in spite of his austere Neighbours. It does not appear that he went out of his Way to annoy them, or that he interfered with them in any Way, unless indirectly by furnishing the Indians with Fire-arms. He published a curious Book about New England, which is indeed a Curiosity among the curious

Things of that Day. One not knowing quite as much as its Author about the Country then, would understand but little of his Meaning, he employs so many Enigmas and singular Allusions. He entitled it *New English Canaan*, and it was printed in 1637, in 4to, in London. Some Copies have a Title purporting it to have been issued at Amsterdam the same Year. It is not probable there were two Editions at that Period. It is reprinted in Force's *Tracts*. The Original is of great Rarity. For many Years but one Copy was known in New England, and that belonged to John Quincy Adams. To that Gentleman I was indebted for an early Use of his Copy. Many other Copies are now in this Country.

done *vi et armis*, and he was sent over to *England*, there to receive such Punishment as by the *Honourable Council for New England* should be thought meet.<sup>115</sup>

All these Tumults notwithstanding, the overruling Providence of God kept the Indians quiet.

It is to be wondered at, that the Church in *Plymouth* should be preserved when other English Plantations could not subsist in this Countrey; but either the *Indians*, or the Lords own Hand brought them to a sudden End from time to time. But God, who saw that they designed something better than the World in their planting here, brought it to pass by such Wayes as these:

I. *Massasoit* (as was hinted before) was persuaded by *Squantums* Information, that if the *English* should be his Friends, he need not fear any Enemies in the World: so did he become a Wall to the *English* at *Plymouth* against other *Indians*. The Earth helped the Woman that was fled into the Wilderness, whom the Dragon would have swallowed up.

2. The Lord made them very succesfull in their Expeditions against those Enemies that first sought their Destruction.<sup>116</sup>

<sup>115</sup> He returned however, soon after, no Notice having been taken of the Complaints against him, but his Days for troubling the Puritans were pretty nearly ended. Although he went to his former Place of Residence at the Mount, his Maypole was cut down and destroyed, and

there were not enough of his Followers left to get up a Dance about it if it had been standing.

<sup>116</sup> Reference is here made to Standish's summary Campaign against the *Massachusetts* with eight Men, already detailed.

[22] 3. They prevailed with God by Fasting and Prayer to look upon them and bleſs them with ſpecial Mercy when it was a Time of need, which did greatly affect and aſtoniſh the *Indians*. Some of them, therefore, conceiving high Thoughts concerning the *Engliſh-mans* God, and his Love to his People, that truly fear and ſerve him. That which Mr. *Winſlow* (and ſince him another) doth publickly teſtifie concerning this Matter, deſerveth Commemoration, namely, that whereas after the *Fiſt Indian Troubles* were over, there was a ſore Drought on the Land continuing for the ſpace of ſix Weeks; inſomuch that it was judged by ſome that the Corn was withered and dead, paſt recovery, the Church in *Plymouth* ſet themſelves by Fasting and Prayer, to ſeek Mercy from the Lord in this Thing. And though in the Morning when they aſſembled themſelves, the Heavens were clear, and the Drought as likely to continue as ever, yet before their ſolemn ſervice was ended, the Heavens grew black with Clouds, and the next Morning theſe Clouds diſtilled Rain, and for the Space of fourteen Days together there were moderate Showers; ſo that the drooping Corn was revived to Admiration.<sup>117</sup>

A friendly *Indian* before mentioned, known by the Name of *Hobbomock*, living in the Town of *Plymouth*, enquired why the *Engliſh* met together in that Manner, it being but three Days after the

<sup>117</sup> Beſides the Account in *Winſlow's Relation*, of this ſevere Drouth, other Particulars may be found in *Smith's New England Trials*, and *Morton's Memorial*. Drouths have not been uncommon in all Times.



Sabbath; and being informed of the true Cause thereof, and observing the gracious Effects that followed, he was greatly affected, and told other *Indians* of it, who were also smitten with deep Conviction, and the more in that, albeit in Times of Drought the *Indians* are wont to *Powwow* and cry to their Gods, sometimes for many Dayes together; yet if Rain follow, it is wont to be accompanied with terrible Thundering and Lightning and Tempests, which often do more hurt than the Rain doth good; whenas it was otherwise with respect to the Showers which at this Time came from Heaven, in Answer to the Prayers of the Church in *Plymouth* <sup>118</sup> so that the Heathen confessed that the *English mans* God was better than theirs. And some amongst the *Indians* became faithfull to the *English*, though as yet but very few.

*Apparent rari Nantes in Gurgite vasto.*<sup>119</sup>

There having been (as was said) a Patent for the *Massachusetts* Government by royal Grant obtained, many out of *England* flocked into this Country almost every Year. And for the most Part, not so much on the Account of Trade, or to prosecute any worldly Interest, as on the Account of Religion. These did God own, having wonderfully made Way for their Planting here by casting out

<sup>118</sup> This ingenious Turn of the Author has doubtless caused many a Smile upon the intelligent Reader's Face, and will without doubt cause many more upon the Faces of others. Whatever Affinity or Similitude

powwowing had to Thunder and Lightning, it is rather ridiculous to suppose, that it caused them.

<sup>119</sup> This is from Virgil, but its Appositeness is not very apparent.

the Heathen before them, [23] with mortal Diseases; especially by the *Plague* amongst the *Indians* in *Plymouth* Colony, and the *Small-pox* among the *Massachusetts*.<sup>120</sup>

In Anno 1631. new Jealousies arose concerning the treacherous *Indians*. Capt. *Walker* one Evening had two Arrows shot through his Coat, which caused an Alarm at *Lyn*, then known by the Name of *Sawgust*: but no Lives were lost; nor is there any Certainty to this Day who shot those Arrows, whereby the Captains Life was so eminently endangered.<sup>121</sup>

About the same Time the *Indians* began to be quarrellsome touching the Bounds of the Land which they had sold to the *English*; but God ended the Controversy by sending the *Small-pox* amongst the *Indians* at *Saugust*, who were before that Time

<sup>120</sup> The Ravages of the Small-pox are pretty minutely described in Winthrop's *Journal*, *The Book of the Indians*, and Johnson's *Wonderworking Providence*. The latter says: "The Mortality among them was very great, insomuch that the poor Creatures, being very timorous of Death, would faine have fled from it, but could not tell how, unlesse they could haue gorie from themselves. Relations were little regarded among them at this Time, so that many who were smetten with the Disease died helpless, unlesse they were neare and known to the English. Their Powwows, Wizards, and Charm-

ers were posselt with the greatest Feare of any." Page 51.

<sup>121</sup> "Once, about Midnight, English Richard Walker, who was on the Guard, heard the Bushes break near him, and felt an Arrow pass through his Coate and buff Waitt-coat. As the Night was dark, he could see no one, but he discharged his Gun, which being heavily loaded, split in Pieces. He then called the Guard, and returned to the Place, when he had another Arrow shot through his Clothes." Lewis's *Hist. Lynn*, p. 76. See also Johnson, p. 50.

exceeding numerous.<sup>122</sup> Whole Towns of them were swept away, in some of them not so much as one Soul escaping the Destruction. There are some old Planters surviving to this Day, who helped to bury the dead *Indians*, even whole Families of them all dead at once. In one of the *Wigwams* they found a poor Infant sucking at the Breast of the dead Mother; all the other *Indians* being dead also.<sup>123</sup>

Not long after this, when the Town of *Ipswich* was first planted it was vehemently suspected that the *Tarratines* (or Eastern *Indians*) had a Design to cut off the *English* there. For a friendly *Indian* called *Robin* came to an *Englishman* whose Name is *Perkens*<sup>124</sup> acquainting him that such a Thursday there would come four *Indians* to draw him to the Water side under Pretence of trucking with him, and that they had prepared forty *Canooes* which should ly out of Sight under the Brow of an Hill, full of armed *Indians* to cut off the *English*. The four *Indians* came at the Time, and to the Person mentioned. He instead of going to the Water side to truck with them, spoke roughly to them, and caused an Alarm, so they immediately returned, perceiving their Plot was discovered, and presently

<sup>122</sup> Lewis says the *English* bought the Town of the *Indians*, for which they paid them £16:10s, and lived harmoniously with them. *Hist. Lynn*, 76. This was before the Purchase was made. They took Land where they pleased and the *Indians* made no Objecton. It is evident from

various Sources, that the *Indians* had but vague Notions of selling Land.

<sup>123</sup> This painful Part of his Notice of the Small-pox, the Author probably took from Johnson. See *Wond. Providence*, 52.

<sup>124</sup> Sergeant John Perkins.

fourty such Canoes as the friendly Indian had given Warning of, were discovered.<sup>125</sup>

Besides the Particulars which have been insisted on, I cannot understand that there was any general Disquietment raised by the Indians, untill the Year 1636. It is true that some particular Mischiefs and private Murthers were committed before that, after the forementioned Troubles were allayed. For Mr. *Weston*, who himself (under another Name and the Disguise of a Black-Smith) arrived here not long after his Plantation was ruined, suffering Ship wrack near *Pascataqua* hardly escaped with his Life, in respect of the Indians, who took his Goods from him, and stripped him of his very Cloathes to the Shirt on his Back.<sup>126</sup>

[24] About eleven Years after that, Capt. *Stone*, Capt. *Norton*, with all their Ships Company, were

<sup>125</sup> A Narrative of this Affair was drawn up by the Rev. Thomas Cobbett of Ipswich and sent to our Author. I made a Copy of the original Paper and printed it in the *N. Eng. Hist.-Gen. Reg.*, vii, 211-12. See also *Hist. and Antqs. Boston*, 198.

<sup>126</sup> The Trials and Misfortunes of Capt. Thomas Weston are minutely dwelt upon by Gov. Bradford in his *History of Plymouth Colony*. He was a Man of considerable Credit and in good Standing when he undertook to make a Plantation in New England, but Fortune was against him. One Disaster after another overtook him, until at last he was shipwrecked and

fell into the Hands of the Indians. This was in 1623. By what Means he escaped out of the Hands of the Barbarians is not mentioned. It is probable that when they had stripped him of everything they suffered him to escape, and he found his Way to the English at *Pascataqua*. There he borrowed a Suit of Clothes and found Means to get to Plymouth. "A strange Alteration there was in him," says Bradford, "to such as had known him in his former flourishing Condition." P. 133. The same Author tells us that from Plymouth he "shaped his Course for Virginia," and that "he dyed at Bristol in the Time of the Warrs, of Sicknes." P. 154. We have yet no Weston Family History.

barbarously murdered by the *Pequot* Indians (as in the Sequel more fully related.)

And two Years after that, Mr. John *Oldbam* was massacred by the Indians of *Munisses*, now called *Block-Island*; which Things made Way for the *Pequot War*, whereby the whole English Interest (yea the Interest of Christ, who had ere that taken Possession of this Land, and gloriously began to erect his own Kingdom here) was threatened and endangered.

Great Pitty it is, that although it be now forty Years since those Motions, and albeit the Works which God then wrought for his People were admirable, yet that no *Compleat Memorial* thereof hath been published to this Day.<sup>127</sup> It is then high Time that something more should be done therein, that so both we and our Children after us, may see what great Things, the Lord God of our Fathers hath done for them and for us.

And there is a Gentleman in this Countrey (namely Mr. *John Allyn*, who is *Secretary* to the *Council* at *Hartford*, and one of the worthy Magistrates of that Colony) who hath been industrious in gathering up the Truth of Things, about those Troubles, being under peculiar Advantages thereunto, by Informations from him, who was principally instrumental in fighting the Lords Battels at that Time against the Heathen.

<sup>127</sup> The Author does not appear to have known anything of the Publications of Underhill and Vincent; both were printed in London in

1638. When the Text was written Mr. Hubbard's History, including a very good Account of the *Pequot War*, was also published.

This *Narrative* of Mr. *Allyns* I shall here insert and publish, as I received it, without making the least Alterations as to the Sence, and very little as to the Words. It is that which followeth.<sup>128</sup>

*Some Grounds of the War against the  
Pequots.*

‘ In or about the Year 1633,<sup>129</sup> One Capt. *Stone*  
‘ arrived in the *Massachusetts*, in a Ship from Vir-  
‘ ginia, who sometime after was bound for Virginia  
‘ again, in a small Bark, with one Capt. *Norton*,<sup>130</sup>  
‘ who sailing up Connecticut River, about two  
‘ Leagues from the Entrance, cast Anchor; there  
‘ coming to them several Indians belonging to that  
‘ Place, whom the Pequots tyranized over, being a  
‘ potent and a warlike People, they being accustomed

<sup>128</sup> The Writer was mistaken about the Authorship of the Narrative sent him by Mr. Allen. The Author of it was Capt. John Mafon. It is hardly possible but that Mr. Allen knew who the real Author was. Had he communicated the whole of it Mr. Mather would have known that it was Mafon's Work; but he omitted to send the prefatory Matter, and hence Mr. Mather's Mistake. Capt. Mafon lived at Norwich, and in or before 1736, his Grand-son put the original Manuscript into the Hands of the Rev. Mr. Thomas Prince, who edited and published it in the Year above named. Mr. Prince says, in his Introduction, "I have been more than usually careful in correcting

"the Prefs according to the Original." It will be seen by comparing Mr. Prince's Edition with this in our Text, that Mr. Allen, in making his Copy took the Liberty to make many verbal Alterations; probably thinking them Improvements.

<sup>129</sup> "About the Year 1632." Prince's *Edition*.

<sup>130</sup> I have been led to state the Christian Name of Norton—Walter. *Hist. Boston*, 166. Savage gives it *William*. The Editors of the late (36th) Vol. of *Majs. Hist. Colls.* would not commit themselves by giving Norton a Place in their Index.

‘ fo to deal with their neighbouring Indians. Capt.  
 ‘ *Stone* having fome Occafion with the Dutch, who  
 ‘ lived at a Trading houfe, near twenty Leagues up  
 ‘ the River, procured fome of thofe Indians to go  
 ‘ as Pilots with two of his Men to the Dutch; but  
 ‘ they being [25] benighted, before they could  
 ‘ come to their defired Port, put the Skiffe, in  
 ‘ which they went, afhore; where the two Englifh-  
 ‘ men falling afleep, were both murdered by their  
 ‘ Indian Guides, there remaining with the Bark,  
 ‘ about twelve of the aforefaid Indians, who had in  
 ‘ all probability, formerly plotted their bloody De-  
 ‘ figne, and waiting an Opportunity when fome of  
 ‘ the Englifh were on Shore, and Capt. *Stone*<sup>131</sup>  
 ‘ afleep in his Cabbin, fet upon them and cruelly  
 ‘ murdered every one of them, and plundered  
 ‘ what they pleafed, and afterward funk the Bark.

‘ Thefe Indians were not native *Pequots*, but had

<sup>131</sup> Capt. John Stone. He was murdered in the Autumn of 1633, the News of which was brought to Plymouth 21 Jan., 1634. See *Hift. and Antiqs. Bofton*, 166. He is doubtlefs the fame of whom we find this Record in the Proceedings of the General Court: Sept. 1633. “ Capt. John Stone, for his Outrage “ comitted in confronting aucthori- “ ty, abufeing Mr. Ludlowe, both “ in Words and Behaviour, affalting “ him and calling him a *iuff ar*, &c., “ is fined C£, and prohibited come- “ ing within this Patent without “ leave from the Gourmt, vnder the “ Penalty of Death.” In confequence of this Banifhment Capt. Stone went

to the Connecticut River and was there murdered. The Fine of £100 was remitted about five Years after his Death. The Circumftances of the Murder are particularly detailed in Winthrop’s *Journal*, i, 148. See alfo Bradford’s *Hift. Plymouth*, 349-50. Much Intereft for Capt. Stone feems to have grown up long after his Death, and every Effort was made to ferret out his Murderers. Among others the Narraganfets were employed. On the 31ft of Auguft, 1637, they fent to Bofton the Hands of three Pequots, one was afferted to have been the chief Murderer of Capt. Stone. Winthrop’s *Journal*, i, 237.

‘ frequent Recourſe to them, to whom they tendered ſome of thoſe Goods, which were accepted by the chief Sachim of the *Pequots*: and ſome of the Goods were tendered to the Sachim of *Niantick* who alſo received them.<sup>132</sup>

‘ The Honoured Council of the *Maſſachuſetts* hearing of theſe Proceedings of the *Pequots*, ſent to ſpeak with them, and had ſome Treatyes, but no Iſſue was made to Satisfaction.<sup>133</sup>

‘ After which, Capt. *John Endicot* was ſent forth Commander in Chief, with Capt. *Underbill*, Capt. *Turner* and about an hundred and twenty Men, who were firſtly deſigned againſt a People living on *Block Iſland*, who were Subjects to the *Naraganſet* Sachim, they having taken a Barke of Mr. *John Oldham*, murtherring him and his Company. They were alſo to call the *Pequots* to an Account about the murtherring of Capt. *Stone*: who arriving at *Pequod*<sup>134</sup> had ſome Conference with them, but little was effected, only one *Indian* ſlain, and ſome *Wigwams* burnt.

‘ After which the *Pequots* grew enraged againſt the *English* who inhabited *Connecticut*, being

<sup>132</sup> In *Maſon's Hiſtory* it is: “ Other of ſaid Goods were tendered to *Nynigrett* Sachim of *Nayanticke*,” &c.

<sup>133</sup> Nothing further than this appears on the *Colonial Records*: Dec. 1636. “ The Court did intreat the Govern<sup>r</sup> and Counſell to conſider about the Proſecution of the Warrs againſt the *Pecoits*

“ and *Block-Iland* againſt the next “ *ſeſſion* of this Courte.” But a Treaty was made. See *Book of the Indians*, B. ii, p. 166. *Hubbard's Narrative*, 117, where the Articles may be ſeen.

<sup>134</sup> *New London*. The River on which *New London* ſtands was called *Pequot River*. Probably from its Mouth to *Norwich*.



‘ but a small Number, about two hundred and fifty  
 ‘ who were there newly arrived, and also about  
 ‘ twenty Men at *Seybrook* under the Command of  
 ‘ Lieut. *Lion. Gardner*,<sup>135</sup> who was there placed by  
 ‘ severall Lords and Gentlemen in England.

‘ The *Pequots* observing Lieut. Gardner going to  
 ‘ Fire the Meadows about Half a Mile off the Fort,  
 ‘ with ten Men with him, was violently assaulted  
 ‘ by the *Pequod Indians*, so that some were slain, the  
 ‘ rest were rescued by the Souldiers issuing out of  
 ‘ the Fort upon the said *Pequots* who fled.<sup>136</sup> They

<sup>135</sup> Gardiner wrote a History of the War so far as he was personally concerned in it, which laid in MS. until 1833, when it was printed as a Paper in a Volume of the *Masi. Hist. Coll.*, Vol. 3., *Third Ser.* It was drawn up about twenty-three Years after the War, “having,” he says, “rumaged and found some old Papers then written, it was a great help to my Memory.” Mr. Robert Chapman, Thomas Hurlburt and Major Mason having urged him to do it.

<sup>136</sup> “ 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 [to] the Woodland; 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

‘ also seized some that were passing up *Connecticut* River, and tortured them in a most cruel Manner, with most barbarous and inhuman Cruelties; roaring<sup>d</sup> of them alive, &c.<sup>137</sup>

‘ They also lay sculking about the Fort almost constantly, that the English could not go out of the Fort, but they were assaulted by the *Pequods*, so that *Connecticut* out of their small Numbers, constrained [26] themselves to send Capt. *John Mason* with twenty Men<sup>138</sup> to secure the Place. But after his coming, there did not one *Pequod* appear in View for a Months Space about the Fort, which was the Time he there remained.

‘ In the Interim, many<sup>139</sup> of the *Pequods* went to a Place now called *Wethersfield* on *Connecticut*, and having confederated with the Indians of that Place (as it was generally thought) they lay in Ambush for the English People of that Place, and divers of them going to their Labour in a

“ exchanging many 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 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 alive.”

Gardiner does not mention by what Numbers he was surrounded, but Underhill says there were “ a hundred or more.”

<sup>137</sup> This has Reference to the horrible Torture of “ Master John

Tilley.” See Underhill’s *History*, p. 15, and Gardiner, 147 (of *Hist. Colls.*, iii, 111 Ser.)

<sup>138</sup> “ Out of their small Numbers,” says Mason. It should be remembered that Connecticut had been settled by the English scarcely two Years; that in the Emigration of 1635, but about sixty Men, Women and Children composed the Colony. This Murder was about the Middle of October, 1636.

<sup>139</sup> “ Certain Pequots, about one hundred.” *Mason*. The Numbers of the Enemy were usually magnified.

‘ large Field adjoining to the Town, were set upon  
 ‘ by the Indians, nine of the English were slain  
 ‘ upon the Place, and some Horses, and two young  
 ‘ Women were taken Captive.<sup>140</sup>

‘ The *Pequods* at their Return from Wethersfield,  
 ‘ came down to the River of Connecticut, (Capt.  
 ‘ *Mason* then being at Saybrook Fort,) in three or  
 ‘ more Canooes, with about an hundred Men, the  
 ‘ English espying of them, concluded they had  
 ‘ been acting some Mischief against us, and there-  
 ‘ fore prepared one of their great Gunns, and made  
 ‘ a Shot at them, which Shot stroock off the Head  
 ‘ of one of their Canooes, wherein the two Captives  
 ‘ were, although the Shot was made at them at a  
 ‘ great Distance, near three Miles:<sup>141</sup> but feing it  
 ‘ was so placed, they hastned to the Shore, and  
 ‘ drew their Canooes with what Speed they could  
 ‘ over a narrow Beach and so got away.

‘ The English of *Connecticut* being so alarmed  
 ‘ by these Insolencies of the *Pequods*, saw meet to

<sup>140</sup> Mitigating Circumstances often come to Light in the Lapse of Years, which render Actions less atrocious, than they seem by a partial Recital at the Time of their committal.

“ Sequin, a head Man of the River Indians, gave Lands on the River to the English, that he might sit down by them and be protected. But when he came to Wethersfield [then called Water-town] and set up his Wigwam, the People drove him away by Force. Resenting the Wrong, but wanting Strength to revenge it, he secretly drew in the Pequots,

“ who came up the River and killed six Men.” Lothrop’s *Cent. Ser. at W. Springfield*, 1796, p. 23-4. Mr. Goodwin, *Geneal. Foote Fam. Int* p. xxi-ii, gives the Names of two of the Men killed—Abraham and John Finch. One of the Girls taken was a Daughter of William Swain. See Gardiner’s *History*, p. 147. The Name of the Indian who commenced the Murder of the English at Wethersfield was Wauphanck. *Williams*.

<sup>141</sup> The “near three Miles” is not in *Mason*.

‘ call a Court, which met in *Hartford* upon *Con-*  
 ‘ *necticut* the first Day of May, 1637, who seriously  
 ‘ considering their Condition, which did look very  
 ‘ sad, since the *Pequods* were a great People, forti-  
 ‘ fied, cruel, warlike, munitioned, &c. and the  
 ‘ English but a Handful in Comparifon of them.  
 ‘ But their outrageous Violence againft the *English*  
 ‘ (having murdered about thirty of them) their  
 ‘ great Pride and Insolency, and their constant  
 ‘ Purfuit in their malicious Courfes, with their  
 ‘ Endeavours to ingage other Indians in their  
 ‘ Quarrel againft the *English*, who had not offered  
 ‘ them the leaft Wrong.

‘ Thefe Things being duly confidered, with the  
 ‘ eminent Hazard and great Perill the People of  
 ‘ *Connecticut* were in, it pleased God fo to ftir up  
 ‘ the Hearts of all Men in general, and the Court  
 ‘ of *Connecticut* in fpecial, that they concluded it  
 ‘ neceffary that fome Forces fhould be fent forth  
 ‘ fpeedily, againft the *Pequots*, their Grounds being  
 ‘ juft, and Neceffity enforcing them to engage in  
 ‘ an offensive and defensive Warr, with the good  
 ‘ Succes the Moft High was pleased to crown his  
 ‘ People withall, we are nextly to relate.

## B R I E F H I S T O R Y

*of the War with the Pequot Indians in*

New-England; Anno 1637.<sup>142</sup>

‘ In the Beginning of May, 1637. there were  
‘ sent out by *Connecticut* Colony ninety Men under  
‘ the Command of Capt. *John Mason* (afterwards  
‘ Major *Mason*, and Deputy Governor of *Connecti-*  
‘ *cut* Colony) against the *Pequots*, with whom  
‘ went *Uncas*,<sup>143</sup> an *Indian* Sachem of *Mobeag*, who  
‘ was newly revolted from the *Pequots*.<sup>144</sup>

‘ This small Army was shipped in one *Pink*, one  
‘ *Pinnace* and one *Shallop*, some of which *Vessels*  
‘ in their *Passage* down *Connecticut* River, fell on  
‘ *Ground*, by Reason of the lowness of the *Water*,  
‘ and the unskilfulness of the *English* in the *Chan-*

<sup>142</sup>“ An Epitome or brief History  
“ of the Pequot War.” *Mason*.

<sup>143</sup>“ Onkos.” *Mason*. Our Au-  
thor made use of the Form which  
has prevailed, but his Place of Resi-  
dence *Mason* says was at *Mobegan*.

*Uncas* proved faithful during the  
Expedition. When the Army were  
marching on the *Pequot* strong hold,  
and were near to it, Capt. *Mason*  
inquired of him if the *Narragansets*  
would fight the *Pequots*, as they had  
made great Speeches as to what they

would do. *Uncas* said he could not  
depend on them: “ and so it proved.  
“ For which Expressions and some  
“ other Speeches of his, I shall never  
“ forget him. Indeed he was a  
“ great Friend and did great Ser-  
“ vice.”

<sup>144</sup> The *Indians* and other bar-  
barous Nations continually practiced  
Secession. The more barbarous a  
People is, the greater their Propen-  
sity to this Kind of Self-destruction.  
See *Introduction*.

‘ nel.<sup>145</sup> The *Indians* not being wonted to such  
 ‘ Things with their small Canooes, and also being  
 ‘ impatient of all Delays, desired they might  
 ‘ be set on Shore, promising they would meet our  
 ‘ Army at *Seybrook*; which Request of theirs was  
 ‘ granted: and they being set at Liberty hastning to  
 ‘ their Quarters at *Saybrook*, met with about thirty  
 ‘ or fourty of the *Pequots* near *Seybrook*, and en-  
 ‘ gaged them, and slew seven of them upon the  
 ‘ Place, and had only one of their own wounded,  
 ‘ who was conveyed back to *Connecticut* in a Skiffe.

‘ Capt. *Vnderhill* hearing of the Approach of the  
 ‘ Army, went and met them and informed them  
 ‘ what was performed by *Vncus* and his Men, which  
 ‘ News was welcome to them, and looked upon  
 ‘ as a special Providence; for before they were  
 ‘ somewhat doubtfull of the Fidelity of their Indian  
 ‘ Volunteers.<sup>146</sup>

‘ Capt. *Vnderhill* hearing of the Design our  
 ‘ Army was upon, very freely offered his Service  
 ‘ with nineteen Men to go along with them, if  
 ‘ Leiut. *Gardner* would allow of it (who was chief  
 ‘ Commander at *Seybrook* Fort) which Motion was  
 ‘ no sooner propounded to Lieut. *Gardner*, but he  
 ‘ readily approved of it,<sup>147</sup> and our Councill of War

<sup>145</sup> “ Capt. Mafon having sent  
 “ down a Shallop to Seybrooke Fort,  
 “ and sent the Indians over Land  
 “ to meet and rendezvooufe at Sea-  
 “ brooke for, themselves came down  
 “ in a great maffy Veffel, which was  
 “ slow in coming, and very long  
 “ detained by crofs Winds.” *Gar-  
 diner*, 16.

<sup>146</sup> It is not easy to account for  
 Mafon’s Want of Knowledge re-  
 specting Lieut. Gardiner’s Agency  
 in this Act of Uncas’s Men. See  
*Gardiner*, 149.

<sup>147</sup> Gardiner’s Account does not  
 agree very well with this. He says:  
 “ Soon after came down from Hart-

‘ accepted of it also ; who in lieu of those twenty,  
 ‘ immediately sent back [28] twenty of theirs to  
 ‘ *Connecticut* to help guard the Women and Chil-  
 ‘ dren, &c.

‘ Upon a Wednesday our Army arrived at *Sey-*  
 ‘ *brook*, where they lay Wind-bound till Friday, in  
 ‘ which Time the Councill of War consulted how  
 ‘ and in what Manner they should proceed in their  
 ‘ Enterprize, which was accompanied with much  
 ‘ Difficulty ; their Commission ordering them to  
 ‘ land their Men in the *Pequot* River, against  
 ‘ which were these Difficultyes.

‘ First, The *Pequods* kept a continual Gaurd  
 ‘ upon the River, Night and Dey in a constant  
 ‘ Course.

‘ Secondly, Their Numbers far exceeded ours ;  
 ‘ they had also sixteen Gunns with Powder and  
 ‘ Shot, besides their *Indian* Artillery, as our Councill  
 ‘ of War was informed by the two-captive Maids  
 ‘ (mentioned where we declared the Grounds of  
 ‘ this War) who were redeemed by the *Dutch*, and

“ ford Major Mason, Lieut Seely,  
 “ accompanied with Mr. Stone and  
 “ 80 Englishmen, and 80 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 and I had seen their Com-  
 “ mission, we both said they were  
 “ not fitted for such a Design.” But  
 the Major saying the Government  
 could do no better: “ then we said  
 “ that none of our Men should go  
 “ with them, neither should they go

“ unless we, that were bred Sol-  
 “ diers from our youth, could see  
 “ some likelihood to do better than  
 “ the Bay-men with their strong  
 “ Commission last Year.” He next  
 doubted the Fidelity of Uncas and  
 his 80 Mohegans, who were so  
 lately Pequots ; but, on actual Trial  
 he found them faithful. “ 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 20 sufficient  
 “ Men from the 80,” &c.

‘ restored now to us at Seybrook,<sup>148</sup> which was a  
‘ very friendly Office, and not to be forgotten.

‘ Thirdly, They were on Land, and being swift  
‘ of Foot, might much impede the Landing of our  
‘ Men, and dishearten them, they continually  
‘ gaurding that River, and our Men not knowing  
‘ where to land nearer then *Narraganset*.

‘ Fourthly, It was alledged that if our Army  
‘ landed at Narraganset, they would come upon  
‘ their Backs, and possibly might Surprize them  
‘ unawares; at worst they should be on firm Land  
‘ as well as the Enemy.

<sup>148</sup> Gardiner says he redeemed the Maids at a Cost to himself of £10, for which he had never even Thanks. He employed some Dutch Traders to redeem them, “ who brought them away almost naked, putting on them their own linen Jackets to cover their nakedness.” P. 147. Underhill has a much more circumstantial Account than any of the early Writers. See his *History*, p. 17-19. Winthrop in his *Journal*, i, 223, gives an Account leaving out the Agency of Capt. Gardiner entirely. It is likely, as Winthrop says, that the Dutch Governour sent a Sloop and Men with Orders to rescue the Captives “ even at the Price of a War with the Pequots.” These Girls were captured on the 23 of April, and brought to Saybrook Fort to Capt. Gardner on May 15th. Gardiner’s Account is doubtless perfectly correct. Mr. Goodwin, in his *Genealogy of the Foote Family* does not appear to have profited by Underhill’s Nar-

ative. See *Underhill*, 17, 18.

Capt. Johnson has some Facts not contained in the other Authors about the Captivity of these Maids: “ Three Women kind they caught, and carried away, but one of them being more fearfull of their cruell Usage afterward then the Losse of her Life at present, being borne away to the thickest of the Company, resisted so stoutly with scratching and biting, that the Indian exasperated therewith, cast her down upon the Earth and beate out her Braines with his Hatchet” *Wonder Working Providences*, 115. “ They did not offer to abuse their Persons [of the Maids] as was verily deemed they would, questioned them with such broken English as some of them could speak, to know whether they could make Gun-powder; which, when they found they could not doe, their Prize proved nothing so pretious a Pearl in their Eyes as before.” *Ibid*.



‘ Notwithstanding these Reasons, the Council  
 ‘ of Warr, all of them except the Captain, were at  
 ‘ a stand, and could not judge it meet to fail to  
 ‘ *Narraganset*. Capt. *Mason* in this difficult Case,  
 ‘ went to the Reverend Mr. *Sauuel Stone*, late  
 ‘ Teacher to the Church of Christ at *Hartford*,  
 ‘ who was sent as Preacher to the Army, and de-  
 ‘ sired him that he would that Night commend  
 ‘ their Case and Difficultyes before the Lord, and  
 ‘ seek Direction of him in the Matter, how and in  
 ‘ what Manner they should demean themselves.  
 ‘ He retired himself from them aboard the Pink  
 ‘ the remaining Part of that Day, and the follow-  
 ‘ ing Night was not wanting in spreading the Case  
 ‘ before the Lord, and seeking his Direction, in  
 ‘ the Morning he came on Shore to the Captains  
 ‘ Chamber, and told him he had done as he desired  
 ‘ him, and though formerly he had been against  
 ‘ failing to *Narraganset* and landing there, yet now  
 ‘ he was fully satisfied to attend it.

‘ The Council being again called, and the Mat-  
 ‘ ter debated, and Reasons considered, they agreed  
 ‘ all with one accord to fail to *Narraganset*, [29]  
 ‘ which the next Morning they put in Execution,  
 ‘ which proved very successful, as the Sequel may  
 ‘ evidently demonstrate. What shall I say? God  
 ‘ led his People through manifold difficultyes and  
 ‘ Turnings, yet by more than an ordinary Hand of  
 ‘ Providence, *He led them in a right Way*.

‘ On Friday Morning, they in pursuance of their  
 ‘ Design set Sail for *Narraganset Bay*, and on Sat-

‘ urday toward Evening they arrived at their de-  
‘ fired Port, where they kept the Sabbath.<sup>149</sup>

‘ On Munday the Wind blew so hard at Norwest  
‘ that they could not go on Shoar, as also on Tues-  
‘ day till it was near Sunfset, but the Wind abating,  
‘ they and their Design being commended to God  
‘ by Mr. *Stone*, Capt. *Mason* and his Company  
‘ landed, and marched up to the Place of the chief  
‘ Sachims Residence,<sup>150</sup> and told him, that they had  
‘ not an Opportunity before, to acquaint him with  
‘ their coming around into his Country, yet they  
‘ hoped it would be wel accepted by him, there  
‘ being Amity between us and them, and also that  
‘ the *Pequots* and they were Enemies, and that he  
‘ could not be unacquainted with these intolerable  
‘ Wrongs and Injuries, those *Pequots* had lately done  
‘ unto the English, and that they were now come  
‘ (God assisting) to avenge ourselves upon them,  
‘ and that they did only desire free Passage through  
‘ his Country.

‘ The Sachim returned this Answer, that he did

<sup>149</sup> May 23, 1637. It was to the Arrival of the Massachusetts Men under Patrick, that Roger Williams referred, doubtless, in his Letter to John Winthrop, dated, “New Providence, this 4th of the Weeke, at early Dawn.” See *Mafs. Hist. Colls.*, 36, 194. (They should have given their Volume a better Index, or none at all, as it is deceptive.) Mr. Williams says: “John Gallop (blessed be the Lord) is safely arrived at our Dores, and hath brought from the Lord and

“you a mercifull refreshing to vs. . . .  
“He [Gallop] relates that there is  
“now riding below three Pinnaces  
“ (the Names of the Masters Quick,  
“ Jiglies [Giggles?] and Robinfon),  
“ and the two Shalops, as also that  
“ the other, whereof — Jackson  
“ of Salem is Master, was in com-  
“ pany with them the Night be-  
“ fore,” &c.

<sup>150</sup> Miantonimo was then the  
“great Sachem of Narraganset,”  
and this was on May 24th.

‘ accept of their coming, and did also approve of  
 ‘ their Designe, only he thought our Numbers were  
 ‘ too Weak to deal with the Enemy, who were (as  
 ‘ he said) very great Captains, and Men skilful in  
 ‘ War, thus he spake somewhat slightingly of our  
 ‘ Men.

‘ On Wednesday Morning they marched from  
 ‘ there to a Place called *Niantick*, it being about  
 ‘ eighteen or twenty Miles distant, where another  
 ‘ of those *Narraganset* Sachims lived in a Fort, it  
 ‘ being a Frontier to the *Pequots*. They carried it  
 ‘ very proudly to our Men, not permitting any of  
 ‘ them to come into their Fort.<sup>151</sup>

‘ Capt. *Mason* beholding their Carriage, and  
 ‘ knowing the Falsehood of the Indians, fearing  
 ‘ lest they might discover them to the Enemy,  
 ‘ especially the *Indians* having many Times some  
 ‘ of their neer Relations amongst their greatest  
 ‘ Foes, saw Cause to set a Guard about their Fort,  
 ‘ that no *Indian* might pass in or out, and charged  
 ‘ the *Indians* not to pass out upon the Peril of their  
 ‘ Lives. And there they quartered that Night, the  
 ‘ *Indians* not offering to stir out all the while.

‘ In the Morning came to the Army several of  
 ‘ *Miantinomie* his Men, who told them they were  
 ‘ come to assist them in the Expedition, which  
 ‘ encouraged divers Indians of that Place to engage  
 ‘ also, who drawing [30] into a Ring, one by one,  
 ‘ made solemn Protestation how gallantly they  
 ‘ would demean themselves, and how many Men  
 ‘ they would kill.

<sup>151</sup> Ninigret, then a young Man, was Sachem of that Tribe.

‘ On Thursday, about eight of the Clock in the Morning, they marched thence towards *Pequot*, having about *five hundred Indians* with them. In which March, through the Heat of the Weather, and Want of Provision, some of our Men fainted; but when they had marched about twelve Miles, they came to *Pawquatuck*<sup>152</sup> River, to a Ford, where the Indians said the *Pequots* did usually fish. There they made a stand and stayed some small Time; but the *Narraganset Indians* manifested great Fear, and many of them returned, although they had despised our Men, and said they durst not look upon a *Pequot*, and vaunted what great Things they themselves would do.

‘ Capt. *John Mason* saw Reason then to acquaint the *Indians* that they were come on Purpose, and were resolved (God assisting) to see the *Pequots*, and to fight with them before they returned, although they perished; and then he enquired of *Uncas* what he thought the *Indians* would do; who said the *Narragansets* would all leave them, but as for himself, he would never leave them, and so it proved.

‘ After they had there refreshed themselves with their mean Commons, they marched about three Miles, and came to a Field which had been planted with Indian Corn, where they made another Alt: and supposing that they drew near to the Enemy, who, as they were informed, had two

<sup>152</sup> Pawcatuck, a Bay and River, part of the Boundary between it and in Westery, R. I. The River rises R. I. Parsons, *Indian Names*, 21. partly in Conecticut, and makes This Name has many other spellings.

‘ Forts almost impregnable, which did no Ways  
 ‘ discourage the Souldiers, rather animated them,  
 ‘ infomuch that they resolved to assault both the  
 ‘ Forts at once; but the Council of War having  
 ‘ consulted the Matter, understood that one of the  
 ‘ Forts, in which the bloodiest Sachim resided, was  
 ‘ so remote that they could not possibly come up  
 ‘ with it in Season, and seeing some of the Soul-  
 ‘ diers spent in the March with extream heat, and  
 ‘ Want of Necessaries, concluded and resolved to  
 ‘ assault and storm the nearest Fort.<sup>153</sup>

‘ Then they *marched* on in a *silent Manner*; the  
 ‘ Indians that remained, who in the March hith-  
 ‘ erto kept the Van, (being surprized with great  
 ‘ Fear) fell all into the Rear.

‘ They continued their March till about an Hour  
 ‘ in the Night, and then coming to a little Swamp  
 ‘ between two Hills, there they pitched their little  
 ‘ Camp, being much wearied with hard Tra-  
 ‘ velt; supposing (by the Relations of the *Indians*)  
 ‘ they were near the Fort, which proved other-  
 ‘ wise.<sup>154</sup> The Rocks were their Pillows, yet Rest  
 ‘ was sweet and pleasant to them. They appointed

<sup>153</sup> Capt Underhill thus describes the Pequot Fort: “ This Fort, or Palifado, was well nigh an Acre of Ground, which was surrounded with Trees and half Trees, set into the Ground three feet deep, and fastened close to one another.” The Hill is now called Pequot Hill, and lies eight Miles northeast of New London. There is a Representation of the Hill in Barber’s *Hist.*

*Colls. of Connecticut*, 312.

<sup>154</sup> The Officers, supposing that they were now near the Fort, pitched their little Camp between or near two large Rocks, in the present Town of Groton, since called Porter’s Rocks. Trumbull’s *Hist. Ct.*, i, 83. A View of the Rocks may be seen in Barber’s *Hist. Colls. of Connecticut*, p. 313.

✓ ' their Guards, and placed their Sentinels at some  
 ' Distance, who heard their [31] Enemies, singing  
 ' in their Fort until Midnight, with great insulting  
 ' and rejoycing (as they were afterwards informed  
 ' by *Wequash* a *Pequot* Captain, who was revolted  
 ' from the *Pequots*, and was one of their Guides  
 ' in this March) For they seeing our Pinnaces fail  
 ' by them a few Days before concluded they were  
 ' afraid of them, and durst not to come near them.

' Towards Morning Capt. *Mason* being awakened,  
 ' and seeing it very light, supposed it had been day,  
 ' and so they might have lost their Opportunity,  
 ' having determined to make their Assault before  
 ' Day and therefore immediately roused up his  
 ' Souldiers, and briefly commended themselves and  
 ' Designe to the Guidance and Protection of the  
 ' Lord, and went to the Assault.

' Their Indian Guide showing them a Path, said it  
 ' led directly to the Fort; they took the Path, and  
 ' marched on the best Part of two Miles wondering  
 ' that they saw not the Fort; and fearing that their  
 ' Indian Guide might delude them, but coming to  
 ' a Place where Corn was newly planted at the Foot  
 ' of a great Hill, supposed the Fort was not far off,  
 ' a champion Country being round about them.

' There the Captain caused his Company to make  
 ' a Stand and gave Order that the Indians should  
 ' come unto him; at length *Uncas* and *Wequash*  
 ' come up, of whom he demanded where the Fort  
 ' was; they answered on the Top of that Hill; He  
 ' also enquired where the Rest of the Indians were,

‘ they answered, behind exceedingly afraid;<sup>155</sup> he  
 ‘ then desired them to tel the Rest of their Follow-  
 ‘ ers that they should by no Means fly, but stand  
 ‘ at what Distance they pleased, an see whether  
 ‘ English Men would now fight or not. Then Capt.  
 ‘ *Underhill* come up into the Front, and after Capt.  
 ‘ *Mason* had commended their Case to God there  
 ‘ being two Entrences into the Fort, they divided  
 ‘ their Men; and Capt. *Mason* lead up to that en-  
 ‘ trance on the North-east Side, who approaching  
 ‘ within a Rod of the Entrence a Dog bark’d, and  
 ‘ an Indian cried *Wanux wanux*.<sup>156</sup> He commanded  
 ‘ his Souldiers to close up to the Fort, and fire  
 ‘ upon them through the Palizadoes, which they  
 ‘ did, the Indians being in a dead and indeed their  
 ‘ last Sleep. The Souldiers having fired wheeled  
 ‘ off and came to the main Entrence, which was  
 ‘ blocked up with Bushes about Breast high, over  
 ‘ which Capt. *Mason* very couragiously leaped, and  
 ‘ stood to make good the Entrance, and command-  
 ‘ ed his Souldiers to follow him, one of which<sup>157</sup>  
 ‘ endeavouring, was entengled in the Bushes, but  
 ‘ getting back, pulled out the Bushes and so the  
 ‘ Souldiers followed their Captain into the Fort  
 ‘ with their Swords drawn, for they had concluded

<sup>155</sup> “ Of five or six hundred In-  
 “ dians, not above half were left;  
 “ and they had followed the rest  
 “ had not Capt. Underhill upbraid-  
 “ ed them with Cowardice, and  
 “ promised them they should not  
 “ fight or come within shot of the  
 “ Fort, but only surround it afar

“ off.” P. Vincent’s *Hist. of the  
 Battell*, 37.

<sup>156</sup> “ Owanux! Owanux! which  
 “ is Englishmen! Englishmen!”  
*Mason*.

<sup>157</sup> “ Lieutenant Seeley endeavor-  
 “ ed to enter,” &c. *Mason*.

• to destroy them with the [32] Sword, and so to  
 • save the Plunder.<sup>158</sup>

• The Indians as yet kept their *Wigwams*; Capt.  
 • *Mason* entered a *Wigwam*, and his Guard not  
 • seeing him, passed away from him, where he  
 • was strongly assaulted by many Indians, but he  
 • bravely defended himself, and slew several of his  
 • Opposers; at last *William Heyden* perceiving the  
 • Place where the Captain went in, essayed to go  
 • in himself, but in his Entrance stumbled upon a  
 • dead Man, but soon recovering himself, he fell  
 • upon the Indians. The Indians some were  
 • slain, some fled, others crept under their Beds,

<sup>158</sup> The following is Capt. Underhill's Account of the Onset:  
 " Having our Swords in our right  
 " Hand, our Carbines or Muskets  
 " in our left Hand, we approached  
 " the Fort. Master Hedge being  
 " shot through both Arms, and  
 " more wounded. Though it be not  
 " commendable for a Man to make  
 " mention of anything that might  
 " tend to his own Honour, yet  
 " because I would have the Provi-  
 " dence of God observed, and his  
 " Name magnified, as well for my-  
 " self as others, I dare not omit, but  
 " let the World know, the Deliv-  
 " erance was given to us that com-  
 " mand, as well as to private Sol-  
 " diers. Capt Mason and myself  
 " entering into the *Wigwams*, he  
 " was shot, and received many  
 " Arrows against his Head-piece,  
 " God preserving him from many  
 " Wounds. Myself received a Shot  
 " in the left Hip, through a suffi-  
 " cient buff Coat, that if I had not  
 " been supplied with such a Gar-

" ment, the Arrow would have  
 " pierced through me. Another I  
 " received between my Neck and  
 " Shoulders, hanging in the Linen  
 " of my Head-piece. Others of  
 " our Soldiers were shot, some  
 " through the Shoulders, some in  
 " the Face, some in the Head, some  
 " in the Legs. Capt. Mason and  
 " myself losing each of us a Man,  
 " and had near twenty wounded.  
 " Most courageously these Pequots  
 " behaved themselves. But seeing  
 " the Fort was too hot for us, we  
 " devised a Way how we might  
 " save ourselves and prejudice them.  
 " Capt. Mason entering into a *Wig-*  
 " *wam*, brought out a Firebrand,  
 " after he had wounded many in  
 " the House. Then he set Fire on  
 " the west Side where he entered.  
 " Myself set Fire on the south End  
 " with a Train of Powder. The  
 " Fires of both meeting in the  
 " Centre of the Fort, blazed most  
 " terribly, and burnt all in the Space  
 " Half an Hour. Many courage-



‘ where they slept their last; the Captain going  
 ‘ out of the Wigwams met with many of them  
 ‘ and put them to the Sword; in which Time of  
 ‘ Fight several English were wounded. Capt. *Ma-*  
 ‘ *son* perceiving his Men wounded, and the Enemy  
 ‘ not yet routed, saw Cause himself to go into a  
 ‘ Wigwam, and fetch out a Firebrand, and putting  
 ‘ it in one of the Mats with which the Wigwams  
 ‘ were covered; commanded one of his Souldiers  
 ‘ to throw some Powder upon it, which set the  
 ‘ Mat on Fire, which the Wind taking, it was  
 ‘ quickly thoroughly kindled, which made the In-  
 ‘ dians run as Men most dreadfully amazed.<sup>159</sup>

“ous Fellows were unwilling to  
 “come out, and fought most def-  
 “perately through the Palifadoes,  
 “so as they were scorched and  
 “burnt with the very Flame, and  
 “were deprived of their Arms—in  
 “regard the Fire burnt their very  
 “Bowstrings—and so perished val-  
 “iantly. Mercy they did deserve  
 “for their Valour, could we have  
 “had Opportunity to have bestow-  
 “ed it. Many were burnt in the  
 “Fort, both Men, Women and  
 “Children. Others forced [their  
 “Way] out, and came in Troops  
 “to the Indians, twenty and thirty  
 “at a Time, which our Soldiers  
 “received and entertained with the  
 “Point of the Sword. Down fell  
 “Men, Women and Children;  
 “those that escaped us fell into the  
 “Hands of the Indians that were  
 “in the Rear of us. It is reported  
 “by themselves, that there were  
 “about four hundred Souls in this  
 “Fort, and not above five of them  
 “escaped out of our Hands. Great

“and doleful was the bloody Sight  
 “to the View of young Soldiers  
 “that never had been in War, to  
 “see so many Souls lie gasping on  
 “the Ground, so thick in some  
 “Places that you could hardly pass  
 “along.” *Underbill.*

“But this is very remarkable, one  
 “of them being wounded to Death, a  
 “Thrust thorow the Neck with a  
 “Halbert, yet after all, lying groan-  
 “ing upon the Ground, he caught  
 “the Halberts Speare [Blade] in  
 “his Hand, and wound it quite  
 “round.” *Johnson, W. Prov., 115.*

<sup>159</sup> Mr. Allen has taken great  
 Liberties with the Original, and his  
 Liberty with this important Part of  
 the Narrative is intolerable. I there-  
 fore extract the Paragraph as Prince  
 has given it in the Words of *Mason* :  
 “Whereupon Capt. *Mason*, seeing  
 “no Indians, entered a Wigwam,  
 “where he was beset with many  
 “Indians, waiting all Opportunities  
 “to lay Hands on him, but could

‘ And indeed such a dreadful Terror did the  
 ‘ Almighty let fall upon their Spirits, that they  
 ‘ would fly from the Sword, and cast themselves  
 ‘ into the very Flames, where many of them per-  
 ‘ ished.<sup>160</sup>

“ not prevail. At length William  
 “ Heydon espying the Breach in  
 “ the Wigwam, supposing some  
 “ English might be there entred;  
 “ but in his Entrance fell over a  
 “ dead Indian; but speedily recover-  
 “ ing himself, the Indians, some fled,  
 “ others crept under their Beds:  
 “ The Captain, going out of the  
 “ Wigwam, saw many Indians in  
 “ the Lane or Street; he making  
 “ towards them, they fled, were  
 “ pursued to the End of the Lane,  
 “ where they were met by Edward  
 “ Pattison, Thomas Barber, with  
 “ some others, where seven of them  
 “ were slain, as they said. The  
 “ Captain facing about, marched a  
 “ slow Pace up the Lane, he came  
 “ down, perceiving himself very  
 “ much out of Breath, and coming  
 “ to the other End near the Place  
 “ where he first entred, saw two  
 “ Soldiers standing close to the Pal-  
 “ lizado with their Swords pointed  
 “ to the Ground: The Captain  
 “ told them that we should never  
 “ kill them after that Manner:  
 “ The Captain also said ‘ We must  
 “ burn them;’ and immediately  
 “ stepping into the Wigwam where  
 “ he had been before, brought out  
 “ a Firebrand, and putting it into the  
 “ Matts with which they were cov-  
 “ ered, set the Wigwams on Fire.  
 “ Lieut. Thomas Bull and Nicholas  
 “ Omsted beholding, came up; and

“ when it was thoroughly kindled,  
 “ the Indians ran as Men most  
 “ dreadfully amazed.”

<sup>160</sup> The following is Vincent’s  
 Account of the taking of the Fort:  
 “ The English went resolutely up  
 “ to the Door of the Fort. What!  
 “ shall we enter? said Capt. Under-  
 “ hill [This is denied by Under-  
 “ hill with an honest Soldiers em-  
 “ phasis.] What came we for else?  
 “ answered one Hedge a young  
 “ Northamptonshire Gentleman,  
 “ who advancing before the rest,  
 “ plucked away some Bushes and  
 “ entered. A stout Pequot en-  
 “ counters him; shoots his Arrow,  
 “ down to the Head into his right  
 “ Arm where it stuck. He flashed  
 “ the Salvage betwixt the Arm and  
 “ Shoulder, who pressing towards  
 “ the Door, was killed by the Eng-  
 “ lish. Immediately Master Hedge  
 “ encountered another, who per-  
 “ ceiving him upon him before he  
 “ could deliver his Arrow, gave  
 “ back; but he struck up his Heels,  
 “ and run him through. After him  
 “ he killed two or three more.  
 “ Then about Half the English en-  
 “ tered, fell on with Courage, and  
 “ slew many. But being straitened  
 “ for Room because of the Wig-  
 “ wams, (which are the Salvage  
 “ Huts or Cabins,) they called for  
 “ Fire to burn them. An English-

‘ The Fort being fired, the Captain commanded  
 ‘ that all should march out of the Fort, and sur-  
 ‘ round it; which was readily attended by all, only  
 ‘ one *Arthur Smith* was so wounded that he could  
 ‘ not move out of the Place, who was happily  
 ‘ espied by Lieut. *Tbo. Bull*, and by him rescued  
 ‘ from the Flames, which otherwise had consumed  
 ‘ him.

‘ The Fire was kindled on the Northeast Side to  
 ‘ Windward, which did swiftly overrun the whole  
 ‘ Fort, to the extream Amazement of the Enemy,  
 ‘ and great rejoicing of our Souldiers, some of the  
 ‘ Enemy climbed to the Top of the Pallizadoes,  
 ‘ where they were shot down, others gathered to  
 ‘ the windward Side of the Fort, and lay pelting at  
 ‘ our Men with their Arrows, who repaid them  
 ‘ with their small Shot, others of the stoutest issued  
 ‘ forth of the Fort, about fourty of them who fell  
 ‘ by the Sword.

‘ Capt. *Underhill* and those with him acted their  
 ‘ Parts in this Tragedy, especially one Mr. *Hedge*<sup>161</sup>

“ man stepped into a Wigwam, and  
 “ stooping for a Firebrand, an In-  
 “ dian was ready to knock out his  
 “ Brains; but he whipt out his  
 “ Sword and run him into the Belly,  
 “ that his Bowels followed. Then  
 “ were the Wigwams set on fire,” &c.

<sup>161</sup> Nothing seems to be known  
 of this “ Master Hedge,” further  
 than is reported by Vincent and  
 Mason. He is supposed to be a  
 Volunteer in the Expedition, as prob-  
 ably was Vincent also, though we

hear nothing of any Feats of the  
 latter. They were doubtless So-  
 journers in the Country for a short  
 Time only. Mason says, “ a val-  
 “ iant resolute Gentleman, one Mr.  
 “ Hedge, stepping towards the Gate,  
 “ said, ‘ If we may not enter,  
 “ wherefore came we here;’” thus  
 not corroborating what Vincent at-  
 tributed to Capt. Underhill. Mason  
 moreover says that the Indian which  
 Hedge encountered at his Entrance  
 was killed by him and Sergeant  
 Davis.

‘ who was the first that entred that Gate to which  
 ‘ Capt. *Underhill* led up; the Fire was no sooner  
 ‘ kindled but the Smoke and Flames were so  
 ‘ violent, that they were constrained to desert the  
 ‘ Fort and keep them in.

9 [33] ‘ Thus were they now at their Wits end,  
 ‘ who not many Hours before exalted themselves  
 ‘ in their great Pride, threatning and resolving the  
 ‘ utter Ruin and Destruction of all the English,  
 ‘ exulting and rejoicing with Songs and Dances;  
 ‘ but God was above them, who laughed his Ene-  
 ‘ myes, and the Enemyes of his People to Scorn,  
 ‘ making them as a fiery Oven; thus were the  
 ‘ stout hearted spoiled, having slept their last Sleep,  
 ‘ and none of their Men could find their Hands;  
 ‘ thus did the Lord judge among the Heathen, fill-  
 ‘ ing the Place with dead Bodies.

10 ‘ And here we may take Notice of God’s Judge-  
 ‘ ment upon this bloody Generation, in sending the  
 ‘ Night before the Assault an hundred and fifty  
 ‘ Men from their other Fort to join with this Fort,  
 ‘ who were designing (as some of themselves have  
 ‘ related) to go forth against the English at that  
 ‘ very Instant when this Stroke came upon them,  
 ‘ where the most of them perished with their Fel-  
 ‘ lows, so that the Mischiefe they intended against us  
 ‘ came upon themselves; they were taken in their  
 ‘ own Snare and we through the Mercy of God  
 ‘ escaped. And thus in little more than one Hours  
 ‘ Space was their impregnable *Fort* with themselves  
 ‘ utterly destroyed, to the Number of *five* or *six*  
 ‘ hundred, as hath been confessed by the *Pequots*

‘ who escaped. There were seven taken captive,  
 ‘ and about *eight* escaped; and *of the English* there  
 ‘ were *two slain*<sup>162</sup> outright and above *twenty wounded*.  
 ‘ Some of our Souldiers fainted for Want of such  
 ‘ Comforts and Necessaries as were needful in such  
 ‘ a Case. The Chyrurgion<sup>163</sup> was much wanted,  
 ‘ who was left with the Barks in Narraganset Bay,  
 ‘ with Order there to remain until the Night be-  
 ‘ fore they intended to Assault.

‘ And thereupon grew many Difficultyes amongst  
 ‘ the Army, their Provision and Ammunition being  
 ‘ neer spent, and they in the Enemyes Country,  
 ‘ who did far exceed them in Numbers, being  
 ‘ much enraged, and most of our Indian Friends  
 ‘ having left them, and our Pinacnes a great Dif-  
 ‘ tince from them, and their coming uncertain.

‘ But as they were consulting what Course to  
 ‘ take, it pleased God to discover our Vessels to  
 ‘ them under a fair Gale of Wind sailing into the  
 ‘ *Pequot* Harbour, to their great rejoicing.

‘ They had no sooner discovered our Vessels,  
 ‘ but immediately came up the Enemy from the  
 ‘ other Fort, about three hundred of them. Capt.  
 ‘ *Mason* led forth a File or two of Men to skirmish

<sup>162</sup> “ One of them by our own  
 “ Muskets, as is thought.” *Vincent*,  
 38. “ In little more than an Hour  
 “ betwixt three and four hundred  
 “ of them weree killed.” *Ibid.*  
 Mason sets the Number slain at “ six  
 “ or seven hundred,” while Gardiner  
 rates the killed at three hundred.

bably Thomas Pell, who came over  
 in 1635, in the Hopewell; and  
 went with Lt. Lyon Gardiner to  
 Saybrook. “ Our Chirurgeon,” says  
 Underhill, “ not accustomed to  
 “ War, durst not hazard himself  
 “ where we ventured our Lives, but  
 “ like a fresh water Soldier, kept  
 “ aboard.” Farmer seems not to  
 have found this Person.

<sup>163</sup> This “ Chyrurgion ” was pro-

‘ with them, which stopt their Carrier, and put  
 ‘ them to a Stand, and then they prepared to march  
 ‘ towards our Vessels, but four or five of our Men  
 ‘ were so wounded that they were fain to be car-  
 ‘ ried, with the Armes of about twenty more which  
 ‘ took up so many of the Souldiers, that there was  
 ‘ not above forty [34] Men free, but at length they  
 ‘ hired severall Indians to carry the wounded Men,  
 ‘ who eased them of that Burthen, and carried their  
 ‘ wounded Men for them.

‘ And when the Souldiers had marched about a  
 ‘ Quarter of a Mile, the Enemy come to the Place  
 ‘ where the Fort had stood, and when they beheld  
 ‘ the Runies thereof, and the Carcases of their  
 ‘ Friends lye some upon the Earth, others scorched  
 ‘ and some almost consumed with the Fire, they  
 ‘ stamped and tore the Hair from their Heads, and  
 ‘ ran mouting down the Hill in their full Carrear  
 ‘ and the Loss they met withal made them wary  
 ‘ not to come near.

‘ The Souldiers then meeting with a small Brook  
 ‘ at the foot of the Hil being very dry, sat down  
 ‘ and refreshed themselves, the Enemy being grown  
 ‘ by this Time so wary they durst not come too  
 ‘ neer, to disturb them.

‘ Then they marched on towards *Pequot* Har-  
 ‘ bour, and meeting with severall Wigwams in the  
 ‘ Way they burnt them; the Enemy followed  
 ‘ them, and some lay in Ambush behind Rocks and  
 ‘ Trees, often shooting at them, yet God so covered  
 ‘ them, that not one of them was hurt, and when  
 ‘ they came to any Swamp or Thicket, they made

‘ some Shot, and cleared a Passage, and some of the  
 ‘ Enemy fell, which our Indians seeing, would  
 ‘ give a great Shout and then venture to fetch  
 ‘ their Heads,<sup>164</sup> and thus they continued, till they  
 ‘ came within two Miles of Pequot Harbour,  
 ‘ where the Enemy gathered themfelves together,  
 ‘ and left our Army; they marched on to the Top  
 ‘ of an Hill adjoining to the Harbour, with their  
 ‘ Colours flying, (as for their Drum, it was loft,<sup>165</sup>  
 ‘ or at least left by their Drummer at the Place  
 ‘ where they kept their Rendezvouze the Night  
 ‘ before) where they saw our Veffels riding at An-  
 ‘ chor to their great Rejoicing, and when they had  
 ‘ marched to the Water Side, there they fat down  
 ‘ in Quiet.

‘ Capt. *Patrick*<sup>166</sup> being there arrived (with our  
 ‘ Veffels) with forty Men fent by the *Massachusetts*  
 ‘ Colony upon fome Service againft the Block  
 ‘ Iflanders or *Pequots*, came to the Shore in a  
 ‘ Shallop, with fome of his Men, as he faid, to  
 ‘ refcue our Army, fupposing they had been pur-

<sup>164</sup> “The Indians that then affifted  
 “ the English, waiting the Fall of  
 “ the Pequets, (as the Dog watcheth  
 “ the Shot of the Fowler, to fetch  
 “ the Prey,) ftill fetched them their  
 “ Heads.” *Vincent*, 38.

“ Reason why the English wanted  
 “ Amunition was, becaufe they had  
 “ left that which they had for ftore,  
 “ with the Drum, at the Place of  
 “ their Confultation; but found it  
 “ in their Return.” *Vincent*.

<sup>165</sup> Mafon fays nothing about the  
 Drum being loft. He fays it was  
 left at the Place of their laft En-  
 campment. The Reason it was left  
 is obvious. They had no Ufe for  
 it. Every Man was wanted to wield  
 the Weapons of Deftruction. “The

<sup>166</sup> Daniel Patrick. He marched  
 by Land to Providence, and arrived  
 in the Neighborhood of Mafon and  
 Underhill’s Veffels juft in Time to  
 get on board, and go round in them  
 to meet the victorious Forces. The  
 Time he marched is not mentioned.

‘ fued, although there did appear no Sign of any  
‘ fuch Thing.<sup>167</sup>

‘ But Capt. Patrick could not be prevailed with  
‘ by any Means to venture himself on Shore while  
‘ our wounded Men were carried on board, which  
‘ was troublefome, not only to our Souldiers, but  
‘ to his own Men also, who manifested their dif-  
‘ like of his Carriage; at length our Men were  
‘ fetched aboard our Veffels, to the great rejoicing  
‘ of their Friends, where they did with one Heart  
‘ blefs the Lord for his Mercy and Goodnefs unto  
‘ them.

[35] ‘ I might here relate a Conteft that fel out  
‘ between Capt. *Underhill* and Cap. *Patrick*, about  
‘ Capt. *Underhill's* claiming an Intereft in the Bark  
‘ in which Capt. *Patrick* failed, which by the  
‘ Mediation of Capt. *Mafon* was iffued,<sup>168</sup> and that  
‘ being the Place of *Randezvouze*, where Veffels  
‘ were expected from the *Massachusets*, it was  
‘ agreed that Capt. *Patrick* fhould there ride in  
‘ that Bark, and feure the *Narraganfet* Indians  
‘ until our Veffel could carry our wounded Men  
‘ to *Seybrook*, and our *Pink* return to carry home  
‘ the *Narraganfet* Indians.

<sup>167</sup> Both *Mafon* and *Underhill* feem to have looked upon *Patrick* with Contempt or Envy; and fo far as can now be perceived, without Caufe. *Patrick* feems to have done his Duty like a good Soldier; not arriving in Time to be at the taking of the Fort was not his Fault, and had the Attack refulted unfavorably *Mafon* would have been

feverely and juftly cenfured for attacking without the coöperation of *Patrick* who was clofe at hand.

<sup>168</sup> The Particulars are in the original *Mafon*, but being of flight Intereft, hardly call for a Note, further than to direct Attention to the falfe Manner of dealing with the Work of *Mafon* by the Copyift.



‘ After this Agreement, Capt. *Underhill* fet Sail  
 ‘ for *Seybrook* in our Bark, but before he was out of  
 ‘ Sight, Capt. *Patrick* signified by writing to Capt.  
 ‘ *Mason* that he could not attend that Service he  
 ‘ had engaged for he must with his Company wait  
 ‘ at *Seybrook*, for some Veffels he expected from the  
 ‘ Bay,<sup>169</sup> advising Capt. *Mason* seeing he had ob-  
 ‘ tained the Honour of that Service, he would  
 ‘ compleat it in securing the *Narraganfet* Indians,  
 ‘ &c. Which indeed was a hard Task and difficult;  
 ‘ for the Pink could not entertain them, and to  
 ‘ march by Land was dangerous, it being near  
 ‘ twenty Miles, and in the Enemies Country, and  
 ‘ their Numbers being small; for they had sent  
 ‘ home about twenty Men to help strengthen the  
 ‘ Plantations on *Connecticut*, for Fear of the *Pequods*  
 ‘ invading of them, but at last, seeing they were  
 ‘ necessitated to march to *Seybrook* by Land, they  
 ‘ went Ashoar with the Indians, and began their  
 ‘ March; Capt. *Patrick* seeing what they were  
 ‘ about, came Ashoar also with his Men; and  
 ‘ although Capt. *Mason* told him he did not delight  
 ‘ in his Company, yet he would and did march  
 ‘ along with them.

‘ In this March about the Midway between that  
 ‘ and *Seybrook*, they fell upon a People called *Nian-*  
 ‘ *ticks*,<sup>170</sup> belonging to the *Pequots*, who fled to a

<sup>169</sup> The Force dispatched under Capt. Israel Stoughton, which could not be got ready until after Patrick had left, as will be seen.

<sup>170</sup> Afterwards this Tribe appear

to have ignored their Pequot Origin, and become, by Intermarriages with the Narragansets, and having joined them against the Pequots, a Part of them. See *Book Inds.*, 131. Nini-gret was their Chief.

‘ Swamp for Refuge; but when they heard or saw  
 ‘ this small Troop they fled, who pursued them  
 ‘ awhile by their Tracks as long as they kept to-  
 ‘ gether; but the Day being much spent, Sabbath  
 ‘ drawing on, and themselves much spent with  
 ‘ their former Travel, and Service, they left their  
 ‘ Pursuit, and marched on towards *Seybrook*,  
 ‘ and about Sun-set they arrived by *Connecticut*  
 ‘ River side; where they were welcomed by Leuit.  
 ‘ *Gardner*, with many great Gunns, but were forced  
 ‘ there to take up their Quarters that Night. On  
 ‘ the Morrow Morning they were all fetched over,  
 ‘ where they kept the Sabbath, and were nobly en-  
 ‘ tertained by Leivt. *Gardner*, from whom they  
 ‘ received meny Courtesies.

‘ And when they had taken Order for the safe  
 ‘ Conduct of the *Narraganset* Indians to their  
 ‘ Country, Capt. *Mason* with his Men returned to  
 ‘ *Connecticut*, the Place of their abode, where they  
 ‘ were entertained with [36] great Triumph and  
 ‘ Rejoycing and Praising of God, for his Goodness  
 ‘ to us in succeeding our Endeavours, in crowning  
 ‘ them with Success, and in restoring our small  
 ‘ Army with so little Loss.

‘ Thus was God seen in the Mount, crushing  
 ‘ his proud Enemies, and the Enemies of his People,  
 ‘ so that they who were ere while a Terror to all  
 ‘ that were round about them, who resolved to de-  
 ‘ stroy all the English, and to root their very Name  
 ‘ out of this Country, were by weak Meanes<sup>171</sup> thus

<sup>171</sup>“ Even seventy seven—there *Omission of the Transcriber.* Why  
 “ being no more at the Fort.”— such an Omission?

' vanquished and destroyed, and the Mischief they  
 ' plotted, and the Violence they offered, was brought  
 ' on their own Heads in a Moment: for the Lord  
 ' burnt them up in the Fire of his Wrath, and  
 ' dunged the Ground with their Flesh, it was the  
 ' Lords doing, and it was marvelous in our Eyes.  
 ' It is he that hath made His Work wonderful, and  
 ' and therefore ought to be remembered.

' Suddenly after this, the whole Body of the  
 ' remaining *Pequots* repaired to that Fort where  
 ' *Sassacous* the chief Sachim did reside, and charged  
 ' him that he was the only Cause of all their  
 ' Troubles that befel them, and therefore they  
 ' would destroy both him and his; yet by the  
 ' Entreaty of his Counsellors, they spared his Life;  
 ' consulting what Course to take, concluded there  
 ' was no Abiding any longer in their Country, and  
 ' so resolved to fly into several Parts. The greatest  
 ' Body of them went towards *Manadus*,<sup>172</sup> and in  
 ' their Passage over *Connecticut* River, they met  
 ' with three Englishmen in a Shallop going for  
 ' *Seybrook*, and fought them, who resisted them  
 ' stoutly, and killed and wounded many of them,  
 ' but their Shallop falling on Ground they were all  
 ' three slain.<sup>173</sup>

<sup>172</sup> *Manbatance*, in Prince's Ma-  
 son. *Manhattan*, where the City  
 of New York is now.

<sup>173</sup> I have not been fortunate  
 enough to meet with the Names of  
 these Sufferers. One of the Pequot  
 Murderers of them was named *Pa-*

*metfick*. The three Men were going  
 in a Boat for Clay. One was killed,  
 the other two were tortured, but in  
 what Manner is not known—pro-  
 bably by burning them to Death in  
 a slow Fire. See R. Williams in  
*Mafs. Historical Collections*, 36,  
 230-1.

‘ About a Fortnight after our Souldiers were  
 ‘ returned Home from Mistick Fight, we heard of  
 ‘ the Arrival of several Vessels from the *Massachu-*  
 ‘ *setts Colony* in *Pequot* River; Capt. *Israell Stough-*  
 ‘ *ton* being Commander in chief, and with him  
 ‘ about 120 Men, who were sent by that Colony  
 ‘ to prosecute the War against the *Pequots*; and  
 ‘ although the main Body of the *Pequots* were fled,  
 ‘ yet some Straglers remained in that Country,  
 ‘ some of whom were discovered by the *Mobeags*,  
 ‘ and by them discovered to the *Massachusetts*  
 ‘ Forces, by whom they were both surpris’d and  
 ‘ taken, and several of which, to the Number of  
 ‘ about twenty three, were put to Death; the Rest  
 ‘ were sent to the Bay.<sup>174</sup>

‘ The Colony of *Conneticut* hereupon sent forth  
 ‘ Capt. *Mason* again with forty Men, as also several  
 ‘ Gentlemen, (as the Honour’d *John Haines* and

174 For an Account of the Operations of the *Massachusetts* Troops we must recur to Hubbard. The above Paragraph is far more comprehensive than the corresponding one in *Mason*, and *Hubbard* has Facts not in either. His Paragraph runs thus: “It was not long after Capt. *Stoughton*’s Soldiers came up, before News was brought of a great Number of the Enemy, that were discovered by the Side of a River up the Country, being first trepanned by the *Narhagansets*, under Pretence of securing them, but they were truly hemmed in by them, though at a Distance, yet so as they could not or durst not stir from the Place, by which

“ Means our Forces of the *Massachusetts* had an easie Conquest of some hundreds of them, who were there coup’d up as in a Pound; not daring to fight, not able to fly away, and so were all taken without any Opposition: the Men among them to the Number of thirty were turn’d presently into *Charrons* Ferry boat, under the Command of *Skipper Gallop*, who dispatched them a little without of the Harbour; the Females and Children were dispos’d of according to the Will of the Conquerors, some being given to the *Narhagansets* and other Indians that assisted in the Service.”—*Narrative*, 127.

‘ Roger Ludlow, Esqrs.) to meet with those of the  
 ‘ *Massachusetts* to consult and determine what was  
 ‘ farther necessary to be attended. Who meeting  
 ‘ with those of the *Massachusetts* in the *Pequot*  
 ‘ Harbour [37] after Consultation, concluded to  
 ‘ pursue the *Pequots* (who as you heard before  
 ‘ were fled towards the *Menados*) and so began  
 ‘ their March after them, and discovered several  
 ‘ Places where they had rendezvowed and lodged  
 ‘ not far distant one from the other, for they could  
 ‘ make but little Haste, by Reason of their ancient  
 ‘ People and Children, and their Want of Provi-  
 ‘ sion, being forced to gather Clams, and such other  
 ‘ Things as the Wilderiness afforded for their Relief.

‘ The Vessels sailed along by the Shore. In the  
 ‘ March some were gleaned, but within the Space  
 ‘ of three Dayes, or thereabouts, they arrived at a  
 ‘ Place then called *Quinipiag* (now *New Haven*)  
 ‘ and there espying a great Smoke in the Woods,  
 ‘ not far distant, supposing the *Pequots* might be  
 ‘ there, they went to discover them; but they  
 ‘ quickly discovered them to be Connecticut Indi-  
 ‘ ans. From them they sent a *Pequot* Captive  
 ‘ (whom they named *Luz*) upon Discovery, who  
 ‘ brought them Tidings of the Enemy which  
 ‘ proved real.

‘ The *Pequots* were so terrified in their Flight,  
 ‘ that a *Mobeag* Indian (named *Jack Eaton*) meet-  
 ‘ ing in this Pursuit with three *Pequots*, took two  
 ‘ of them and brought them to the English.

‘ But to return, they having Tidings where the

‘ *Pequots* were, haftned towards the Place where  
 ‘ they heard they were, and at laft coming into a  
 ‘ Corn Field, feveral of the Englifh efpied fome  
 ‘ Indians, who fled from them. They purfued  
 ‘ them, and coming to the top of an Hill, faw  
 ‘ feveral Wigwams juft oppofite, only a Swamp  
 ‘ intervening, which was almoft divided in two  
 ‘ Parts. One Serjeant *Palmor* haftning with about  
 ‘ twelve Men (who were then under his Com-  
 ‘ mand) to furround the fmaller Part of the Swamp,  
 ‘ that fo he might prevent the Indians flying.  
 ‘ But Lieut. *Davenport*, Serjeant *Jefferyes* &c. going  
 ‘ up to the *Wigwams* were there affaulted by the  
 ‘ Indians. In this Skirmifh the Englifh flew but  
 ‘ few, two or three of themfelves were wounded,  
 ‘ the Reft of their Army coming up, the Swamp  
 ‘ was furrounded.<sup>175</sup>

‘ Their Council being called, the Queftion was  
 ‘ propounded how they fhould proceed? Capt.  
 ‘ *Patrick* advised that they fhould cut down the  
 ‘ Swamp, (they having taken many Indian Hatch-  
 ‘ ets.) Others propounded to hedge in the Swamp,  
 ‘ which others judged would be to no Purpofe,  
 ‘ and therefore ftrongly oppofed it. Some other  
 ‘ advised to Force the Swamp, having Time enough

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<sup>175</sup> The *Pequots* “ flying into a “ they faw Opportunity they made  
 “ very thick Swamp, being unac- “ Shot with their Arrows at the  
 “ ceffible, by Reason of the boggy “ Englifh, and then fuddenly they  
 “ Holes of Water, and thick Bufhes; “ would fall flat along in the Water  
 “ the Englifh drawing up their “ to defend themfelves from the re-  
 “ Company belagereed the Swamp, “ talliation of the Souldiers Muf-  
 “ and the Indians in the mean Time “ kets.” *Wond. Work. Providences*,  
 “ fkulking up and down, and as Page 115.

‘ (it being about three a Clock in the Afternoon),  
 ‘ but that being opposed, it was then prouounded  
 ‘ that the Men should be drawn up close to the  
 ‘ Swamp, which would have leined the Circum-  
 ‘ ference, and then to fill up the open Passages with  
 ‘ Bushes, that so they might secure them till the  
 ‘ Morning, and then consider farther about it. But  
 ‘ neither of these would pass, so different [38] were  
 ‘ their Apprehensions, which was very griveous to  
 ‘ some, who concluded that the Indians would  
 ‘ make an Escape in the Night, as easily they might,  
 ‘ and did, the Swamp being large and their Num-  
 ‘ bers being so small that they were forced to stand  
 ‘ at a great Distance one from another, which  
 ‘ made their Escape more easie.

‘ Capt. *Mason* took Order that the narrow Pas-  
 ‘ sage in the Swamp should be cut through, which  
 ‘ should much shorten the League, which was ac-  
 ‘ cordingly attended and resolutely performed by  
 ‘ Serjeant *Davis* and some others with him.<sup>176</sup>

<sup>176</sup> Johnson says the Decision upon a Plan of Dealing with the enswamped Indians was arrived at by the following Circumstance: “Some of the English spyed an Indian with a Kettle at his Back going more inwardly into the Swamp, by which they perceived there was some Place of firm Land in the midst thereof, which caused them to make Way for the Passage of their Souldiers which brought this Warre to a Period.” *Wond. Work. Prov.*; *ibid.* P. 116.

In the Pursuit of the Enemy the

following remarkable Feat, according to Johnson, occurred: “As the Souldiers were upon their March, close by a great Thicket, where no Eye could penetrate farre, some Souldiers lingering behinde their Fellowes, two Indians watching their Opportunity, when they supposed the last Man was come up, who kept a double, double, double Distance in his March, they sudden and swiftly snatched him up, hoising him upon their Shoulders, ran into the Swamp with him. The Souldier strove

‘ Mr. *Thomas Stanton*<sup>177</sup> a Man well acquainted  
 ‘ with the Indians Language and Manners, per-  
 ‘ ceiving the Counsell of War loth to destroy Wo-  
 ‘ men and Children, (as also the Indians of that  
 ‘ Place) freely offered his Service to go into the  
 ‘ Swamp and treat with them, which the Council  
 ‘ were somewhat backward to, by Reason of some  
 ‘ Hazard he might be exposd to, but his Impor-  
 ‘ tunity prevailed, who going to them did in a  
 ‘ short Time come to the Council with near 200  
 ‘ old Men, Women and Children, who delivered

“ to free himself; but like a care-  
 “ full Commander, one Captaine  
 “ Davenport, then Lieutenant of  
 “ this Company, being diligent in  
 “ his Place to bring up the Reare,  
 “ coming up with them, followed  
 “ with Speed into the Swamp after  
 “ him, having a very severe Cutlace  
 “ tyed to his Wrist, and being well  
 “ able to make it Bite fore when he  
 “ fet it on, resolving to make it fall  
 “ foul on the Indians Bones, he  
 “ soone overtook them, but was  
 “ prevented by the Buckler they  
 “ held up from hitting them, which  
 “ was the Man they had taken: It  
 “ was Matter of much Wonder to  
 “ see with what Dexterity they  
 “ hurled the poore Souldier about,  
 “ as if they had been handling a  
 “ Lacedæmonian Shield; so that the  
 “ nimble Captaine Davenport could  
 “ not, of a long Time, fasten one  
 “ Stroke upon them; yet at last  
 “ they cast downe their Prey, and  
 “ hasted through the Thickets for  
 “ their Lives. The Souldier thus  
 “ redeemed, had no such hard

“ Usage, but that he is alive, as I  
 “ suppose, at this very Day.” [1654.]  
*Wond. Work. Prov.*, 116. See also  
*Hubbard*, 129, who says “Lieut.  
 “ Davenport was forely wounded  
 “ in the Body, John Wedgwood of  
 “ Ipswich in the Belly, was laid  
 “ hold on also by some of the In-  
 “ dians.” He was probably the  
*Buckler* above mentioned by John-  
 son. At the same Time Thomas  
 Sherman, also of Ipswich, was  
 wounded. “Others were in much  
 “ Hazard of being swallowed by  
 “ the miery Bogs of the Swamp,  
 “ wherein they stuck so fast, that if  
 “ Serjeant Rigs of Roxbury had  
 “ not rescued two or three of them,  
 “ they had fallen into the Hands  
 “ of the Enemy.” *Ibid.*

<sup>177</sup> We first hear of this import-  
 ant Personage by Licut. Gardiner.  
 He came to Saybrook in 1636, as  
 an Interpreter; is probably the  
 Thomas Stanton who sailed from  
 England for Virginia the Year be-  
 fore. How he became Master of



‘ themselves to the Mercy of the English, most of  
 ‘ which brought their small Present with them, and  
 ‘ laid it down before the Councill. Now Night  
 ‘ drawing on, they did beleaguer the Swamp as  
 ‘ strongly as they could.

‘ But above Halfe an Hour before Day the In-  
 ‘ dians that were in the Swamp, attempted to break  
 ‘ through Capt. *Patricks* Quarters, but were beaten  
 ‘ back severall Times. They made a great Noife,  
 ‘ as their Manner is at such Times, which sounded  
 ‘ round about the Leaguer; Capt. *Mason* sent Serjeant  
 ‘ *Stares*<sup>178</sup> to assist those against whom the *Pequots*  
 ‘ pressed to come out by, at which Time also Capt.  
 ‘ *Trask* came in to their Assistance, but the Tumult  
 ‘ encreasing, the Siege was raised, and they marching  
 ‘ up to a Place at a Turning of the Swamp, the  
 ‘ Indians were forcing out upon them, but they

the Indian Language does not appear. He settled in Stonington, and died in 1678, leaving a Wife and some nine Children. In all Troubles and Controversies between the English and Indians Mr. Stanton was depended upon to interpret between them, yet at one Time the Indians greatly distrusted him; believing that he interpreted against them. He was said to have been “grossly deluded” by the wily Wequaf-chuck, “the Man (to my Knowledge) that sheltered Audsah, the “Murtherer of Mr. Oldham.” R. Williams in *Majs. Hist. Colls.*, 36, 208, 216, 234, 246. Williams also says that Stanton was “grossly coufend and deluded by Wequaf-chuck, a Nayantaquit Sachim, as

“himself confest to me at my  
 “Howse.” *Ibid.*, 208. Wequaf-  
 chuck had married the Mother of  
 Safacous. Genealogical Matters  
 among Indians must have been very  
 uncertain. Numerous are the De-  
 scendants of Thomas Stanton at this  
 Day. Miss Caulkins has laid them  
 under many Obligations in this Be-  
 half. See her invaluable *History of  
 New London*, 296, and elsewhere.  
 Hubbard says “he was an exact  
 “Interpreter.”

<sup>178</sup> Perhaps a Misprint, as I do not find the Name of *Stares* in any of our Records; yet Prince has the same Spelling in his Edition of *Mason*. Savage does not include him in his great Dictionary.

‘ fired upon them, and sent them back by their  
 ‘ small Shot. Then they waited a little for their  
 ‘ second Attempt, but the Indians facing about,  
 ‘ and pressing violently upon Capt. *Patricks* Quar-  
 ‘ ters, brake through, and so escaped about seventy  
 ‘ of them, as the Indians informed; the Swamp was  
 ‘ searched; there were but few found slain. The  
 ‘ Captives that were taken were about an hundred  
 ‘ and eighty, which were divided between the two  
 ‘ Colonies, and they intended to keep them as Ser-  
 ‘ vants, but they could not endure the Yoke, for  
 ‘ few of them continued any considerable Time  
 ‘ with their Masters.<sup>179</sup>

‘ Thus did the Lord scatter his Enemyes with  
 ‘ his strong Arm.

‘ The *Pequots* now become a Prey to all Indians:  
 ‘ happy were they [39] that could bring in their  
 ‘ Heads to the English, of which there came almost  
 ‘ dayly to *Windsor* or *Hartford*; but the *Pequots*  
 ‘ growing weary hereof, sent some of the Chief  
 ‘ that survived to mediate with the English, offer-  
 ‘ ing that if they might but enjoy their Lives, they  
 ‘ would become the English Vassals, to dispose of  
 ‘ them as they pleased.

‘ Whereupon *Uncas* and *Miantonimo* were sent  
 ‘ for, who with the *Pequots* met at *Hartford*; the  
 ‘ *Pequots* being demanded, how many of them  
 ‘ were then living, they answered about an hundred  
 ‘ and eighty or two hundred; Then were there  
 ‘ granted to *Uncas* Sachim of *Mobeag* eighty, and

<sup>179</sup> Hubbard says the Swamp was Fairfield or Stratford now stands.  
 a hideous one near the Place where *Indian Wars*, 129.

‘ to *Miantonimo* Sachim of *Narraganset* eighty, and  
 ‘ to *Ninnicraft* twenty Men, when he should satisfy  
 ‘ for a Mare of *Elwood Pomeryes*, killed by some of  
 ‘ his Men; The *Pequots* likewise were by Cove-  
 ‘ nant bound, that they should no more inhabit  
 ‘ their native Countrey; nor should any of them be  
 ‘ called *Pequots* but *Mobeags* and *Narragansets* for  
 ‘ ever; Shortly after about forty of them went to  
 ‘ *Mobeag*, others went to Long Island, others set-  
 ‘ tled at *Parwcatuck*, a Place in the *Pequot* Country,  
 ‘ contrary to their Covenant and Agreement with  
 ‘ the English so lately made, which *Connecticut* ta-  
 ‘ king into Consideration, and well weighing the  
 ‘ Inconveniencies that might ensue; for the Preven-  
 ‘ tion whereof, they sent forth forty Men under  
 ‘ the Command of Capt. *Mason*, to supplant them  
 ‘ by burning their Wigwams, and bringing away  
 ‘ their Corn, except they would desert the Place:  
 ‘ *Uncas* with about one hundred of his Men in  
 ‘ twenty Cannoes also went to assist them in the  
 ‘ Service; as they sailed into *Parwcatuck* Bay, they  
 ‘ met with three of those Indians whom they  
 ‘ sent to inform the Rest with the End of their  
 ‘ coming, and also to tell them that they desired to  
 ‘ speak with them or some of them, they promised  
 ‘ to do the Message, and speedily to return; but  
 ‘ they forgot to keep their Word for they came  
 ‘ not.

‘ Then they went up into the River in their Ves-  
 ‘ sel, but by Reason of Flats were forced to land  
 ‘ on the west Side of the River, their Wigwams  
 ‘ being on the east Side, just opposite; where they

‘ saw the Indians running up and down, jesting at  
‘ them.

‘ Then they landed, and went up into a narrow  
‘ Place in the River between two Rocks, where  
‘ they drew up the Indian Cannooes, and got sud-  
‘ denly over the River, sooner than they were  
‘ expected, and marched up to the *Wigwams*, where  
‘ the Indians were all fled, except some old People  
‘ that could not.

‘ They were so suddenly upon them, that they  
‘ had not Time to convey away their Goods.  
‘ There was plenty of Corn, it being the Time of  
‘ Harvest, [40] and when they had viewed it, they  
‘ were passing to the Water side to the Pinnance,  
‘ Half of *Uncas* his Men being with them, the rest  
‘ were plundering the Wigwams; and as they were  
‘ marching they looked behind them, and saw  
‘ about sixty Indians running towards them, untill  
‘ they came within forty Paces of the Indians, then  
‘ they ran and met them, and fell on *pell mell*,  
‘ striking and cutting with Bowes and Hatchets  
‘ and Knives, &c., after their feeble Manner. In-  
‘ deed it did not deserve the Name of Fighting.  
‘ They then endeavoured to get between the In-  
‘ dians and the Woods, that so they might prevent  
‘ their flying, which the Indians perceived and  
‘ endeavoured speedily to get away under the Beach,  
‘ but our Men made no Shot at them, but they laid  
‘ hold on about seven of them, who were *Ninni-*  
‘ *crafts* Men, who grew very outrageous; the Cap-  
‘ tain told them if they were not quiet they should  
‘ be made shorter by the Head; and when they

' were going to put it into Execution, *Otafb* Sachim  
 ' of *Narraganfet*, and Brother to *Miantonimo*, step-  
 ' ped forth to Capt. *Mason*, and told him, those Men  
 ' whom he was going to execute were his Brothers  
 ' Men, who was a Friend to the English, and if  
 ' their Lives might be spared, he would engage to  
 ' deliver so many Murtherers Heads in lieu of them  
 ' to the English; The Captain granted his Desire,  
 ' and the Men were delivered to *Uncas* to be secured  
 ' till *Otafb* his Engagement was performed.

' Then they drew up their Bark into a Creek  
 ' the better to defend her, there being some hun-  
 ' dreds of Indians within five Miles, waiting their  
 ' Motion.

' But there they quartered that Night. In the  
 ' Morning as soon as it was Light, there appeared  
 ' in Arms at least *three hundred Indians* on the other  
 ' Side the Creek, upon which the Captain com-  
 ' manded his Men to stand to their Armes, which  
 ' the Indians perceiving, some of them fled, others  
 ' crept behind the Rocks and Trees, not one of  
 ' them were to be seen.

' They then called to them, saying, they desired  
 ' to speak with them, and that they would lay  
 ' down their Armes for that End, whereupon they  
 ' stood up: The Captain told them that the *Pe-*  
 ' quots had violated their Promise and Covenant  
 ' with the English, in that they were not there to  
 ' inhabit, and that he was sent to supplant them;  
 ' the Indians answered, the *Pequots* were good Men,  
 ' their Friends, and they would fight for them and  
 ' protect them; which Words moved the Captain,

‘ who told them it was not far to the Head of the  
 ‘ Creek, where he would meet them, and then they  
 ‘ might try what they could do ; [41] The Indians  
 ‘ replied, *they would not fight with Englishmen, for*  
 ‘ *they were Spirits* ;<sup>180</sup> but they would fight with *Un-*  
 ‘ *cas*. The Captain told them that he thought it was  
 ‘ too early for them to fight ; but they might take  
 ‘ their Opportunity and fight when they saw Cause,  
 ‘ for they should be burning their Wigwams,  
 ‘ and carrying their Corn aboard all that Day, and  
 ‘ presently caused the Drum to be beat up, and  
 ‘ fired their Wigwams in their View. But as they  
 ‘ marched along, there stood two Indians upon an  
 ‘ Hill jeering and reviling of them ; Mr. *Stanton*  
 ‘ the Interpreter marching at Liberty, desired leave  
 ‘ of the Captain to make a Shot at them ; the  
 ‘ Captain demanded of the Indians, who they were ;  
 ‘ they answered that they were Murtherers ; the  
 ‘ Captain then gave Mr. *Stanton* leave to make a  
 ‘ Shot at them, who did so, and shot one of them  
 ‘ through both his Thighs, which was to the Won-  
 ‘ derment both of English and Indians, it being at  
 ‘ such a vast Distance.

‘ They then proceeded and loaded their Bark  
 ‘ with Indian Corn, and their Canoes, about thirty  
 ‘ of them, with *Indian Traves, Kettles, Mats*, and  
 ‘ other Luggage, and then went on Board, and  
 ‘ made homeward, and it pleased God to prosper  
 ‘ them, so that in a short Time they all arrived in  
 ‘ Safety at the Place of their abode ; though they

<sup>180</sup> It would have been gratifying of Spirits the Indians thought them  
 if the Writer had told us what *Kind* to be.

‘ were in Hazard by the Veffels ftriking upon a  
 ‘ Rock, and ficking thereon a while in their Re-  
 ‘ turn, yet the Lord bore them in his own Armes,  
 ‘ and preferved them from Danger.

‘ Thus we may fee how the Face of God is fet  
 ‘ againft them that do Evil, to cut off their Re-  
 ‘ membrance from the Earth.<sup>181</sup>

‘ Our Tongues therefore fhall talk of his Right-  
 ‘ eoufnefs all the Day long, for they are confounded,  
 ‘ they are brought to Shame that fought our Hurt,  
 ‘ *Blessed be the Lord God of Ifrael, who only doth*  
 ‘ *wondrous Things, and Blessed be his holy Name*  
 ‘ *forever, Let the whole Earth be filled with his*  
 ‘ *Glory*; for the Lord was pleafed to fmite our  
 ‘ Enemyes in the hinder Parts, and to give us their  
 ‘ Land for an Inheritance, who remembered us in  
 ‘ our low Eftate, and redeemed us out of our Ene-  
 ‘ myes Hands; Let us therefore praife the Lord  
 ‘ for his Goodnefs, and wonderful Works to the  
 ‘ Children of Men.

‘ Upon the whole it may not be amifs to gather  
 ‘ out fome Specialtyes of Providence, that fo the  
 ‘ Goodnefs of God may be taken notice of, and our  
 ‘ Hearts enlarged in the Praife and Service of that  
 ‘ God who hath wrought fo wonderfully for our  
 ‘ Fathers and for us.

‘ Thofe who were employed in this Service were  
 ‘ not many, their Commons were very fhort, there  
 ‘ being then a general Scarcity throughout this  
 ‘ Colony of all Sorts of Provifion, it being upon our

<sup>181</sup> Our Fathers were never at a which they fancied met each par-  
 Lofs for apt Scriptural Quotations ticular Cafe.

‘ very [42] Beginings on the Place; they had but  
 ‘ little Refreshment with them in their long March  
 ‘ from *Narraganset* to *Pequot*; but one Pint of  
 ‘ Liquor which was moderately dealt out to such  
 ‘ as fainted in the Way, by Reason of the Extremity  
 ‘ of the Heat and fore Travel: after the Liquor  
 ‘ was spent, the very smelling to the Bottle was  
 ‘ effectual to the reviving of the fainting Souldiers.  
 ‘ They walked in an unknown Path, yet God  
 ‘ guided them *in the Way they should goe*, though  
 ‘ they knew not where the *Fort*s were, nor how far it  
 ‘ was to them, nor how far the Way that led to them  
 ‘ otherwise than what they had from their Indian  
 ‘ Guides, in whom they durst not confide, and that  
 ‘ in their so long a March among a treacherous  
 ‘ People, who had several Relations amongst our  
 ‘ Enemies, and that in their March, and Allodge-  
 ‘ ment in the Enemies Country which was very  
 ‘ populous, they should not be discovered but  
 ‘ brought to their Enemies in the fittest Season,  
 ‘ when none of them then usually were together, and  
 ‘ that they should be so succeeded in their Design,  
 ‘ (as you have heard) is Matter of Wonderment.

‘ What shall I say? God was pleased to hide  
 ‘ them in the Hollow of his Hand. It was a say-  
 ‘ ing of Mr. *Hooker*, that Man of God, in his  
 ‘ Encouragements to the Souldiers, as they were  
 ‘ going forth to those Engagements, that the *Pequots*  
 ‘ should be Bread for them; and the Lord made  
 ‘ good his Sayings.

‘ It may not be amiss here also to remember Mr.



‘ *Stone*<sup>182</sup> (the famous Teacher of the Church of  
 ‘ *Hartford*) who was sent to preach and pray with  
 ‘ those who went out in those Engagements against  
 ‘ the *Pequots*; He lent his best Assistance and  
 ‘ Counsel in the Management of those Designs, and  
 ‘ the Night in which the Engagement was, (in the  
 ‘ Morning of it) I say that Night he was with the  
 ‘ Lord alone, wrestling with Him by Faith and  
 ‘ Prayer; and surely his Prayers prevailed for a  
 ‘ Blessing; and in the very Time when our Israel  
 ‘ were engaging with the bloud-thirsty *Pequots*, he  
 ‘ was in the Top of the Mount, and so held up his  
 ‘ Hand, that Israel prevailed.

‘ In those Engagements some Men had special  
 ‘ Deliverances. There were two Men, being one  
 ‘ Mans Servants, who were both shot in the Knots  
 ‘ of their Neck-cloathes about their Necks, and  
 ‘ received no Hurt.<sup>183</sup> Also Lieut. *Siely*,<sup>184</sup> was  
 ‘ shot in the Eyebrow with a flat headed Arrow,  
 ‘ the Point turning downward, the Captain himself  
 ‘ pulled the Arrow out. Lieut. *Bull*<sup>185</sup> was also  
 ‘ shot in the Back with an Arrow, which met with

<sup>182</sup> Rev. Samuel Stone. He came to Boston in 1633, and resided at Cambridge till 1636, when he went to Hartford and settled, and died there 20 July, 1663. He was a Native of Hartford in England, and Hartford in Connecticut was so named on that Account (in 1637). *Trumbull*, i, 77.

previous Note.

<sup>184</sup> Lieut. Robert *Sieley*, Sealy, Seeley, or Seely. According to Savage, Capt. *Nathaniel*-Seeley, Son of this Gentleman, was killed in Philip's War in the Narraganset Fort Fight.

<sup>183</sup> Perhaps this refers to Wedgewood and Sherman, mentioned in a

<sup>185</sup> Lieut. Thomas Bull, before mentioned. He came to N. England in 1635, at the Age of 25.

‘ an hard Piece of Cheefe and went no further,  
 ‘ which may verify the old Saying *a little Armour*  
 ‘ *would serve if a Man knew where to place it.*

‘ Thus the Lord did great Things for his People  
 ‘ among the Heathen whereof we are glad, *Praise*  
 ‘ *ye the Lord.*

[43] ‘ The Year following, the Colony of Con-  
 ‘ necticut being in great Want of Provision, Indian  
 ‘ Corn being at twelve Shillings the Bushel. The  
 ‘ Court of *Connecticut* employed Capt. *Mason* and  
 ‘ Mr. *William Wadsworth*, and Deacon *Edward*  
 ‘ *Stebbing*, to make a Trial what Providence would  
 ‘ afford for their Relief, in this great Streight; who  
 ‘ notwithstanding some Discouragements they met  
 ‘ with some English, went to a Place called *Pa-*  
 ‘ *comptuck*,<sup>186</sup> where they procured so much Corn at  
 ‘ reasonable Rates, that the Indians brought down  
 ‘ to *Hartford* and *Windsor* fifty Cannoes laden with  
 ‘ Corn at one Time, never was the like known to  
 ‘ this Day, so that although the Lord was pleased  
 ‘ to shew his People hard Things in their Begin-  
 ‘ ings, yet did he execute Judgment for the  
 ‘ Oppressed, and gave Food to the Hungry, afford-  
 ‘ ing them his continued Protection and Blessing,  
 ‘ in the bountifull Supply of the good Things of  
 ‘ this Life, with the Continuance of his Gospel and  
 ‘ Ordinances, and a plentiful *Increase* of their  
 ‘ Number, from *four* Plantations which was then  
 ‘ the alone Number of the Colony of Connecticut;  
 ‘ *to twenty four Towns*,<sup>187</sup> which is the present

<sup>186</sup> Or Pecomptuck, since Deer-  
 field.

<sup>187</sup> It must be remembered that  
 this is what Mr. Allyn says and not

‘ Number of Towns in this Colony, and from three  
 ‘ Churches to nineteen, which is the Number now  
 ‘ settled in this Colony.’

Thus farr is Mr. *John Allyn* his Narrative of the *Pequot Troubles*, which I take to be the most perfect Account thereof that is extant, or that will probably be now attained.<sup>188</sup> since few of those that were personally concerned in that *War* and who are fit to give a *Relation* thereof, are at this Day in the Land of the Living.

Nevertheless I have met with a Manuscript in the Library of a learned and worthy Person deceased, wherein the Passages of the *Pequot War*, are described. The Author of the Script I know not, nor can conjecture, saving that it was one who had a particular and personal Acquaintance with those Affairs. It doth in Substance agree with that of Mr. *John Allyn*: only in some Particulars, a more full Account of Proceedings is expressed. For this Manuscript *Anonimus* doth *Relate* as followeth, *viz.* That in Anno 1634. a Bark wherein was Capt. *Stone*, and Capt. *Norton*, with six Men besides going up Connecticut River were all killed by the *Pequot* Indians, and the Bark sunk near a steep Rock, which to this Day bears the Name of Capt.

Capt. Mason, for the Captain was dead before the Towns in Connecticut had increased to *twenty-four*. There appears to have been *twenty-six* Towns settled up to and including 1674. Mason died “in 1672 or 1673.” *Prince*.

<sup>188</sup> This would be a singular Remark for a Historian to make in these Days, although I have heard within my Memory, a very good Writer of a History of one of the important New England States, make the same.

*Stones Rock.* In the Year following a Bark going from the Bay, bound to *Virginia*, was by a Tempest cast away at Long Island, certain Pequots there killed two Englishmen, the rest escaping.

[44] In Anno 1636. A Vessel going from Connecticut towards the Bay, putting in at Block-Island, the Indians coming aboard to Trade, killed the Master.<sup>189</sup> Another Vessel coming from Connecticut, taken with a cross Wind, intended to put in at *Narraganset*, but could not; being therefore forced upon *Block-Island*, they saw a Bark with her Sayls up, driving too and fro, they hailed her, but no Answer was given; perceiving her full of Indians they suspected the English belonging to the Vessel were murdered, whereupon they discharged their Guns, shooting Bullets among the Indians, who, many of them immediately leaped overboard. The Master entered the Vessel, and lifting up a Cloth saw an Englishman dead, and discerning that many Indians were still in the Hold, he returned to his own Vessel again, from thence pouring in small shot upon the Indians, for a while, untill the Wind coming fair; he sailed away to *Boston*, informing the Gouvernour and Council there, concerning what he had seen,<sup>190</sup> whence about an hundred

<sup>189</sup> This has Reference to the Murder of Capt. John Oldham, (See *N. E. Hist.-Gen. Reg.*, VII, 211), unless there was a previous and similar Case and of which we have no other Account.

<sup>190</sup> This corresponds with an Account furnished the Author by the

Rev. Thomas Cobbet of Ipswich; which Account Mr. Cobbet says he had from the Mouth of Capt. John Gallup, who was present when the Indians were taken by his Father. Cobbet's Narrative was not printed till 1853, when it was published in the *N. Eng. Hist.-Gen. Reg.*, VII, 209-219.

Souldiers were forthwith sent to *Block-Island*<sup>191</sup> As they were landing, the Indians came down and shot violently at them, wounding one Man, but as soon as one Englishman was landed, they ran away. The English pursued them two Dayes, burning their Corn and Wigwams, but the Indians betook themselves to Swamps, thereby escaping with their Lives. After this they resolved for the *Pequot* Country, having received some Intelligence of the Insolency and Outrage of those Indians. As they were sailing up the River, many of the *Pequots* on both Sides of the River called to them, desirous to know what was their End in coming thither, they were told that they desired to speak with *Sassacus*, one of their Sachims; the Indians said he was gone to *Long Island*; then it was demanded that *Moma-*

<sup>191</sup> The Expedition was under Endicott as General, and consisted of about 100 Men, which sailed from Boston near the End of August, 1636. The other principal Officers were Capt. John Underhill, Capt. Nathaniel Turner, Ensigns Jenyson and Davenport. The Rev. John Higginson of Salem, went as Chaplain. The Particulars of the Expedition may be found in Capt. Underhill's *History*, Winthrop's *Journal*, Hubbard's *Indian Wars*, 120; but there is no List of the Soldiers of which I am aware. I find on the Colonial Records that "George Munnings is granted five Pounds in regard of the Loss of his Eye in the Voyage to Block

"Island." If an important Member of the Body was valued at £5, it might be interesting to know what the whole was valued at in those Days. But it appears that Munnings had some further Consideration on Account of his Eye, though what it amounted to does not appear, as it was contingent on certain Fines, which might or might not have been remitted.

When Gen. Endicott went to chastise the Pequots they sent their Women and Children to the Mohegans who protected them. This Miantonimo asserted to Roger Williams to show that the Mohegans were not real Friends to the English.

*nottuck*<sup>192</sup> another of their Sachems should appear. It was pretended that he was not at Home neither. The English went Ashore, and required the Indians to deliver up those that had murdered Capt. *Stone*. It was answered that they were also gone from Home, but they would send after them, and deliver them to Justice, and that they might the better keep the English in Parley, they said that their Sachim would presently come and treat with them. In the mean Time they transported Goods, Women and Children to another Place.

At last one of the Indians declared plainly, that *Momanottuck* would not come. Immediately a Skirmish followed, wherein one Indian was killed, and an Englishman was wounded. The Indians fled, the English pursuing, set Fire to their Wigwams, and destroyed their Corn, so did they return to their Vessel. A few Days after this, going on Shore [45] again, as they were loading themselves with Corn, the Indians violently assaulted them, so that they were forced to leave their Corn and stand to their Arms. At this Time an Indian was killed, and two Englishmen forely wounded. The Indians attempted the Vessels, but were entertained with such Volleys of small Shot, as made them afraid to board any, so the Barks arrived safe at *Say-brook* Fort. The next Day some of the Fort going to the River to fetch Hay, the *Pequots* privily came

<sup>192</sup> Since usually written *Mono-notto*. Roger Williams probably means the same Indian by *Maumanadtuck*. See *Masj. Hist. Colls.*,

36, 192, 262. It was the Wife of this Chief that saved the Lives of the Captives mentioned in Note 148.

upon them took one Man and afterward roasted him alive, another shot with five Arrows lived fourteen Weeks and dyed, the rest escaped with much Danger.<sup>193</sup> After this the *Pequots* came near the Fort and destroyed many of the English Cattel. About two Miles distant from the Fort there was an English House wherein were Souldiers. Their Commander charged them not to go out of doors, yet three of them would venture, and as they were a Musket shot from the House, the Indians encompassed them, and took two of them alive, the third being wounded did with his naked Sword escape through them to the House, relating to the Company the sad Event, and that one of those English that were taken did first kill two Indians. The next Day all the English deserted that House, and repaired to the Fort. The Indians then quickly burned that, and two other Houses. They made towards the Fort as if they would have done some great Matter; but a great Gun being discharged at them, they went quite away, and were no more seen at *Say-brook* for the greatest Part of that

<sup>193</sup> "Old Mr. Mitchell," says Gardiner, "was very urgent with me "to lend him the Boat to fetch Hay "from the Six Mile Island." Gardiner remonstrated, saying he had not Men sufficient, but was finally persuaded to let the Boat go, and several Men set off. Part of them were enjoined to keep Guard, while the rest loaded the Hay. This was neglected, and all went together on Shore. Suddenly the Indians rose

out of the long Grass, killed three of them and took captive the Brother of Mr. Mitchell, Minister of Cambridge, and roasted him alive. *Gardner*, 142-3. His Name was Butterfield. Savage says his Christian Name was Samuel. Perhaps it was, but he gives no Evidence. The Place where Butterfield was taken was known for a Time as Butterfield's Meadow. It was on what is since called Calves Island. *Barber*.

Winter.<sup>194</sup> Only two Miles up the River two Men going in a Canoo to shoot Geese, the Indians hearing the Report of their Guns, came upon them. Those two English fought to save their Lives by paddling, but the Indians pursued them with another Canoo shot at them and wounded one in his Head, who fell overboard, the other shot stoutly at the Indians, but at last being wounded and wearied, the Indians overtook him, he with his Paddle cleft one of the Indians Heads, but the rest took him, and tortured him to Death.<sup>195</sup>

Feb. 22. The Lieut. with nine Souldiers well armed, went out of the Fort to burn the Woods thereabouts, being gone Half a Mile from Home they were besett with about seventy Indians, who let fly their Arrows very fiercely; the English retreated, one Man presently was shot in the Neck, and then did they lay Hands on him, he drew his Sword, but that was taken from him; Then would he (as the Indians afterwards testified) have killed himself, with his own Knife, but that also did the Indians deprive him of, and cut off his Nose and Hands, and put him to a cruel Death; they shot down another Englishman with three [46] Arrows, and a third had one of his Ribs cleft with an Arrow, so that he died immediately. A fourth was mortally wounded, and though he got Home alive, he

<sup>194</sup> This seems like an Abridgement of Gardiner's *History*, without the Particulars.

<sup>195</sup> "A Shallop coming down the River in the Spring, [1636]

"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." *Gardiner*, 143.



died within fourteen Hours, a fifth was forely wounded, but afterwards recovered, and lived (the next Year) to behead that very Indian who had shot an Arrow into him. Yea, the Leiut. himself was wounded in this Skirmish. After this the Indians kept Leaguer before *Say-brook* Fort.<sup>196</sup>

March 9. A Body of Indians, consisting (as was conjectured) of two or three hundred come within Musket shot of the Fort, challenging the English to come out and fight, mocking and upbraiding them with such Words as the English used when by them tortured to Death, and bragged that

<sup>193</sup> Gardiner's Account of this desperate Adventure and furious Attack of the Pequots should be read in Connection. " In the 22d of " February I went out with ten Men " and three Dogs, Half a Mile " from the Houfe [Fort] 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 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 Chap- " man 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 [to] 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 ran away; " then the Indians shot two of them " that were in the Reeds, and fought " to get between us and Home, but " darst not come before us, but " kept us in a Half-moon, we re- " treating 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 de- " fending ourselves with our naked " Swords, or else they had taken us

they could kill Englishmen *all one Flyes*: but two great Gunns loaden with Carthages of Musket Bullets being fired at them, away they went, and hearing that the *Narraganjets* were invading their Country, they visited *Seybrook* no more.<sup>197</sup>

After these Things, a Shallop coming down from Conecticut, with three Men rowing, was set upon by several Canoes of Indians, the English fought stoutly so long as they could, but one of them being shot through the Nose, so as the Arrow went out at the Crown of his Head, fell overboard and dyed; The other two were taken by the Indians, who ripped them up from the Bottom the Belly to the Throat, and cleft them down the Back

“ all alive, so that the two fore 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. Mitchell, Mr. 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 Fowle for our Reliefe, 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 cleaned it, and presumed to send it to the Bay [Boston] because they had said that the Arrows of the Indians were of no Force.” *Hist. of the Pequot War*, 143-144.

“ That very Indian ” who was beheaded “ the next Year ” by the Man then desperately wounded, was named *Kiswas*, as will be elsewhere seen.

<sup>197</sup> This brief Episode is told at great Length by Gardiner in his History—too long for a Note in this Place. Gardiner mentions that Anthony Dike brought him a Letter, being “ sent by Mr. Vane,” then Governor, who required Gardiner to “ prescribe the best way to quell the Pequots, which I also did, and with my Letter sent the Mans Rib as a Token.”

throughout, and afterwards hung them up by the Neck on a Tree by the River side, that the English might see them as they passed by; the Shallop they drew a Shore and set on Fire.<sup>198</sup>

May 15. 1637. Some of *Uncas* his Men being then at *Saybrook*, in order to assisting the English against the *Pequots* espyed seven Indians, and slyly encompassing them, slew five of them, and took one Prisoner, and brought him to the English Fort, which was great Satisfaction and Encouragement to the English, who before that Exploit had many Fears touching the Fidelity of the *Moheag* Indians.<sup>199</sup> He whom they took Prisoner was a perfidious Villain, one that could speak English well, having in Times past lived in the Fort, and knowing all the English there, had been at the slaughtering of all the English that were slaughtered thereabouts; he was a continual Spy about the Fort, informing *Safacus* of what he saw or could learn. When this bloody Traitor was executed, his Limbs were by Violence pulled from one another, and burned to Ashes: some of the Indian Executioners barbarously taking his Flesh, they gave it to one another, and did eat it, withal singing about the Fire.<sup>200</sup>

<sup>198</sup> This Shallop is that mentioned by Gardiner as belonging to "Mr. Michel," I suppose; and the Man so barbarously ripped in two was Master Tilly, of whom mention is already made.

<sup>199</sup> The *Mohegan* Indians broke from the *Pequots* in the Year 1636. *Gardiner*.

<sup>200</sup> The Indian thus barbarously executed was named *Kiswas*, mentioned before. He had lived a Time at the Fort with Lt. Gardiner, as above remarked, but when the Expedition against the *Pequots* under Gen. Endicott came to *Saybrook*, he ran away; hence Gardiner called him a Traitor. The marked difference in the Narratives of this War

It is also reported that before the *Mistick* Fight, a friendly Indian [47] that was sent thither as a secret Spy, brought Word that the *Pequots* were finging, and dancing, and blessing their God, in that they supposed the English were gone from them; and that in the Night the English came upon them; they were fallen into a deep Sleep, by Reason of their long Dancing the Night before, and their Sentinel was gone out of his Place to light a Pipe of Tobacco, just as the English surprized them, and when our Souldiers gave Fire there was not one that missed; the *Pequots* so alarmed, in Horrour and Amazement crying *Wannocks Wannocks*,<sup>201</sup> i. e. Englishmen, Englishmen; some of the old Men taking hold of others that were willing to run away, and saying, as we have lived together, so let us dy together, the Wigwam which was first set on Fire, being to the windward Side carried all before it, (as is in the Narrative intimated). At that Time there were two English men slain, (one of which was thought to be shot by an English man) and twenty four wounded,

is observable throughout, and it is very apparent that the Jealousies between the Heads of the different Colonies came near destroying them all; and the Man whom History may decide saved them all, was the Founder of that Colony hated by all. But of this I have taken Notice in the Introduction.

The Account of the Execution of Kifwas in Vincent's *Treat* corresponds with this in our Text, though it is more horrible, if possible. He

says Capt. Underhill finished the Execution by "shooting a Pistol through him to despatch him." *A True Relation of the late Battell*, 36.

<sup>201</sup> In Mafon's *History* the Pequot Word of Alarm is "*Owanux*," "*Owanux*." Why Mr. Allyn changed the Orthography, he does not inform us. Mr. Prince in his Edition of Mafon's Work sets the Matter right. See Note 156.

whereof one dyed within few Dayes.<sup>202</sup> Also fourty Indians that were Friends to the English were hurt in that Engagement. It was supposed that no less than five or six hundred Pequot Souls were brought down to Hell that Day.<sup>203</sup> Moreover it is therein added, that as the English marched towards their Vessels in the River, still as they came near any Swamp, they sent in a Volley of Shot lest the Enemy should haply be in Ambush in those dark Places of the Earth, and some Indians have related that the English did by that Means kill more Men of War in their marching away, than in the Fight at the Fort, whereby also *Sassacous* his Plot to cut off the English as they passed by Swamp-ambushments was utterly and happily frustrated.

It is further said, that an Indian called *Wequash* did direct the English to the Fort at *Mistick*,<sup>204</sup>

<sup>202</sup> Underhill mentions a very remarkable Circumstance connected with the first Attack on the Fort—that at the Word—Fire—every Gun went off at the same Moment—which he thus relates: “So remarkable it appeared to us, as we could not but admire at the Providence of God in it, that Soldiers so unexpert in the Use of their Arms, should give so complete a Volley, as though the Finger of God had touched both Match and Flint,” P. 23.

<sup>203</sup> This seems to have been a favorite Expression of our Author. It will be met with again in the Course of the Work.

<sup>204</sup> The other Historians of the War do not give this Indian Credit for this most important Service. He lived till about 1643, and was in great Favor with Roger Williams. See his *Key*, P. 22 (*R. I. Hist. Colls.*, i). See also *Book Indians*, 166. It appears from Roger Williams's Letters, that there was another Indian named Wequashchuck, whose Name with the English slid into Wequash Cook, and became confounded with that of Wequash. But Wequash was a Pequot, and Wequashchuck was a Nyantick, and “the Man,” says Williams, “to my Knowledge, that sheltered the Murderer of Mr. Oldham. *Majs. Hist. Soc. Colls.*,”

which *Wequaß* was by birth a Sachim of that Place but upon some Disgust received he went from the Pequots to the Narragansets, and became a chief Captain under *Miantonimo*; and that there were with those eighty English Souldiers, who engaged in this Expedition against the *Pequots*, at first four hundred Indians, whereof three hundred were *Narragansets*. The Day before the Fight there was some Agitation which Fort should be first assaulted, whether that of *Mislick*, or another eight Miles further, where *Sassacus* himself resided. The English were an End to be upon *Sassacus*, but the Indians were afraid saying, that *Sassacus* was *all one God*, and nobody could kill him; this made the English yet more desirous to try what Power was in this *imaginary Deity*, and that was the Conclusion, whereupon many of the *Narragansets* withdrew and returned all Home, reporting that the English were cut off by the Indians; the Fame of which was quickly at [48.] Boston; to the great Affliction of the English untill such Time as the Truth of Things was certainly known.<sup>205</sup> In this *Interim* one of Capt. *Underbils* Souldiers fell lame,

36, 208, 242. For other curious Particulars in the Life of *Wequaß*, see *Ibid*, 198. See also *Note* 177. Mr. Williams recommended *Wequaß* for a Guide in the Expedition. Many other interesting Facts respecting this Indian are brought to Light by the newly published Letters of Williams.

<sup>205</sup> " Presently upon this [May

" 25] came News from the Narragansett, that all the English, and " two hundred of the Indians " were cut off in their Retreat, for " Want of Powder and Victuals, " Three Days after, this was confirmed by a Post from Plimouth, " with such probable Circumstances, " as it was generally believed."—Winthrop, *Journal*, i, 225. See also Bradford, 358-359.

not being able to go so far as the Place where *Sassacus* was supposed to be; whence the Captain changed his Purpose, and determined for *Mistick*;<sup>206</sup> and Capt. *Mason* was not willing they should part asunder, so did they agree to make their Assault there; few or none of the Indians which were in the Fort escaped, whole Companies of them gathered together and were burnt to Death; those that escaped the Fire, the English without the Fort slew them with the Sword, so that round about the Fort, dead Men lay hideous to behold.

The *Indians Goliab*, even their only Champion, being a Man of huge Stature was then slain, he brake through the Souldiers, and although one *Sergeant* stroke him on the Neck with his Cut-lash, he got by him and by five Souldiers more, but the sixth killed him.<sup>207</sup>

And those that escaped the Sword, the friendly Indians that encompassed the English took as Captives to the Number of eighteen.<sup>208</sup>

This was done upon Friday, May 26. Anno 1637. A memorable Day.<sup>209</sup>

Upon this notable Victory, *Sassacus* his Heart failed him, his Men of War being many of them

<sup>206</sup> If this were true, it would be very remarkable indeed, that through the Failure of a single Soldier the Plan of the Campaign was changed.

in Note 158.

<sup>208</sup> This does not agree with the other Accounts as will have been seen.

<sup>207</sup> This was the Nameless "stout Indian" mentioned by Vincent. See Note 160, and 161. Johnson also heard something about the Feat of this *Indian Goliab*, as is shown

<sup>209</sup> Winthrop records the Attack on the Fort on May 25th; but the 26th is doubtless the actual Date. Bradford does not give any Date.

cut off, so that he fled his Country, breaking down his Forts, and burning his Wigwams himself, he marched away by Land, with some Men, Women and Children, their Goods being sent away in the *Cannoos*. The English at *Say-brook* had Notice of the *Cannoos*, and an Advantage to stop their Passage, but Capt. *Kilpatrick*<sup>210</sup> delayed untill the Opportunity was gone, so that *Sassacus* with his routed Train, coming up to his *Cannoos* six Miles from *Say-brook* Fort, was transported over the River, and fled towards *Quinipiack*. Being now enraged he solicited his Men of War, that they might go, and fall upon the English at *Connecticut*, but some of them not consenting, that Design was not put in Execution; he therefore fled to the *Mohawks*, who (being as is supposed excited thereto by the revengefull *Narragansets*) cut off his Head.<sup>211</sup>

Many of the *Pequots* before *Sassacus* his Death

<sup>210</sup> Why Capt. Daniel *Patrick's* Name is thus transformed must be left to conjecture.

<sup>211</sup> It appears that the Mohawks sent the Head and Skin of *Sassacus* to the English;—for Winthrop says, under date of August 5, that Mr. Hooker, Mr. Stone, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Pinchon, and about twelve more arrived at Boston from Connecticut by way of Providence, bringing with them as a Trophy, “a Part of the Skin and lock of the Hair of *Sassacus* and his Brother and five other Pequot Sachems, who being fled to the

“Mohawks for Shelter, with their Wampum, (being to the Value of £500,) were by them surpris'd and slain, with twenty of their best Men.” *Journal*, i, 235.

Records of the Reception at Boston of the Heads and Hands of the Indians seems to have been made as coolly as almost any other matter-of-course Affairs. Yet there were some in the Land who did not approve of such Barbarities. “Those ‘dead Hands,’” wrote Roger Williams, “were no pleasing Sight. . . . I have alwaies showne Dislike to such dismembering the Dead.”—*Mafs. Hist. Colls.*, 36, 207.



returned to their Country again; but Souldiers being sent from the *Massachusetts* the returned *Pequots* were presently distressed, ours ransacking their Country, and settling a Garrison therein, quickly came back to *Sey-brook*, with one of the *Pequot* Sachims, and other *Indian* Captives. After which a Supply of Men from *Connecticut* coming to the *Massachusetts* Souldiers, they sailed Westward in Pursuit of the *Pequots* who were fled that Way, sailing along to the Westward of *Mononowuttuck*,<sup>212</sup> the [49] Wind not answering their Desires, they cast Anchor, where two Sachems from *Long-Island*<sup>213</sup> came to them, desiring Peace and promising to deliver up whatever *Pequots* should fly to them for Shelter, some scattering *Pequots* were then taken and slain, as also the *Pequot* Sachem, before expressed, had his Head cut off, whence that Place did bear the Name of *Sachems Head*<sup>214</sup> Being

<sup>212</sup> Like most other Indian Names, this has been variously written. Usually now Menunkatuc; the present Town of Guilford in Connecticut. In two Years after this pursuit of the flying *Pequots*—1639— it was settled by the English. Roger Williams, writing in Sept. 1637, says the Place where the last Fight was, was called *Sasquankit*. See *Mass. Hist. Colls.*, 36, 213.

<sup>213</sup> These *Long Island* Indians are very slightly passed over, while their Services probably saved the English Settlers from Destruction, if Lieut. Gardiner may be allowed to have known the Indian Policy of

that Day, and has faithfully narrated it in his *History of the Pequot War*, 153, *et seq.*

<sup>214</sup> Though most of the Forces went from the Fort at Saybrook by Water, a Number of Soldiers with Uncas and his Indians scoured the Shores near the Sea, lest any of the *Pequots* should lurk there. Not a great Way from this Harbor they came across a *Pequod* Sachem with a few Indians, whom they pursued. As the south Side of the Harbor is formed by a long narrow Point of Land, the *Pequods* went on to this Point, hoping their Pursuers would have passed by them. But Uncas

come near to *Quinipiack*<sup>215</sup> observing a Smoak, it was conjectured that the Enemy might be thereabouts, whereupon Indians were set on Shore to hunt after them, but they could find no more then two, one of which was the Sachems Son of that Place, supposed to be Confederate with the *Pequots*. They promised to conduct the English to the Enemy, but failed in Performance. After that they took another Indian Captive, who likewise engaged to lead the English upon the *Pequots*, but he directed them into a quite contrary Way, for which his Life was deservedly taken from him.<sup>216</sup> But an Indian called *Luz*, who was before taken Captive by our Souldiers in the *Pequot* Country, with two other Indians that were his Kinsmen, promised that if the English would give him and his Kinsmen their Lives, he would conduct them

knew Indian's Craft, and ordered some of his Men to search that Point. The *Pequods* perceiving they were pursued, swam over the Mouth of the Harbor, which is narrow; but they were way-laid, and taken as they landed. The Sachem was sentenced to be shot to Death. Uncas shot him with an Arrow, cut off his Head, and stuck it up in the Crotch of a large oak Tree near the Harbor, where the Skull remained for a great many Years. Thus from this extraordinary Incident, the Name of Sachems Head was adopted to the Harbor. *Ruggles's Hist. Guilford*, in *Barber's Hist. Colls.*, 216.

<sup>215</sup> New Haven, which Name it

received three Years after the War, namely, in 1640. Hoadly's *New Haven Records*, i, 40. It does not appear why this Name was made Choice of, yet very likely it was conferred in Remembrance of New Haven in Suffex, England. The English began the Settlement at *Quinipiack* late in the Fall of 1637, and the next Year bought the Lands thereabouts of the Indian Claimants.

<sup>216</sup> It is not very conclusive Evidence that these Indians favored the *Pequot* Murderers, because they failed to lead the English to their hiding Places; but a Thirst for Indian Blood is rather more conclusive, now that their Hand was in.

to the Enemies they fought after. He did so, the Pequots with other Indians belonging to those Parts, were found near a Swamp, into which they did betake themselves for Safety, upon the Approach of the English Souldiers. After a while, an Indian came out of the Swamp unarmed, with a Present of *Wampam*. The English declared to him that they came not to take away the Lives of the Indians nor their Goods, if they would deliver up the Murderers that were amongst them. After which ninety nine came forth with their Sachim, who offered as a Present all the Estate he had to dispose of, and that was nothing but the Coat on his Back, being a Bears Skin. He was sent into the Swamp again to signify to the Pequots there lurking, that if they would bring forth the Murderers it should be better for them, which they would not do, but at last professed they had lived together, and would dy together.

There were about seventy or eighty Indians in the Swamp, amongst whom there were twelve Murderers. So then the English besett the Swamp; and shot in upon them, and the Indians at them, some of which were furnished with Guns.<sup>217</sup> One in special that was climbing up a Tree to shoot at the English, was espyed by a Souldier, who sent a Bullet into him before the other could make his Shot. In the Night time the Indians brake away. Diligent search was the next Day made in the

<sup>217</sup> It was ascertained that the Quantity of Ammunition. The Pequots had, in all, among them, English say they were supplied by about sixteen Guns, and a due the Dutch at Manhattan,

Swamp for dead Indians. Not many (as some have made Narration) but seven, and no more could be found. As for the Captives a [50] Guard was appointed to look after them, they were charged upon Peril of their Lives not to Attempt running away; yet one of them betook himself to his Heels, but a Souldier shot after him, and killed him, which struck a Terror into the Rest of the Captives, that no Man durst make an Offer to escape. These Things do I find related by *Anonymous*. There is not much more additional to what is expressed in Mr. *Allyns* Narrative. Some of these Particulars insisted on confirming the Truth of that. Only one Thing more is contained therein which I have not elsewhere met with, which therefore it may not be amiss here to take Notice of. It is this, whereas on April 23. 1637.<sup>218</sup> The Indians coming upon the English at *Wethersfield*, killed nine Persons, and took two young Women alive, and carried them away Captives, Means were used to effect their Deliverance, but at first, in vain.

On May 8. A Dutch Sloop came by *Saybrook* Fort, having on board an Indian Captive, who said she was *Momonottocks* Squaw. The English there desired the Dutchmen to let them have the Squaw in order to redeeming the English Captives, offering to give them to the Value of two hundred Pound, provided that those Captives might be set at Liberty. The Dutchmen hoping to gain much by such an Indian were some of them loth to part

<sup>218</sup> See Note 148.

with her. In Conclusion Capt. *Underbill* (who then commanded the Fort) having obtained the Consent of the Master of the Vessel, did *vi et armis* take the Squaw out of the Sloop. Afterwards when the *Mobeags* came to *Saybrook* that Squaw appeared to be one belonging to them, whom the *Pequots* had captivated, and she made the Dutch believe she was *Momonottucks Squaw*, hoping that thereby she should obtain the more courteous Usage amongst those into whose Hands she was fallen, so that the Contest between the English and Dutch about her was needless. In the *Interim* the Dutch Governour sent another Sloop, with Order to redeem the English Captives if possible, and those Dutch did in Conclusion wilily accomplish their Design. For being arrived in the *Pequot* Country, certain Indians coming aboard to trade with them after they had been Trafficking they were clapt under Hatches, and told they should not be set at Liberty, except they would deliver the English Maids that were captivated, and presently hoysted Sayle, as if they would be gone. The *Pequots* on Shore called to them, declaring that if they would come to an Anchor, the English Captives should be brought to them, which was done, and the Men whom the Dutchmen had secured in their Sloop given in Exchange for the English Captives, who were also brought safe to *Saybrook*, May 16. when our Souldiers waited for a Wind to carry them to engage with [ 51 ] the *Pequots*, and that Wind which for a few Dayes kept the English from going upon

their Expedition, brought that Dutch Sloop to redeem those Captives, concerning whom there was no other Hope (and that was a Trouble to some) but that the English would be necessitated to destroy them amongst the Indians, in the Day when their Fort should be attacked.

Some have thought that in these Narratives, there is not due Notice taken of what was done by the *Massachusetts* Forces. The Truth is, the Conquest obtained over the *Pequots* was wonderfully the Lords doing, nor may we ascribe much to Man therein, yet must it be acknowledged (and the Narratives deny it not) that Capt. *Vnderbill* (and those under his Command) who was sent from the *Massachusetts* did acquit himself worthily, when the Indians at *Mistick* Fort were cut off. It must also be owned that the *Massachusetts* Souldiers did glean the *Pequots* after that, (and we know who, to pacify those that were unreasonably dissatisfied, was ready to say, *Is not the Gleaning of Ephraim better than the Vintage of Abiezer*;) Likewise they had an equal Hand with others in the Service done at the Swamp, where such a Multitude of Indians were either slain or taken as Captives.<sup>219</sup>

And besides these Things instead on, there are who have taken Notice of some other Specialties of Divine Providence relating to those Commotions

<sup>219</sup> Our Author seems to have learned in some Way, that Jealousy had prevailed among the Men who were sent against the *Pequots*. It is apparent from the different Accounts, that the Connecticut Men were not very modest in their Claims of the Honor of destroying those Indians, as is sufficiently apparent from Mason's Story.

which have been of momentous Considerations, to the People inhabiting this Wilderneſs, which it may not be amiſs here to remark. It is then worthy our Obſervation, that the guilty bloody *Pequots* after they had treacherouſly murdered Capt. *Stone* and his Company, brought Preſents of *Wampum* and *Bever* to the Engliſh at *Boston*, deſiring their Friendſhip, pleading that *Stone* had (who was like enough to do it) offered ſome Abufe to them, in ſurprizing divers Indians, and binding them, and forcing them to ſhew him the Way up the River, &c.<sup>220</sup>—wherefore a Peace was concluded upon Condition they would ſuffer the Engliſh who deſired to inhabit *Conneſticut*, there quietly to live, and alſo deliver up thoſe Men who had been guilty of *Stones* Death. Theſe Things were not performed by the *Pequots*. The Reaſon why they were the more willing to have Peace with the Engliſh was, in that they were fallen out with the Dutch at *Monbatus*, as alſo with the *Narraganſetts* who were then potent and numerous; and at firſt they thought Scorn to make Overtures of Peace to them, proudly deſigning the Subjugation of all their neighbor Indians, which wrought well for the Engliſh. Howbeit not unlike him that ſaid: *Flectere ſi nequeo ſuperos Acheronta movebo*. When they ſaw they could not attain [52] their

<sup>220</sup> This agrees with Winthrop's Record as found in his *Journal*, i, 148. The “&c.” in our Text is thus explained in the ſame Place: “This was related with ſuch Confidence and Gravity, as, having no Means to contradict it, we inclined to believe it.” Thomas Dudley was Governor of *Maſſachuſetts*, at that Time (1634).

Ends with the English, except they would let Justice have a free Passage, and having contracted fresh bleeding Guilt upon themselves by new and outrageous Murthers, and Crueltyes, they earnestly solicited the *Narragansets* to joyn with them in their wicked Confederacy against the English, *Satan* suggesting to them such Arguments as did almost prevail. For they told the *Narragansets* that if they joyned with the English, they did but make Way for their own Ruine, since after the *Pequots* were conquered, they would find an Occasion to fall upon the *Narragansets*, and that they should not need to come to open battel with the English, only fire their Houses and kill their Cattel, and lye in Ambush to shoot them as they went about their Occasions, so would they quickly be forced to leave this Country, and the Indians in the mean while not exposed to any great Hazard.<sup>221</sup> Had the *Narragansets* been overcome by these Arguments, it would have occasioned far greater Trouble and Hazard to all the

<sup>221</sup> The above is very similar to what Hubbard had stated, in his *History of the War*, p. 121. But that elegant Writer inimitably adds: "Michiavel himself, if he had sat in Counsel with them, could not have insinuated stronger Reasons to have perswaded them to a Peace. It is said, that so much Reason was apprehended in these Motives, that the *Narragansets* were once wavering, and were almost perswaded to have granted an Ear to their Advice and Perswasion, and joyned all against the English; but when they consid-

ered what an Advantage they had put into their Hands by Strength and Favour of the English, to take a full Révenge of all their former Injuries upon their inveterate Enemies: the Thought of that was so sweet, that it turned the Scale against all other Considerations whatever." *Ibid.*

Neither our Author nor Mr. Hubbard was aware probably, of the perilous Efforts of Roger Williams to prevent the Alliance of the *Pequots* and *Narragansets*. See *History and Antiquities of Boston*, 204.



Englh Colonyes, newly fettled in this Land. But therefore God in Mercy to his People prevented it. Commiffioners were then fent from *Boston* into the *Narraganfett* Country, to endeavour that thofe Indians might be kept from Compliance with the Enemy. There is one who having a little enquired into thefe Things, doth *Relate* that the old *Kanonicus* did diffwade the Pequots from War, advifing rather to deliver up the Murderers. They made believe as if they would do fo, and when a Band of Souldiers was fent into the *Pequot* Country for that End, they bid them ftay awhile and the Murderers fhould be brought to them, and certain Indians converfing with our Souldiers, did very much obferve the Armor which was upon them, and would point where they fhould hit them with their Arrows, notwithstanding. In fine, when a great Body of Indians appeared on an Hill not far off, thofe that were with the Souldiers went over to them, when they all came together, they gave a fcornful Shout, and fo ran all away, making their Boaft to others, how they had deluded the Englifh; fo that *Canonicus* his Advife to the *Pequots* took no Effect. After which the *Narraganfets* were not only prevailed with to decline joyning with the Enemy, but (as is intimated in the above written Narrative) they pretended they would fight for the Englifh; albeit when it came to in good earneft, they proved themfelves Cowards, doing little againft the Enemies, except in unmanly Inſultations when they faw them in Miſery: For whereas it was customary with the *Pequots*, when

they had overcome their Enemies, insultingly to triumph, saying, *O brave Pequots!* The *Narragansets* seeing them wounded or consuming to Death in their burning Wigwams, would taunt [53] at them and vaunt over them, saying, *O brave Pequots! O brave Pequots!* The more of a Divine Hand is there to be taken Notice of in overcoming the *Pequots* by a small Number of English and Indians. Also the *Pequots* were more furnished with Armes then before times they had been: since the Dutchmen had sold some Guns to them; and besides their Bowes and Arrows they had an Abundance of small Hatchets, and *Mohawgs*-hammers<sup>222</sup> made of Stone, yet God would not suffer them to find their Hands.

What special Acts of Valour were manifested by any of our *Commanders* or Souldiers in this Expedition, beyond what is expressed in the fore-mentioned *Narrative*, I am not able to *Relate*; Nor am I (though willing that Mens Vertues should be duly acknowledged) disposed to say much on those Accounts, respecting such as are yet alive, as knowing that however it may please some by nourishing a proud Humour, it would be nauseous to others, and deemed adulatory by wise and impartial Readers.

- Only I remember Capt. *Davenport* (that good

<sup>222</sup> Doubtless what are since called *War-clubs*. These were sometimes made by forcing a well wrought Stone of some four Inches in Length, of a conical Form into a small green Tree near the Roots. After re-

maining thus for two or three Years the Wood would become tightly bedded into a groove made in the Stone, and thus a very formidable Weapon was produced. Different Tribes had different War Clubs.

Man, who was afterwards Commander of the Castle at *Boston*, and there slain by Lightning)<sup>223</sup> once told me, that himself with two or three more, engaged with no lesse than thirty Indians, and that there were seventeen Arrows shot into his Coat, but having on a Coat of Male, none of those Arrows hurt him, only one that happened to strike where he was not defended by his Coat.

Also he rescued a poor Souldier, that was in extrem Danger of being devoured by those Wolves; For two Mastive-Indians that lay in Ambush, as a Party of Souldiers passed by, supposing they had all past, snatched hold of him whom they thought to be the last Man, and were running away with him upon their Shoulders, Capt. *Davenport* followed them with his drawn Cutlash, but still as he lifted up his Hand to strike at them these *Gigantine Salvages* held up the poor Man they were running away with, whereby for a while they secured their own Bodyes from the Blow, until at last missing the Englishman, Capt. *Davenport* smote one of the Indians, whereupon they threw down their Prey, and ran for their Lives.<sup>224</sup>

*Johnson?* (He that giveth Account of this last Passage, doth also *Relate* another Particular no less pleasant; namely, that whereas the *Pequots* observed, that the English, being willing to shew as much Mercy as would stand with Justice, did only captivate and not kill the *Squaws*, some great Indian Boyes would

<sup>223</sup> He was killed as he lay upon his Bed, July 15th, 1665, aged 59; having lain down to Rest in the Heat of the Day.

<sup>224</sup> See *ante*, Note 176.

cry, *I Squaw, I Squaw*, thereby to escape with their Lives.<sup>225</sup>

[54] But to be Serious, That which Governour Winthrop writeth in his Letter, published by Mr. *Morton*<sup>226</sup> is very memorable, *viz.* that in one Fight though the Indians coming up close to our Men, shot their Arrows thick upon them, so as to pierce their Hat brims, and their Sleeves, and Stockings, and other Parts of their Cloaths, yet so miraculously did the Lord preserve them, as that (excepting three that rashly ventured into a Swamp after them) not one of them was wounded. And truly to set aside casual Considerations, there were two Reasons obvious, that may be assigned as Causes of that glorious and speedy Success, which God gave to the English against the *Pequot* Indians.

I. Blasphemy of those Enemies. For some of them said, that English mans God was one Flye, which execrable Blasphemy the blessed God would not bear from those his Enemies. Also when some English were cruelly tortured to Death by them, they would in a Way of Diversion bid them call upon God now, and blasphemously mock at them when they did so. Therefore did the Lord bring those bloody Blasphemers in a Moment down to Hell, yea, and damned them above Ground, when they lay frying in the Fire that was kindled in their Houses, and making horrible outcries.

2. There was a mighty Spirit of Prayer and

<sup>225</sup> With *Mourt's Relation* before him the Author could have seen that this Story had its Origin several Years before the *Pequot* War.

That it might have happened again is not altogether improbable.

<sup>226</sup> In *Morton's Memorial*.

Faith then stirring, both in those that staid at Home, and in some that ventured their Lives in the high Places of the Field. That Reverend Man of God Mr. *Wilson*, (who excelled in those Graces of Faith and Love) went forth with the Souldiers that went from this Colony. I think I have myself heard him say, (or if I have not, others have) that *he was before he went out, as certain that God would give the English the Victory over those Enemies, as if he had seen the Victory already obtained.* Such great Faith did the Lord stir up in the Heart of that Holy Man, and of other his Servants; and by Faith did they *turn to Fight the Armyes of the Aliens.* So then, those Enemies being subdued, in such Wayes and by such Means as hath been expressed, the Terror of God fell upon all the Heathen round about, and the English were dreadful to them: when they heard that the English had slain, and taken Captive seven hundred Indians, and killed thirteen *Sachims* (who are their Kings) there was no more Spirit left in them. The *Pequots* best Friends were afraid to receive such as fled to them for Refuge. But happy was he counted that could make Friendship with the English, so that two of the *Sachims* in *Long-Island*<sup>227</sup> came to that worthy Gentleman Captain (afterwards Lieut. Colonel)

<sup>227</sup> These were the Sachems, without Doubt, induced to aid the English by Lt. Gardiner. The Name of one of them was *Waiaundance*. Winthrop says, "the Indians about  
" sent in still many Pequot's Heads

" and Hands from Long Island and  
" other Places, and Sachems of  
" Long Island came voluntarily, and  
" brought a Tribute to us of twenty  
" Fathom of Wampum, each of  
" them." *Journal*, i, 247.

*Stoughton* <sup>228</sup> entreating that they might be under our Protection. Also two of the *Napannet* Sachims, address'd themselves to Governour *Winthrop*, [55] seeking to be in Favour with the English. These Things deserve to be mentioned among the *Magnalia Dei*, which he hath wrought for his *New-England-People*.

Matters being again reduced to this peaceable State, that Land rested from War, and that for the Space of almost forty Years together. Howbeit Jealousies amongst the English grounded upon Treacheries and Conspiracies amongst the Indians, (and some particular Acts of Hostility and Outrages by them committed) there have been, more than once or twice, since the *Pequot-Troubles* were ended.

For in Anno 1638, the publick Peace was endangered by Occasion of a Murder committed by an English man upon an Indian. Thus it was, One *Arthur Peach* a young Desperado, who had been a Souldier in the *Pequot* War, and done notable Service, being bold and forward in any desperate Attempt, after he was returned Home he was loth to go to Work, wherefore he resolv'd to go to the Dutch Plantation, and enticed three Persons, that were other Mens Servants, to run away with him. As they were travailing through the Woods, they met a *Narraganset-Indian*, and desired him to take

<sup>228</sup> His Lieut. Coloneley was obtained in England; he having returned to that Country and served in the Civil War. He did not re- turn again to New-England. He was Father of William Stoughton, Lt. Governor and Chief Justice of Massachusetts.

a Pipe of Tobacco, which the Indian was willing to do, *Peach* told his *Comrades*, he would kill him; they were afraid to do that, but let him alone to do as he would. When he saw his Time, he ran the Indian through with his Rapier, and took away his *Wampam* from him, supposing he had left him dead, but after they were gone, the Indian made a Shift to get Home, where he dyed of his Wound within few Dayes; But told other Indians that such and such English-men had mortally wounded him; The *Sachims* therefore presently found out these Men (only one of them escaped) who had done the Murder, and carried them away to the English at *Aquidnet* Island, where they were examined and committed. In the mean Time the *Narragansets* were about to rise in Arms, some of them conceiving that they should find the *Pequots* Words true, that the English would fall upon them, now the other were vanquished. To be short, the Murder being confessed by the Parties guilty, the Court in *Plymouth* did by Advice from Magistrates and Elders in the *Bay*, condemn and see Execution done upon those three *English men* for murdering that one Indian; whereupon the other Indians magnified the Justice which they saw among the *English*, and Peace was continued.<sup>229</sup> Yet after this new Fears and Troubles did arise upon other

<sup>229</sup> The three Englishmen were executed at Plymouth, Sept. 4th, 1638. Their Names were—Arthur Peach, Thomas Jackson and Richard Slinnings.

An exceedingly interesting Letter of Roger Williams, detailing the Particulars of the Murder may be seen in the *Majs. Hist. Colls.*, Vol. 21, p. 170, &c.

Accounts. For although the *Narragansets*, and the *Mobeags* did Anno 1638. come under solemn Promise that they would not engage in a War, either amongst themselves, or with other Indians, until they had advised with, and obtained Approbation [56] from the English. Nevertheless *Miantonimo*, the chief *Narraganset Sachim*, was continually picking Quarrels with the *Mobeags*, designing to make them become his Vassals. Some (*viz.* Mr. *Gorges* and Mr. *Johnson*)<sup>230</sup> have related that *Miantonimo* was set on by certain *vagabond English*, known by the Name of *Gortonians*,<sup>231</sup> who being deep Apostates from, and bitter Enemies unto the Wayes of Christ, professed by our Fathers, might easily be induced to animate Motions of that Nature. However *Miantonimo* chose rather to accomplish his Ends upon the *Mobeags* by Treachery, than by open War; and hired a *Pequot* Indian who was subjected to *Vncas* (the *Moheags Sachim*) to assassinate him that was become his Lord, which the Indian attempted accordingly; inſomuch as on a certain Evening as *Vncas* was paſſing from one Wigwam to another, he was ſhot into the Arm by

<sup>230</sup> This Confuſion of Authors requires ſome Elucidation. *Johnſon's Wonderworking Providence, &c.*, printed in London in 1654, appears to have been taken by Sir *Ferdinando Gorges* the younger, who by cancelling its Title-page and ſubſtituting one with his own Name as Author, impoſed upon the Public. It would ſeem that our Author was aware of the Fact, and yet makes a

Reference as if there were two Works. See *Prince, Preface to his Annals*

<sup>231</sup> For a rational View of the much abuſed *Gortonians* and the more abuſed *Narraganſet Chief Miantonimo*, the Reader is referred to the able and lucid Pages of the *Hiſtory of Rhode Iſland*, by *Gov. Arnold*, Vol. 1, 115, *et. ſeq.*



an Arrow, but recovered the House he intended without receiving further Hurt.<sup>232</sup>

The Indian who was suspected about this Matter, being called to an Account about a great Sum of *Wampam-peag*, by him possessed, could not give any tolerable Account, how he came by his Money, which augmented Jealousies of his being hired by *Miantonimo* to kill *Vncas*. *Vncas* then made his Complaint to the English; the Issue was, that *Miantonimo* and the suspected Indian came to *Boston*, where he was examined, at first in the Presence of *Miantonimo*, by whose Help he had framed an *Artificial Lye*, saying that one Night as he came out of a thick Swamp, *Vncas* desired him to say that he was hired by *Miantonimo* to kill *Vncas*, and that therefore he cut his Arm with the Flint of his Gun, that Men might think he had been shot with an Arrow. This pittiful Story made the English suspect *Miantonimo* more vehemently than ever, and upon a further private Examination (much against *Miantonimo's* Mind) they saw Cause to believe that he was secretly designing Mischiefs against the English, as well as against *Vncas*. Nevertheless, it was thought best to dismiss him for the present, only with an Engagement to remit the suspected *Pequot*

<sup>232</sup> It is scarcely necessary to remark, after the Reference in the last Note, that from existing Documents the Reverse of what our Author has delivered is the Truth; *Vncas* was the Scamp and *Miantonimo* was the upright and honourable Man. But *Vncas's* Sins were forgiven by the

Persecutors of Roger Williams and his Followers, because he was always ready to do their Bidding, right or wrong; while *Miantonimo* adhered to the Treaty he had made at *Boston*, in the Beginning of the *Pequot* War. There should be written a Life of the much injured *Miantonimo*.

to his Maſter *Vncas*: He contrary to his Promiſe, as he was returning Home cut off the poor *Pequots* Head, whereby he was made incapable of diſcovering any thing further about Matters between *Miantonimo* and him.

Being come Home, he forthwith reſolveth to be revenged upon *Vncas*, and with a thouſand *Narragansets* gave him Battel, but the *Mobeags* (though not half their Number) worſted the *Narragansets*, and took *Miantonimo*, their chief Sachem, Priſoner, and brought him to the Town of *Hartford*, deſiring Advice from the Engliſh concerning the Diſpoſal of him. The Commiſſioners of the United Colonyes [57] conſidering that *Miantonimo* had ſhed Blood by raiſing an unjuſt War againſt the *Mobeags* their Friends, to whom they had engaged Protection, and that he was treacherous to the Engliſh, and Peace not like to be ſettled among the Indians, nor continued with the Engliſh except he were diſpatched (together with ſome other Reaſons, more fully expreſſed in the Declaration publiſhed by the Commiſſioners, Anno 1645.)<sup>233</sup> they counſelled *Vncas* to put him to Death, withal prohibiting him to uſe any Crueltyes in the Manner of his Execution, it being cuſtomary with barbarous Indians (who like their Father the Devil are delighted in Crueltyes) to put their Enemies to the

<sup>233</sup> This "Declaration" may be ſeen in the *Records of the United Colonies*, i, 50, &c., as printed by the State of Maſſachuſetts, 1859; alſo in Hazard's *Hiſt. Colls.*, ii, 48,

&c. It would ſeem that the Commiſſioners publiſhed it at the Time, but if ſo I have never met with a Copy. It is by no means the concluſive Argument for which it was intended.

greatest Tortures they can devise, when they kill them.<sup>234</sup> The Advice was followed. *Vncas* led away *Miantonimo* as if he would carry him to another Place, for Custody and Safety, and by the Way very fairly cut off his Head, as he not a Year before had served one of *Vncas* his Men.<sup>235</sup> These Things hapned Anno 1643.

<sup>234</sup> I apprehend it will not be difficult for future Historians to determine which had the largest Share of the Devil in them, those who advised the Murder of *Miantonimo* or those who committed it. The Record of the Dealings against the noble Indian Chief by our People, forms one of the blackest Pages in the History of New England. Mr. Arnold says (*Hist. R. I.*, i, 117), "A justly severe Criticism on the Authors of the Outrage is penned by Mr. Savage [in his Edition of *Wintthrop's Journal*]. The scathing Remarks of the Editor, honourable alike to himself and to humanity, come with a better Grace from a Massachusetts Man than any Comments from a Son of Rhode Island could do—who will find enough besides to denounce in the Conduct of the Puritans towards his State, although nothing more needlessly cruel than the clerico-judicial Murder here recorded." See also Gov. Hopkins's Remarks in *Majs. Hist. Colls.*, xix, 202.

My own Comments, with all the Particulars of this Transaction and the Causes which led to it, will be found in the *Book of the Indians*.

<sup>235</sup> The since well known *Sachems Plain* near Norwich is the Place of the Murder of *Miantonimo*, as it was the Place where the Battle was fought in which he was taken Prisoner. A square Block of Granite marks the Spot where it is supposed he was buried. For many Years after the rude Interment of the noble Chief, a conical Heap of Stones marked the Site of his Remains. That *Monument* was raised by the Indians, who, from the Time of *Miantonimo's* Death to a comparatively recent Period, always in passing his Grave placed a Stone upon the Pile. But when the English settled about Norwich, the Land was cleared, and the Monument to *Miantonimo* was removed and used in erecting a stone Fence. I visited *Sachem's Plain* many Years ago, and fought for the *Sachem's* Grave, but nothing marked its Site. On inquiring of a neighboring Farmer if he could tell me where the Grave of *Miantonimo* was, said "he could not, but he had heard that an old Indian was buried over there somewhere"—pointing to an indefinite Part of the Plain.

It is quite remarkable that our Author takes no Notice of the War

In the next Year the Peace of two of these Colonies, *viz*, those of *Connecticut* and *New Haven* was disturbed by the *Indians*.<sup>236</sup>

For, first an English man running away from his Master, out of the *Massachusetts* was murdered in the Woods near *Connecticut* by an Indian; and about six Weeks after was discovered by another Indian, a Sagamore in those Parts promised to deliver the Murderer bound to the English; and having brought him to *Vncarway* a Connecticut Sachim, he was there unbound it seems by their joynt Consent, and left to Shift for himself whereupon ten English men, who were forthwith sent by Mr. *Ludlow* to the Place, seeing the Murderer was escaped, laid hold on eight Indians there present, amongst whom there was a Sagamore or two, and kept them in hold two Dayes, until four *Sagamores* engaged themselves within one Moneth to deliver the Malefactor to Justice; About a Week after which Agreement an Indian came presumptuously, and in the Day time murderously assaulted an

of 1643, in which Mrs. Hutchinson and her Family were massacred. I have given the Events in the *Book of the Indians*, and it is therefore unnecessary to recount them here. See also Dr. O'Callaghan's *Narrative*.

<sup>236</sup> The Records of Connecticut and New Haven appear to be silent respecting any Troubles of the Nature here indicated; but Dr. Dwight says in his *Hist. of N. Haven*, 35: "Sept 30, a Pequot is hanged at

"New Haven for some of his Con-  
"duft in the Pequot War." And Mr. Goodwin has copied a Court Record showing that the Indian hanged was named *Nepaupuck*, and that he was proved to have been one of those who committed the Murders at Wethersfield in April, 1637, which brought on the Pequot War. See *Foote Genealogy*, xxv. See *Note* 138. The Indian called *Wampanck* by Roger Williams is doubtless the same as *Nepaupuck*.

English Woman in an House in *Stamford* and by three Wounds (supposed mortal) left her for dead, and robbed the House.<sup>237</sup> The Indians generally in those Parts demeaned themselves after an hostile Manner, refused to come to the English, or to attend Treaties of Peace, departed from their *Wigwams*, left their Corn unweeded, and shot off Guns near some English Plantations in a tumultuary Way, and some Indians informed that there was a Purpose to fall upon the English; so that there was Watching and Warding Day and Night. *New-Haven* and *Hartford* were sent unto, that Relief might be afforded the weaker Towns, also Application was made to the other Colonies for Assistance. At last the Indians were perswaded to deliver the Murderers up to Justice. So did these dark Clouds blow over.

[58] Nevertheless, in this Year (*viz.* in Anno 1644.) the Rage of the *Narragansets* against the *Mobeags* did break out again in greater Violence than ever before, infomuch that *Vncas* was forced to betake himself to a Fort, and was there surrounded with Multitudes of those Indians.<sup>238</sup> The English thought it their Concern, not to suffer

<sup>237</sup> According to a Record made by Winthrop in his *Journal*, this was a most foul Attempt to murder an unsuspecting Woman by an Indian named *Busbeage*. He was afterwards tried and executed, though the Woman survived her Wounds, but lost her Senses. Hoadley's *New Haven Col. Records*, i, 135, 146. This Attempt at Murder was

in the End of August, 1644.

<sup>238</sup> A pretty correct Notion of the Severity of the Fighting between the *Narragansets* and *Mohegans* may be obtained from a Letter of Thomas Peters, printed from the original MS, in the *Book of the Indians*, 133. See also Johnson, *Wonder Working Providences*, 184-5.

him, to be swallowed up by those Adversaries, since he had (though for his own Ends) approved himself Faithful to the English from Time to Time. The *Narragansets* perceiving that the English did (as they had Reason to) favour *Vncas*, began to be high and insolent in their Expressions and Actions, threatening to destroy the English (only as to the English at *Providence* and *Rhode-Island* the *Narraganset Sachims* concluded a Neutrality) as well as the *Mobeags*.<sup>239</sup>

Before these Things, there being four Colonies of English Inhabitants settled in this Country, *viz.* *Massachusetts*, *Plymouth*, *Connecticut* and *New-Haven*, (which is since become a Part of *Connecticut* Colony) who were sensible of the common Danger they were exposed unto, by Reason of Indians throughout this Land, as also in that *Dutch* and *Swedes*, and *French* had seated themselves not far off, who might some of them probably prove evil Neighbours, and withal considering that, as he in the famous Poet expresseth.

Συμπερτεη δ'αρσηη πελει ανδρω και μαλα λυγρων  
Νωι δε και κ' αγαθοισιν' επισιαιμεσθα μαχειθαι.

*Vis unita fortior*, if they were all Confederate it would tend to the Safety of the Whole: Articles

<sup>239</sup> It was sufficient Cause for Massachusetts to declare War against the Narragansets, that the latter were the Friends of the People of Rhode Island and Providence. Upon the sad Conclusion of this War, and the Death of Miantonimo, Mr. Arnold remarks: "To Mian-

tonomi and his Uncle, the sage Canonicus, who survived him four Years, Rhode Island owes more than to all others, Christian or Heathen, for the Preservation of the Lives of her Founders." *Hist. Rhode Island*, i, 118. This Decision will probably stand.

of Confederation were agreed upon, whence these were called the *United Colonies*.<sup>240</sup> And now was there an Opportunity for them to Act as became such; wherefore each of the Colonies did proportionably first send out Souldiers to keep Garrison with *Vncas*, and after that raised an Army in order to War with the *Narragansets*.<sup>241</sup>

When a War was with good Advice<sup>242</sup> concluded on, forty Men were immediately sent out of the *Massachusets* to relieve *Vncas*, who upon the departure of *Connecticut* Souldiers (their Time appointed them to keep Garrison with *Vncas* being expired) was presently set upon by the *Narragansets*; but further Attempts upon him were prevented by the coming of those from the *Massachusets*. Also before the other Colonies could expedite what concerned the whole Design, Forces were sent out of Plymouth under the Command of Capt. *Standish*, and marched as far as *Rehoboth*, that being near the Borders of the Enemy.

That worthy Commander, Major *Edward Gib-*

<sup>240</sup> Deputies from the four Colonies met at Boston, and the Articles of Confederation were signed on the 19th of May, 1643. Those Deputies were—JOHN WINTHROP, Governor of *Massachusets*, THOMAS DUDLEY, GEORGE FENWICK, THEOPHILUS EATON, EDWARD HOPKINS, and THOMAS GREGSON.

At the Meeting of the Commissioners at Boston on the 7th of Sept. following, the Fate of Miantonimo was determined. Edward Winslow

and William Collyer were sent as Commissioners from Plymouth, and those for the other Colonies were the same as before. Winthrop was President.

<sup>241</sup> It was ordered by the Commissioners of the United Colonies, that *Massachusets* should raise 100 Men; the other Colonies each 45.

<sup>242</sup> This has Reference to the Advice of the Ministers.

*bons*,<sup>243</sup> was appointed a *General*. Mr. *Tompson*<sup>244</sup> Pastor of the Church in *Braintree*, being in [59] diverse Respects eminently fitted for such a Service, was to sound the silver Trumpet along with this Army. They did solemnly take their Leave of their Friends, and were solemnly commended to the Blessing of the God of Armies: But as they were just marching out of *Boston*, (their Baggage being sent before towards the Enemies Quarters) many of the principal *Narraganset* Indians, *viz.* *Pessicus*, *Mexano*, and *Witawash* Sagamores, and *Awasequin* Deputy for the *Nianticks*; these with a large Train came to *Boston*, suing for Peace, being willing to submit to what Terms the English should see cause to impose upon them.<sup>245</sup>

It was demanded of them that they should defray the Charges that they had put the English to,<sup>246</sup>

<sup>243</sup> Gen. Gibbons was in New England in 1639, but how, whence or where he came is not certain. He appears to have been among the Colonists who came early to the south Shore of Massachusetts Bay, possessed a good Estate for those Times. Settled in Boston where he held various honorable Offices, and had a Family of Children. He died 1654. Johnson gives him a high Character. See *Won. Work. Prov.* 191.

the Poet and Mathematician. There is a Pedigree of the Family in the *New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Register*, xv, 112-116. William Tompson died 10 Dec., 1666.

<sup>245</sup> Some Additions to these Facts may be found in the *Book of the Indians*, 133-4.

<sup>244</sup> Members of this Family usually spelled their Name *Tompson*. Mr. Tompson was one of the most distinguished Ministers in New England. He was the Father of the not less distinguished Benjamin Tompson,

<sup>246</sup> This seems to have been a preposterous Demand, as the Indians were notoriously without any Means to perform such Obligations. In Case of War with them Johnson says: "The naked Natives have neither Plunder nor Cash to bear 'the Charges.'" *Wonder Working Prov.*, 182. Perhaps their Land was in Prospect.



and that the *Sachims* should send their Sons to be kept as Hostages in the Hands of the English until such Time as the Money should be payed. All this did the *Narragansets* yeild unto.

*Mel in ore, verba lactis Fel in corde fraus in factis.*

Notwithstanding the *Narragansets* have dissembled Friendship with the English, yet Venome hath been in their Hearts ever since these Motions: Nor was there any other then *Fides Græca* observed by them, in the performance of their Engagements.

In the first Place they endeavoured to play *Leger de main* in their sending Hostages. For instead of *Sachems* Children, they thought to send some other, and to make the English believe those base *Papooses*, were of royal Progeny, but they had those to deal with, who were too Wise to be so eluded. After the expected *Hostages*, were in the Hands of the English, the *Narragansets*, notwithstanding that, were slow in the Performance of what they stood engaged for. And when upon a partial Discharge of the Debt, their Hostages were restored to them, they became more backward than formerly, until they were by hostile Preparations again and again terrified into better Obedience. At last Major *Atherton*, (then Capt. *Atherton*) of *Dorchester*<sup>247</sup> was sent with a small Party of English Souldiers to demand what was due. He at first

<sup>247</sup> Major Atherton was accidentally killed by his Horse stumbling over a Cow in the Dusk of the Evening, as he was returning Home from a military Parade, June 16th, 1661. See *Hist. and Antiqs. Boston*, 361; *N. Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, ii, 382; v, 393.

entered into the *Wigwam* where old *Ninnigret* (the *Nyantick* Sachim) resided, with only two or three Souldiers, appointing the Rest by Degrees to follow him, two or three dropping in at once, when his small Company were come about him that Indians in the meantime supposing that there had been many more behind, he caught the Sachim by the Hair of his Head, and set a Pistol to his Breast, protesting who ever escaped, he should surely dy, if he did not forthwith comply with what was required. Hereupon a great Trembling and Consternation surprized the Indians, albeit Multitudes of them were then present, with spiked Arrows<sup>248</sup> at their Bow strings ready to let fly. The Event was, the Indians [60] submitted and not one Drop of Blood was shed; nor was there (so far as I am informed) after this any open Discovery of Enmity in the *Narragansets* against the English until such Time as *Philip* began his great Rebellion. Yet it is evident that there hath been Treachery, and secret Treason against the English, amongst them.

*Astutum vapido servant sub peElore Vulpem.*

I have been told that a Man of God (viz. Mr. *Street*,<sup>249</sup> who formerly lived not far from those Parts) observing the Perfidiousness of those *Narra-*

<sup>248</sup> After the Indians became acquainted with Europeans they procured of them by Purchase whatever they could of Iron. Nails, Spikes, iron Hoops were greatly coveted. They soon found the Superiority of their Arrows when pointed with Iron. Hence the "spiked Arrows,"

mentioned in the Text.

<sup>249</sup> Mr. Nicholas Street of New Haven was early settled in Taunton, Massachusetts, but removed to New Haven, and died there, April 22d, 1674. Emery's *Ministry of Taunton*, i, 156-7.

*gansets*, and their Enmity against the Gospel, publicly declared that he foresaw the Destruction of the *Narraganset* Nation, solemnly confirming his Speech in saying, *If God do not destroy that People, then say that his Spirit hath not spoken by me.*

Surely that holy Man was a Prophet, Μάντις γ' αριστος όςισ εικαζει καλώς. *Qui bene conjiciet hunc Vatem.* And this is a summary Account of what hath in former Years hapned between us and the *Narragansets*.

Considering that the *Narraganset Troubles* have been of no small Concernment, it would be worth the while a little more fully to relate the Truth about those Motions. Only it is already done in good Part by that Declaration which was published by the Commissioners of the United Colonies, Anno. 1645. (together with the Articles then consented unto, and subscribed by the *Narraganset Sachims*<sup>250</sup>). Who so pleaseth to consult those Things will receive Satisfaction concerning the *War* which was at that Time fully intended, but not actually profecuted by Reason of the Indians Compliance as hath been specified.

In Anno 1646. They failed in the Performance of their Covenants, above expressed, as to every Particular therein contained.<sup>251</sup>

It is also evident that they had by presents of *Wampam* been practicing with the *Mohawks*, and

<sup>250</sup> Contained in Plymouth Colony Records, ix, 47-8.

Comings of the Indians are set down in the *Records of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, Plymouth Col. Records, ix, 75-6.*

<sup>251</sup> All the Allegations of the short

other Indians to engage them against *Vncas*, unto whom they knew the English had promised Protection. So that the English according to the Rules of Righteousness, might have righted themselves by the Justice of *War*, yet being desirous rather to manifest Long-suffering towards these Barbarians, the Commissioners of the United Colonies contented themselves with sending a Declaration to the *Narraganset* and *Niantick* Indians, signifying that they should no longer delay the Performance of what they had bound themselves unto, as ever they would not be look'd upon as a treacherous and perfidious People, no more to be treated with.<sup>252</sup>

<sup>252</sup> At the Meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies at Boston on the 26th of July, 1647, they say: "One principall Cause of their meetinge together at this Time being to consider what Course should be held with the Narragansett Indyans and their Confederates who haue not onely broken their Covenant solemnly made at Boston A<sup>o</sup> 1645, But as the Commissioners haue been informed credibly, haue bene plotting by p'sents of Wampam, engaging the Indyans rounde aboute to combine with them against the English Colonies in War." Therefore it was resolved to send Messengers to them, who were instructed to ascertain why they had not fulfilled their Agreement. The Messengers were Thomas Stanton, Benedict Arnold, and Sergeant Waite. On the 31st of July they

made their Report: That they had seen Passacus, the Chief of the Narragansets, and that he made divers Excuses for not performing his Engagements. One of the most reasonable seems to have been, that when he made them, he did not dare to do otherwise, as an Army stood ready with Guns in their Hands to compel him; that he did not meet the Commissioners at New Haven as they allege he was ordered, because he had no Notice of the Meeting; and because he was ill and had left the whole Affair to Ninigret. "In which Answere the Commissioners founde severall Passages of Vntruth, and were vnfatisfied."

On the 3d of August Ninigret and some of the Nianticks, and two of Passacus's Men came to Boston, Being questioned by the Commissioners, Ninigret did not corrobore

This Year also there was *Trouble* and Fears raised in the Country, by Reason of the *River-Indians*, at *Waranoke*,<sup>253</sup> and *Norwoottuck*,<sup>254</sup> who it seems were secretly contriving the Death of those famous *Worthyes* [61] *Mr. Hopkins*, *Mr. Hains*, and *Mr. Whiting*, Magistrates in *Connecticut* Colony. For I find upon publick *Record*, that Complaints and Informations about that Matter (in September, 1646) were brought before the Commissioners then assembled at *New-haven*, where an Indian testified that *Sequasson* the *Sachim* of *Waranoke*, had given him a Sum of Money on Condition that he would murder the Gentlemen mentioned.<sup>255</sup>

rate Pefacus's Statements; and to their Question, "Why they (the "Narraganfets) had not paid the "*Wampam* to the English according "to Covenant, he being by his "Deputy one of the Covenanters?" He expressed Ignorance of the Covenant, and asked "For what the "Narraganfets should pay so much "*Wampam*?" He said "he knew "not that they were indebted to the "English." See more of this onward.

From all which it is pretty evident that the Indians understood but little about Covenants and pecuniary Obligations, especially when they had received nothing for which Payment was demanded.

<sup>253</sup> Westfield in Massachusetts. It is found spelled several different Ways. *Waranot* and *Warranok*, in *Recs. Commissioners U. Colls.* i, 67, 69.

<sup>254</sup> Probably the same abridged to *Nonatuck*, Northampton. See Williams's *Hist. Northampton*.

<sup>255</sup> What the Records of the U. Colls. afford relative to this Matter of an Attempt to murder "those "famous Worthyes," may be seen in Vol. i, 66, &c.

Complaints of all Shades were continually made against the Indians. The following is a Specimen of many of them: "Mr. Pelham on behalf "of Richard Woddy [Woody or "Woody] and Mr. Pincham "[William Pinchon] by Letter "complained of some Thefts committed by some of the Narraganfett Indynans; the like Complnt "was also made by Mr. Browne "in the Behalfe of Wm. Smith of "Rehoboth, but in the Absence "of the Indynans nothing could "p'ceede." *Records of the C. U. C.*, i, 80.

Before the Commissioners convened, Mr. *Haines* had twice sent to *Sequasson*, but he neglected to make his Appearance: Wherefore *Jonathan Gilbert* was sent to him again, to signifie from the Commissioners that they expected *Sequasson's* Appearance before them, and to answer what he was accused with, and they promised him free Passage both to and from *Newhaven*, withall intimating that his withdrawing himself would greatly augment the Suspition of his Guilt.

The Messenger quickly returned, bringing Word, that he could not speak with *Sequasson*, who he supposed had received Notice of his coming by other Indians, and was thereupon fled.

But a few Days after, *Nipnisoit* and *Naimetaybu*<sup>256</sup> two *Sagamores*, came with some other Indians to *Newhaven*, declaring that they were Friends to *Sequasson*, and pretended great Respect to the English, and that they had brought *Sequasson* to clear himself, and that although one of them had him by one Arm, another by the other, when he was come near the Town,<sup>257</sup> he brake from them and was escaped.

The Commissioners told them they intended *Sequasson* no Hurt; but desired to bring him and his Accusers Face to Face, that he should have a just Hearing in their Presence.

<sup>256</sup> In the Records these Names are *Nepinsoyt*, and *Naimataigue*. "Fence, he brake from them." They added alsoe, that "he was

<sup>257</sup> "Yet when he was neare "brought no Present." *Records*, "New Haven, almost at the Towne *ib. i, 67.*

Some other Indians informed that *Sequaffon* was within a Mile of *Newhaven*, and it was conceived that he would gladly make his Peace by some other Means, rather than by a due Examination and Trial. The two *Sagamores* said he was much afraid, and durst not come, though they confessed it was just he should come and clear himself, if innocent; all which being considered, the Commissioners conceived that *Sequaffon* whether guilty or afraid of the English, would still be Plotting against them and so prove dangerous; wherefore they thought fit, and ordered that all just and prudent Means should be used (his Life being preserved) to bring him to a Tryal, that the Matter might be some Way issued. In the mean Time they thought good to examine *Wotchiborow*<sup>258</sup> a *Pocatuck* Indian, *Sequaffons* Accuser, who waited to give in Evidence against him. He (being warned by *Thomas Stanton* the Interpreter, to speak nothing but Truth) affirmed, that being this last Spring at *Waranoke*, in a Wigwam with *Sequaffon*, and ready to depart, *Sequaffon* perswaded him to [62] stay three Days, thence he drew him to the *Falls* above Mr. Pinchons; when they had been there four Dayes, *Wotchiborow* would have been gone to *Mobeag*, to see some Friends; *Sequaffon* told him it was dangerous Travelling that Way, he would be killed, walked along with him to a Spring, and there told him if ever he would doe the said *Sequaffon* a Kind-

<sup>258</sup> *Wotchibrok*, *Wontibrou* and *is Potatuke*. Now *Pawcatuck* or *Wotchibrough* in the Records. See *Paugatuck*. Westerly in Rhode Vol. i, 68. *Pocatuck* in the Records Island.

ness now was a Time, he was almost ruined, and the English at *Hartford*, the Cause of it: He should therefore go to *Hartford* and kill Mr. *Hopkins*, Mr. *Hains* and Mr. *Whiting* and he would give him a Reward, and thereupon pluckt out of his Bag, three Girdles of *Wampam*, and gave them to him, with a Piece of a Girdle of *Wampam* to play, and promised him much more. *Wotchiborow* said it was dangerous to kill an English *Sachim*, they would find out the Murderer and pursue him to Death, what could then *Wampam* doe him good? *Sequasson* said he had Store of *Wampam*, when the Thing was done they would fly to the *Mohawkes*, but in the Way, when they came to the *Wampeag-Indians*,<sup>259</sup> he should give it out that *Vncas* had hired him for so much *Wampam*, and that would set the English *against Uncas*, and then he the said *Sequasson* should rise again.

He further told this Examinee, that *Naymetaybu*, one of the forementioned *Sagamores* that came on the Behalf of *Sequasson*, and his Father, knew and approved of the said Murther.

*Wotchiborow* further saith that having taken the aforesaid *Wampam*, he remembered that himself had formerly taken *Busheag*,<sup>260</sup> and brought him to the English, who for a murderous Attempt at *Stamford* was put to Death at *Newhaven*, that if he should kill any English *Sachim*, he should goe

<sup>259</sup> There was a Place called *Wamkeag*, two Miles N. E. of *Greenville* in R. I. But whether this refers to Indians living *there*, or to the *Wampanoags*, or othe Indians, it is uncertain. See *Parsons*, 29.

<sup>260</sup> See *Note* 232.



in Fear of Death all the Dayes of his Life, and that for bringing in *Busbeag*, he had a Gratuity from the English, and for the Discovery of this Plot he should have their Favour, and he thought the Favour of the English with Security would be better to him than *Sequassons Wampam* with Fear and Danger; he therefore came first to *Tunksus*<sup>261</sup> and the next Day to *Hartford*, and discovered *Sequassions* Practise.

He said further that *Sequassion* hearing of the Discovery, spake to *Romanoke* an Indian, and he sent another Indian called *Sixpence* to this Examine, desiring him to hide and conceal as much of the Plot as he could and not to lay all open, but he in Anger bade the said *Sixpence* hold his Peace, he had discovered it, and would hide nothing.

Thus much do I find upon Record, relating to *Sequassions* Plot. What afterwards came of this Business, or how it issued, I cannot say.<sup>262</sup> There was also another Trouble about the Indians this Year.

[63] For whilst the Commissioners were sitting

<sup>261</sup> *Tunxis*—Farmington in Connecticut.

<sup>262</sup> It would seem by the "*Acts of the Commissioners*," of Sept. 1650, that *Sequason* had fled to the Mohawks for Protection, and that at their Request "that he might have Libertie without Offence to returne to his former Habitation, alledging how redly and willing they have been to gratify the

"English in what they have requested"—"they thought meet that an Answere bee returned to this Purpose,—That the English neither formerly haue nor yet doe p'hibite his Returne, soe that hee carry himselfe inoffenciely, for the Future hee may come at his Pleasure, and that they are now the more free for it being requested by them." *Records Commissioners U. C.*, i, 170.

at *Newhaven*, Petitions were presented from<sup>263</sup> *Edward Elmere* and some others, complaining that Indians had willfully and maliciously burned some Quantity of Pitch, and Tarr of theirs, together with some Bedding, and a Cart with its Furniture, and Tools &c. in Value about an hundred Pounds. And particularly they complained of one *Wafemose*, a *Waranoke*<sup>264</sup> Indian as guilty therein, as by sufficient Evidence they thought they could prove; and that he hath since avoided all the English Plantations; and that he being sent for by a Warrant from one of the Magistrates of *Connecticut*, fled; but being overtaken and seized by some of the English, he was rescued by some of the Indians, and the English by them jeered and abused, and particularly by *Chickwallop* Sachim of *Norwootuck*. Whereupon *Jonathan Gilbert* and *John Griffin*, were sent to *Chickwallop* and *Manafanes*.

At their Return, they informed that they could not meet either with *Chickwallop* or *Manafanes*, but the *Sagamores* and Indians at *Waranoke* carried it insolently towards the English, vaunting themselves in their Arms, Bows and Arrows, Hatchets and Swords, some with their Guns ready charged, before and in the Presence of the English Messengers, they primed and cockt them ready to give Fire, and told them, that if they should offer to carry away any Men thence, the Indians were

<sup>263</sup> " John Griffin, Edward Elmar and others. *Acts of the Commissioners*, i, 69.

<sup>264</sup> " *Wabannos* a *Waranot* Indian." *Ibid.* In the same Page *Wanbannos* is called *Mabanose*.

resolved to Fight,<sup>265</sup> yet the next Morning the *Sachim* with some others offered the English Messengers eight Fathom of *Wampam*, towards Satisfaction, and promised to provide more. The Messengers not having any thing to that Purpose in their Commission, advised the *Sachim* to send to the Commissioners, but he refused. Hereupon, *Naymetaybu*<sup>266</sup> one of the *Sagamores* of *Wananoke*, who, as before, came on *Sequassons* Behalf, was questioned by the Commissioners about these proud Affronts to the English; At first he denied what was charged, and excused some Part, but one of the English Messengers being present, and he hearing the Rest should be sent for, he fell under most of the Charge, professing that he intended no Harm to the English. Thus concerning Disturbance by the Indians in the Year, 1646.<sup>267</sup>

In Anno, 1647. New Fears and Troubles arose by Reason of the *Narraganset* Indians, there being credible Informations that they were Plotting, and by Presents of *Wampam*, engaging the Indians round about to combine with them against the

<sup>265</sup> “ And if they should stay but one Night at the English trading House [with a captured Indian] neare all the Country would come to rescue any such Indian seized.” *Ibid*, p. 70.

<sup>266</sup> *Noynetacha*.

<sup>267</sup> Besides this there are numerous Entries in the Records showing that

an evil Spirit constantly stirred up Uncas to do Mischief. Having laid the Connecticut and Massachusetts English under singular Obligations, they had to shuffle very adroitly to keep their Temper with that miscreant Indian. It is a desperate Game which requires the employment of a Rogue to play an important Part of it. Indian History scarcely affords a Parallel in Perfidy to Uncas.

English Colonies, infomuch that a Meeting of the Commissioners was called before the ordinary Time; Being therefore convened at *Boston*, July 26. A Messenger was sent to *Narraganset*, signifying to *Pesicus* and other *Sachims* there, that the English Commissioners expected their Appearance at *Boston*, and that if they [64] did refuse or delay, they should no more be sent unto, withal promising them safe Conduct, in Case they only attended. The Meeffnger being returned informed that *Pesicus* excused his not meeting the Commissioners at *New Haven* the last Year, from his Ignorance of the Time, when he should attend, though that was falsely pretended by him. He also desired Excuse for his not appearing at this Time, because he said he was sick and not able to come, (but the Messengers could not perceive that he was subject to any such Sickness or Disablement) Nevertheless, he had given full Power to *Ninnigret* to act on his Behalf. Moreover, he excused his not performing the *Articles* he had subscribed at *Boston*, two Years before, by pretending that he was frightened into that Engagement, with the Sight of the English Army, which was then ready to invade the *Narraganset* Country, and he thought they would follow him Home, and there kill him if he did not promise to do as the English would have him.

August 3. *Ninnigret* with some *Niantick* Indians, and too of *Pesicus* his Men came to *Boston*. At first he (though against his Conscience) made as if he were ignorant, and had never been in-

formed of the Covenants which the Indians had made to the English, and seemed to wonder that the English should ask such a Sum of *Wampam*, saying that he knew not that the Indians were in the Englishmens debt. He was then put in mind, how that formerly Satisfaction had been demanded of the Indians for the Breach of Articles; and how the English Messengers had been ill intreated by them, and particularly by himself, who had used threatening and insolent Language, saying to the Messengers, that he knew the Commissioners would endeavor to keep them from warring upon *Vncas*, but they were resolved they would do it for all that, and nothing but *Vncas* his Head should satisfy them; and that if the English did not withdraw their Garrisons from the Defence of *Vncas*, they would heap up their Cattel as high as their *Wigwams*, and that he was the Man that had given out that an Englishman should not step out of Doors to piss but they would kill him. *Ninigret* not being able to deny these Charges, and somewhat appalled thereat, began to comply with the reasonable Demands of the English.<sup>269</sup> A Dayes Time was

<sup>269</sup> The Author has omitted as important a Part of the Records as that he has given, but the Omission is too long for a Note. See *Records of the Commissioners*, i, 88. But in order to understand the Resources of the Indians the following Extract is given. I imagine however that some allowance should be made as to their Ability to pay a large Sum, for it does not appear that this Debt

was ever cancelled. “*Ninigret* not able to deny this Charge [that an Englishman should not step out of Doores,” &c.] “pretended that the English Messengers provoked him, but that appeared a false and weak Excuse. He affirmed that the Some was so great, that the *Narragansets* had not *Wampam* enough to pay it— it being well knowne to the Co-

allowed him for Consideration and Advice with the Rest of the Indian Deputyes that were then in *Boston*.

The next Day he declared that he was resolved to give the English Colonies due Satisfaction in all Things, and that he would forthwith send some of his Men to gather up the *Wampam* which was yet behind hoping that within ten Dayes it might be obtained, and that himself [65] would stay with the English as Security, untill the Money was paid. Accordingly he dispatched his Messengers home for that End, who not many Dayes after, came back to *Boston*, bringing with them two hundred Fathom of *Wampam*, towards Satisfaction of what they owed to the English. This falling very much short of what was expected, *Ninigret* pleaded that his personal Absence from Home was the Cause of that Defect, and therefore desired Liberty to go Home, withal adding, that if the Whole were not paid by next Spring, the English should take his Head, and sieze his Country. The Commissioners let him depart, and since he pretended so fair, did deliver to him the Children which were kept as

“missioners that the Narragansets  
“are a greate People, and can rease  
“a greater Quantity of Wampam  
“vpon a short Warning when they  
“please.” Finally, *Ninigret*, seeing that pleading Poverty would not overcome Cupidity, agreed to such Terms as was demanded of him. What had been offered by *Pessacus* was in Kettles and Wampam, in all, £17:9:6, but it was called “a con-

“temptible sum,” and was refused, so the Messenger sold the Kettles to Mr. Samuel Shrimpton for £14:5. In our View this was not so “contemptible” a Sum as might be imagined. This last Amount being raised from the Sale of the brass Kettles taken from the Families of the Indians! The Weight of these Kettles was 285 lbs. See *Book of Indians*.

*Hostages*, expecting from him, the more Care to see Engagements performed; and if they did find him real, that then former Neglects should be charged upon *Peficus*, and that they should expect his Assistance, when it should be required, in recovering the whole Remainder from *Peficus*; all which Things were cheerfully accepted by *Ninigret*.<sup>270</sup>

This Year other *Troubles* hapned by some of *Vncas* his Indians, who committed several Outrages upon the English in the *Pequot* Country. Mr. *John Wintbropp*, and some with him, complained

<sup>270</sup> The Failure of the Chief to perform his Promise shows plainly enough two Facts: first, that the Indians were unable to raise so large an Amount of Money; and second, that a Sachem's Power to compel his People to part with what they possessed did not amount to anything like arbitrary Power. The Commissioners were evidently fully aware of these Facts, and wished to use their own Power to keep the Indians under their Control. The original Records add: "Not thinking it meet to begin a present War, if Satisfaction (though with a little forbearance may be had otherwise) by their Interpreter acquainted *Ninagratt*, that since he pretended the *Wampam* had bene gathered and paid, if himself had been at home, they would giue him free leaue to returne, and twenty Dayes more from hence to collect and send the Residue yet behinde; and

“ tho’ 500 Fathome of the *Wampam* now due should fall short in his Payment 20 Dayes hence, they would forbear it till next planting Time; and in the meane Time accept both the 200 Fathom now brought, and the 105 F. intended for a present, in part. Paymt, but if they brought not 1000 Fathome more within 20 Dayes, the Comissrs. would send no more Messengers, but take Course to right themselves as they see Cause.” This is accompanied with the further Threat, that if they should resort to Armes, the Indians need not expect to escape Vengeance as hitherto, by a little *Wampam*; that though they (the English) would be justified in putting the Hostages to Death, they would forthwith deliver the Children to *Ninagratt*, expecting from him the more Care to see Engagements fully satisfied.”  
*Records U. C.*, i, 106.

that *Wowequay*<sup>271</sup> (*Vncas* his Brother) with about forty *Mobeags*, behaved themselves insolently, hovering against the English Plantation in a suspicious Manner, to the Afrightment of the Inhabitants there; Also, although *Vncas* at first seemed gladly to entertain the English Plantation at *Pequot*, yet his Carriage since was such as if he designed by *Alarums* to disturb and break that Plantation. In fine *Vncas* was censured, and required to acknowledge his Fault to the English Plantation, (which he did) and pay an hundred Fathom of *Wampam* to make amends for Wrongs sustained.<sup>272</sup>

In *September* 1648. New Complaints were brought before the Commissioners of the United Colonies, (then sitting at *Plymouth*) against the *Narraganset* Indians. *Henry Bull* of *Rhode-Island* petitioned for Relief, informing that those Indians had beaten him, and other Wayes been injurious to him. Also Messengers from the Town of *Warwick* came with Complaints in Behalf of the whole Town,<sup>273</sup> alledgeing that their Neighbour Indians did kill their Cattel,<sup>274</sup> abuse their Servants when they took them alone, and sometimes would

<sup>271</sup> Written *Nowequa* in the Records.

<sup>272</sup> The Records here are too much abridged to give the Reader a correct Idea of the Transactions intended to be noticed. As they cannot be abridged intelligibly the Reader is only referred to them. See *Records Coms. U. C. i, 101-2.*

Randall Houlden and Mr. John Warner. They had "a Writing vnto vs [say the Commissioners] from the Towne or Plantati<sup>o</sup> of Warwicke, as they call it, subscribed by Mr. John Smith, Assistant in behalfe of the whole Towne, dated the 4th of the 7th Mo. 1648."

<sup>274</sup> And "about a hundred hoggs,"

<sup>273</sup> The Messengers were Mr. &c.



make forcible Entry into their Houfes, yea, and strike the Mafters thereof, and ftal and purloyn their Goods at Pleafure. At the fame Time, Informations were brought before the Commiffioners, that the *Narraganfet* Indians inftead of paying the *Wampam* that was due to the Colonyes, had improved their *Wampam* to hire Indians to invade *Vncas*, and in Cafe the Englifh fhould defend [66] him, to fight with them alfo. Particularly, that *Ninigret* had given, out that if the Englifh did protect *Vncas*, he would quickly burn the Houfes at Connecticut. The *Narraganfets* were withdrawing their old Men, Women, and Children into Swamps, hiding their Corn, &c. The mercenary *Mobawks* were faid to be about four hundred in Number, all armed with Guns, and three Pound of Powder for every Man.

Thefe Counfils were fo far ripened and prepared for Execution, as that *Thomas Stanton* and other Meffengers from Connecticut, goeing to the Indians to enquire into, and (if might be) ftop Proceedings, found them met at *Pacomptuck* their Rendezvouze, who acknowledged that they had received *Wampam* from the *Narraganfets* to invade *Vncas*, and that they were met together to that Purpofe, expecting *Mobawks* and other Indians to make up their full Numbers: But hearing that two *Mobawk* Sachims, were lately killed by the Eastern Indians, and that the Englifh, who, they thought were a juft and warlike People, would defend *Vncas*, they did therefore ftop their intended Proceedings at this Time. But thefe Things made it yet more evident,

that the *Narragansets* were a false and treacherous People, not to be trusted, nor worthy to be treated with.

*Anno* 1649. *Newhaven* Colony was in apparent Danger of being involved in Trouble by Reason of the Indians there: For at *Stamford* a Man going forth to seek his Cattel returned not home as was expected, nor could be found by the English that fought for him; but quickly after the Son of a *Sagamore* who lived near *Stamford*, came into the Town, and told the English that *John Whitmore* was murdered by an Indian called *Toquattos*, and to prove it, told them that *Toquattos* had some of his Cloathes; and particularly his Shirt made of Cotton-linnen. Hereupon the English and some Indians went into the Woods to seek the murdered Body for burial, but though they bestowed much Time and Labour, they could not find it. Diverse of the English at *Stamford* suspected the *Sagamores* Son to be either Author or Accessory to the Murther, but had not satisfying Grounds to seize and charge him.

About two or three Months after, *Vncas* coming to *Stamford*, calling the Indians thither, and enquiring after the murdered Body, the forementioned *Sagamores* Son, and another suspected Indian called *Kehoron*<sup>275</sup> fell a trembling, and hereby confirmed the Suspicion of the English, and wrought a Suspicion in some of the *Mobegin* Indians, so that they said these two Indians were *Matchet*, meaning they

<sup>275</sup> *Reboron*, according to the nowhere else mentioned, under either printed Records. I find this Indian Name.

were Guilty. Notwithstanding the Indians thereabouts excused the *Sagamores* Son, and accused [67] *Toquattos*, and intimated that if the *Sagamores* Son should upon Suspition be seized on by the English, the Indians would doe the like by some English, untill he should be set at Liberty.<sup>276</sup>

Likewise at *South-hampton* in *Long-Island*, the English were exposed to great Difficulties and Dangers by Reason of a Murder committed in that Town, so that they were necessitated to arm themselves and stand upon their own Defence for many Dayes; the Indians being gathered together in an hostile Posture.<sup>277</sup>

This Year also *Vncas* renewed his Complaints against the *Narraganset* Indians, that notwithstanding all former Engagements, they are still undermining his Peace, and seeking his Ruine, and in particular that to their late Endeavour to bring the

<sup>276</sup> " The Comissioners being minded [July 1649] that *Afquash*, a Murderer of an Englishman some Yeares since in or neare the Bounds of *Fairfield* lived yet (according to general Report) among Indians neare to som of the English Plantations in those Parts, and that the non p'suite of so notorious a Malefactor is like to proue prejudiciall to the English by givinge incurragment to the Indians in other malicious and murtherous Attempts. It is therefore thought fit that the two western Colonies use the best Means they can to take him, and then p'ceed with him according to Righteousness."

*Records of the Commissioners*, i, 142.

<sup>277</sup> " An Information being also given of som Indians at *Long Island* that (by the Accufation of a Native that suffered lately at *Hartford* for a Murther) are guilty of the Death of som English who suffered boatwacke some Yeares past in a Vessell belonging to one *Cope* at or near *Long Island*. It was desired and thought expedient that all Opportunities p'senting bee improved for making Inquiry and searching after the Truth and (if Evidence appeere) the Murtherers be prosecuted to Justice." *Ibid*, i, 142.

*Mobawks* upon him, when that failed, they fought by Witchcraft to take away his Life. A *Narraganset* Indian (called *Cuttaquin*) in an English Vessel in *Mobegin* River,<sup>278</sup> ran a Sword into *Vncas* his Breast, whereby he received to all Appearances a mortal Wound, which murderous Act, the Assailant then confessed, he was for a considerable Sum of *Wampam*, by the *Narraganset* and *Niantick* Sachems hired to attempt. *Ninnigret* when examined utterly denied his having an Hand in that Fact but, affirmed that *Cuttaquin*, who accused himself, and the other Sachims, was drawn thereunto by Torture from the *Mobeags*.<sup>279</sup>

<sup>278</sup> A Part of Pequot River, probably that Part of the Thames above Montville.

<sup>279</sup> The Records continue: "but he was tould that the Assailant before hee cam into the Hands of the Moheges, p'sently after the Fact was comited, layed the charg vpon him [Ninnigret] with the Rest, which hee conferred the Day folowing to Captaine Mason in the p'sence of the English that were in the Barkque with him . . . that hee was p'sented to Vncas vnder the notion of one appertaining to Vssamequin wherby hee was acknowledged as his Friend and no Provocation giuen him." . . . "Theire Indeavours to disturb the Peace by theire Confederasy with the Mowhawkes was so euident by Mr. John Winthroppe and Mr. Williams Relation the last Year, together with

" the Confession of the Mowhawkes themselves to Thomas Stanton." The Commissioners then recount the Indebtedness of Ninnigret, and "expressed themselves altogether vnsatisfied in the whole Frame of his P'ceedings," and recommended to all the Colonies to bee in constant Readiness either for Defence or Offence as the State of Occasions may call for, which is like to be turbulent and difficult, which they the rather p'sent to concideration from an Information thay received sence theire siting, of a Marriage shortly intended betwixt Ninnigrets Daughter and a Brother or Brothers Soone of Sassaquas, the maligniant furious Pequot, wherby p'bably their Aimes are to gather together and reunite the scattered conquered Pequates into one Body, and sett them vpp againe as a distinct Nation which hath alwayes been

About four Years after this (*viz.* in Anno 1653.)<sup>280</sup> there were great *Troubles*, and Commotions raised in the Spirits of Men with reference to the Indians, it being generally believed that there was an horrid Conspiracy amongst the Indians throughout this Land to cut off all the English, and that they were animated thereto by the Dutch; there being at that Time war between England and Holland.<sup>281</sup> An Indian *Squaw* was sent by other Indians (that professed Love and Friendship) to one in *Wethersfield* on *Connecticut* informing that there was a Confederacy between the Dutch and the Indians, to destroy the English Colonies, and that the Day of

“wittnesd against by the English, and may hassard the Peace of the Colonies.” Here Affairs appear to haue rested for that Time. Whether the *fearful* Marriage took place we are not informed, although an Inference that it did is drawn from the Commissioners’ Records of the next Year (1650), i, 169.

Yet the Commissioners do not seem to haue troubled themselves about Uncas’s Marriages, one of whose Wives was Sister to Saffacus.

<sup>280</sup> Notwithstanding the Author skips nearly four Years, there were constant Troubles with the Indians during that Time; one Tribe complaining of another to the English. At the Meeting of the Commissioners in Sept. 1650, Uncas complained that “the Mohansick Sachem in Long Island had killed some of” his Men, “bewitched diuers and “himself also,” and desired that

he might be “righted therein.” But the Complaint could not be acted on because the Long Island Sachem was not present to answer or defend himself. So it was advised that the Governor of Connecticut commission Capt. John Mason, Mr. Howell, Mr. Gosmer and Thomas Benedict of Southhold to attend to the Case. What the Commissioners thought of Uncas being bewitched they do not inform us; but from their Silence on that Point it may reasonably be concluded that they thought the Devil had more to do with him than Witches.

<sup>281</sup> Whatever Grounds there may have been for suspecting a Combination of Indians with the Dutch against the English Colonists at this Period, there seems not to be found any reliable Facts of such Combination or Conspiracy. All the Testimony elicited is vague and uncertain.

Election of Magistrates in the several Jurisdictions was intended for Execution, because then the Towns would be left naked and less able to defend themselves. This Squaw moreover desired the English to remember, how dear their slighting of her former Information of the *Pequots* coming had cost them.<sup>282</sup>

Also, *Vncas* addressed himself to the Governour of *Connecticut* Colony declaring that *Ninnigret* had that Winter been at *Manhatos*, and that he had given the Dutch Governour a great Present of *Wampam*, and received from him twenty Gunns, with Powder and Shot answerable; [68] and that during his stay in those Parts, he went over *Hudsons* River, gathered as many *Sachims* together as he could, made ample Declaration against the English, desiring their Aid and Assistance against them.

Yea moreover, there were no less than nine Indian *Sagamores*, who lived near *Manhatos*, did voluntarily without any Notice or Reward from the English, send their Messengers to *Stamford* declaring and affirming (even after they were urged by the English to testifie nothing but the Truth) that the Dutch had solicited them by promising them Gunns, Swords, Powder, Wampan, Waist coats and Coats to cut off the English. The Messengers added that they would not lye, and were as the Mouth of the nine Sagamores, who *All speak they no lye*, they would affirm it to the Dutch Govern-

<sup>282</sup> This refers to the Maffacre at Waternown (afterwards called Wethersfield), and to the Agency of the Wife of Mononotto, probably.

ours Face, and if the Dutch were angry, and should fight with them, *No Force &c.* The next Day, one of those Sagamores, with the Son and Brother of another of them came themselves to *Stamford*, and confirmed what their Messengers in their Names had before reported.

This Spring also the Indians in the northern and eastern Parts generally grew insolent, and their Cariage very Suspicious, and they gave out threatening Words, so that many Alarms were made, the Peace of the English through the whole Country disturbed, they wearied with extraordinary Watchings and Wanderings, hindered in their Plowing, Sowing, preparations for Planting and other Occasions, to their exceeding great Damage. These Things caused many sad Thoughts of Hearts, and some warlike Preparations; but when the Parties accused were enquired of about these Matters they would own nothing; as for *Ninigret* he pretended that his wintering amongst the Dutch was on the Account of his Health, and not at all out of Design against the English. The Rest of the *Narraganset Sachims* made themselves very ignorant of any Plot; the Dutch Governour likewise professed great Abhorency of so vile a Thing as that would be, to hire barbarous Indians to murder Christians; withall adding, that if the Colonies fell upon him on that Account, the righteous Judge would be his Defence,<sup>283</sup> and that,

..... *Hic murus abeneus esto*  
*Nil conscire sibi nullâ pallefcere culpâ.*

<sup>283</sup> Peter Stuyvesant was Governour of the Dutch at New Am-

Also glad Tidings of Peace between the Nations at Home arrived here; so did these Troubles vanish.<sup>284</sup>

Albeit not many Years after these Things, the Indians in those Parts made an horrible Slaughter, not of English-men but Dutch-men, who were treacherously massacred by them.<sup>285</sup>

[69] In the latter End of this Year it was that the *Montauket* or *Long-Island* Indians who were Friends and Tributaries to the English, complained that *Ninnigret* and the *Nianticks* had assaulted them, killing and taking captive diverse of them. They were so far hearkned unto, as that the Com-

sterdam (N. York) and there has nothing since been discovered in the Character of the Dutch Governor to warrant any other Conclusion, but that he was malignantly traduced by the vagabond Indians. Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven seemed inclined to believe the Stories; but Massachusetts, less interested, did not credit the Tales.

<sup>284</sup> The Treaty of Peace with Holland was signed the 5th April, 1654; the News of which was received in Boston, 23d June following. See Holmes, *Annals*, i, 301.

<sup>285</sup> New England has never seen so distressing a Time as was experienced by the Dutch Settlers adverted to in the Text. Tolerably minute Accounts may be read of those Troubles in O'Callaghan and Brodhead's Histories and their Authorities indicated. The Invasion by the Indians is said to have began on the

13th of September, 1655. But if so there must have been another Invasion the same Year; for, on the same Day the Commissioners of the United Colonies, who had met at New Haven on the 6th of Sept., 1655, say, that on "the 15 of the " present September, by the Returne " of the Messengers whom they had " sent forth for Inquiry, received " certaine Intelligence of a great " Massacar perpetrated by the Wam- " peage and other Indians vpon the " Dutch at the Monhatoes," who had taken seventy of the Dutch Prisoners; that as they were about to take Means to ransom the Captives, Mr. Allerton's Ketch arrived at New-haven from Manhattan, bringing News that the Indians had offered to make Peace, and a Treaty was entered upon. They therefore thought any Action on their Part unnecessary. *Records Commissioners U. C.*, ii, 144. See also *A Narrative* just issued by Dr. O'Callaghan.



missioners of the United Colonies did apprehend themselves called of God to wage War against *Ninigret* and such Indians as should adhere to him in his bloody Proceedings, and accordingly did by Vote conclude and determine the same, and that two hundred and fifty Souldiers should be forthwith raised, and sent forth by the several Colonies. But the Council of *Boston* not concurring in those Conclusions, the intended Expedition failed at that Time;<sup>286</sup> Nevertheless the next Year, it being known that *Ninnigret* persisted in his warring upon the Long Islanders, and that he brake his Covenant, refusing to pay Tribute for those *Pequots* that were by the English formerly placed under him, and that the Lenity of the Colonies was abused to heighten his Pride and Insolency; upon these Considerations it was agreed by the Commissioners that there should be two hundred and seventy Foot Souldiers, and forty Horse, raised out of the several Colonies, in order to reducing *Ninnigret* to Subjection and better Obedience. Accordingly Forces were forthwith levied, and a small Army sent forth under the Christian and Couragious Major *Willard* as Commander in Chief.<sup>287</sup>

<sup>286</sup> If those who are now maintaining the absurd Doctrine of Secession only knew how Matters stood in the United Colonies in 1653, they might use the Facts to fortify their Position. The General Court practically nullified the Action of the Commissioners by a Resolution that "no Act of theirs, though they should all agree, should bind the

"General Court to join in an "offensive War." This Proceeding on the Part of Massachusetts came near breaking up the Confederacy; and that probably would have been the Result had Affairs turned out as the Majority of the Colonies supposed they would.

<sup>287</sup> There was strong Dissatisfac-

Upon the Approach of the English Army, *Ninigret* fled from the Place of his usual Residence, and got into a Swamp, where it was not easie to pursue him. Most of the Pequots under his Jurisdiction then deserted him, and came to the English.<sup>288</sup> Messengers were sent to demand a Treaty with him, but he was afraid to appear.

In fine, two Gentlemen, viz. Capt. *Davis* and Capt. *Seily* went to him requiring the Delivery of the Rest of the *Pequots*; to whom he replied that they were gone on Hunting, but ingaged that within seven Dayes they should be delivered to Mr. *Wintthrop*.<sup>289</sup> He was moreover charged to forbear

tion with Major Willard's Proceedings against Ninigret. It was unaccountable to the war Party that he should have returned from his well planned Expedition, having inflicted no Chastisement on the Nianticks; when as Ninnigret fled on his Approach leaving his Country, Corn and Wigwams unprotected, which might have been destroyed without Molestation. It is evident that the Major did not think such a Course was the best one; and that Ninigret and his Nianticks did not deserve such Severity; and although he was gravely censured at the Time by some, and perhaps even by a Majority of the English, yet Posterity will doubtless sustain him. He did excellent Service afterwards in the War with Philip, and died in the Midst of it. See Mather's *Brief History*, 153. His Report of the Expedition, and the Action of the Commissioners upon

it may be seen in the *Records of the United Colonies*, ii, 145-9. The Expedition set out from Boston the 9th of October, 1654, and returned on the 24th of the same Month.

<sup>288</sup> About one hundred of them, according to Maj. Willard's official Report. These all subscribed certain Conditions drawn up for that Purpose. The Substance of said Conditions are contained in the Major's Report, but the Originals are probably not preserved.

<sup>289</sup> This Interview transpired on the 18th of October, 1654. The Number of Englishmen sent to treat with Ninigret was six. He refused to meet them because they were so many, but sent Word that he would meet two of the English. Accordingly Capt. [William] Davis and Capt. [Robert] Seily were met by the Chief, who inquired—"Why

all Acts of Hostility against the Long-Islanders, or any other Indians that were in Amity with the English;<sup>290</sup> and plainly told, that if he did not hearken to the Advice and Charge laid upon him, he must expect that ere long his Head would be set upon an English Pole.<sup>291</sup>

So did the Messengers return and the Army also. These Things hapned in October Anno 1654.

After the English Forces were withdrawn, *Ninigret* did according to his usual Manner, observe *Fidem punicam* in keeping the Promises which at that Time he made and set his Hand unto.

[70] Not many Years after this the Indians in

“do you demand the Pequots? You have them already. I have but three or four. The rest are abroad hunting and elsewhere.” Finally the “seven Days” Arrangement was made, as mentioned in the Text

<sup>290</sup> Ninigret had been made war upon by the Long Island Indians, who had killed several of his Chiefs and other Men. He therefore thought it singularly unjust Interference on the Part of the English that he should not be allowed to “right himself;” while at the same Time the New Haven People had been sending Powder and Shot to his Enemies, the Long Islanders. And we do not wonder that when he was told that he must desist from attacking those Indians, that “he was silent for a Time, but after, “said this—‘Shal such a Prince “and two Captains lose their Lives “and their Blood not to be re-

“venged?”” The English again repeated the Command, but Ninigret said no more. They next demanded that he should defray the Expence of the Expedition upon which they had now come. To this he answered, in Effect, that he had not caused the Expedition; that if it was on Account of the Long Islanders they might look to them. Here the Matter appears to have rested, so far as payment for the Expedition was concerned. See *Records Coms. U. Col.*, ii, 147.

<sup>291</sup> Ninigret was living in the Time of Philip’s War, and rendered some Service against those Indians who brought it on; but he must at that Period have been very old, for we hear of him as early as 1632. The Time of his Death is not known. Several Anecdotes concerning him will be found preserved in the *Book of the Indians*.

the southern and western Parts of this Land were involved in Broyles amongst themselves, raging with implacable Feudes and Wars one against another. The *Nianticks*, *Mauntaukets*, *Mobegins*, *Norwootucks*, all engaged in cruel and bloody Quarrels. And the Peace of these Colonyes was not a little disturbed and endangered thereby, inas-much as the Indians would pursue one another to the English Plantations, and sometimes into the English Houses, and there kill one another.<sup>292</sup> Some English at *Wethersfeld*, and some inhabiting in the *Mobeag* Country were by Means hereof put into sad Frights.<sup>293</sup> In special, in Anno 1658. sundry

<sup>292</sup> It was not an uncommon Thing, when Disputes and Difficulties occurred among the Indians themselves, that one Party would fly to the Neighborhood of the English, thinking thereby to escape the Fury of the other Party. But this did not often shield the Fugitives; for if the English had the Ability to shield them, they could know nothing as to who was the originally agrieved Party. Hence deadly Skirmishes took place sometimes in the very Enclosures of the English, and Bullets often passed through their Houses. Sometimes even one Indian has pursued another into their Houses and Murders were committed on the Floor and before the Eyes of the Family. An Instance of this Kind once occurred in Cambridge.

<sup>293</sup> Sometime in the Month of May, 1660, the Government of

Connecticut sent a Letter to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, dated June 9th, saying, among other Things, that "not many Weeks now past, wee are by sufficient Information certified, that one Night, at the new Plantation at Munheage, some Indians (as will appear) of the Narragansets shot eleven Bullets into a House of our English there, in Hopes, as they boasted, to have slain him whom we have Cause to honour," who appears to have been Deputy Governor Major Mason. "As also slew another at Robert Laves, to the great Affrightment and Terror of Goodwife Lay. We intreat you to consider how incongruous and cross it would haue bin 20 Yeares agoe to an English Spirit to beare such Things as now we are forced to beare, or whether the Indians would not haue expected a Visitation upon

English in divers Places were disquieted by the Insolence and Outrage of the *Pacumtick* Indians.<sup>294</sup>

“less Occasions then these that have  
“of late bene met with by severall  
“of ours. We cannot but conceave  
“it is high Time to renew vpon  
“the Memory of these Pagans the  
“obliterate Memorials of the Eng-  
“lish.” At the next Meeting of  
the Commissioners it was resolved,  
in View of these Complaints, “to  
“require and force the Narragan-  
“setts to a just Satisfaction.” See  
Trumbull’s *Col. Recs. Ct.*, i, 576-7.  
Conformably to this a Demand was  
made on the Narragansets for “att  
“least foure of the chiefe of them  
“that shott into the English House,”  
or to pay 500 Fathom of Wampum.  
The Matter appears to have been  
settled by the Wampum.

At the same Time a Complaint  
was considered about an Outrage  
committed at the House of Mr.  
Brewster by those Indians who be-  
sieged Uncas, “by their forcable  
“attempting to enter his House and  
“their violent Intrusion and taking  
“away some Goods and stealing his  
“Corn.” Besides, the last Spring  
(1659) “some Narragansett Indians  
“did assault and kill a Mohegan  
“Indian in his Service who flying  
“to Mistress Brewster for Succor;  
“yet they violently tooke him from  
“her and shott him by her Side to  
“her great Affrightment.” The  
Commissioners said this was “an  
“intolerable and impudent Miscar-  
“riage,” and for which they de-  
manded 80 Fathom of Wampum.  
*Recs. U. Col.*, ii, 227. The Po-

cumtucke Indians were concerned  
in the Siege of Uncas’s Fort, one of  
whose Chiefs was a principal Leader.  
*Ibid*, 223. The Brewster Family  
so vaguely mentioned in the *Records*,  
was probably that of Mr. Jonathan  
Brewster, eldest Son of Elder Wil-  
liam of the Pilgrim Band. Mr.  
Brewster established a Trading house  
on the Thames in 1649, at a Point  
on the east Side of the River, still  
called Brewster’s Neck. Of this he  
had a Deed from Uncas, dated 25  
April, 1650. His Wife’s Name  
was Lucretia. See Miss Caulkins’s  
*New London*, 66, 331, &c. Mr.  
Brewster was one of the Defenders  
of Uncas, and was with him in his  
Fort when it was attacked by the  
Mohegans, and thus was saved the  
Life of the deceitful Uncas. His  
Fort was at the Head of Nahantick  
River. See *Ibid*, 127.

<sup>294</sup> In the Records of Connecticut  
mention is made of the Session of  
the General Court in April, 1657, of  
“a horrid Murder committed by  
“some Indians at Farmington.”—  
(Trumbull, *Col. Rec. Ct.*, i, 294.)  
But on whom the Murder was com-  
mitted no mention is made. I infer  
from subsequent Actions of the Court  
that the Murder was among the In-  
dians themselves, and that during the  
Affair a House was burnt; “and  
“though Mesapano seems to be  
“the principall Actor, yet the Ac-  
“cessories are not yet clearly dis-  
“coured, and none brought to a


But when the *Sachims* were called to an Account about it, they pretended that they were ignorant of what Disorders were committed by their Men, nor allowed of by them who desired to live in Amity with the English, and were willing to give Satisfaction for past Injuries, and to prevent the like Abuses for the Future. So did those Troubles pass over. Not very long before this, at *South-Hampton* in *Long-Island* some Houses had been burned by a wicked Indian (and a Negro Woman) who it seems after he had done this Wickedness, desperately killed himself, to prevent just Execution. It was at first thought that more of the Indians there had had an Hand in that burning, whence they were condemned to pay seven hundred Pound in seven Years, but afterwards that Penalty was taken off, since it was judged unreasonable that those Indians who were not proved to act in, or consent to the Mischiefe that was done, should be made to suffer as Guilty.






In Anno 1662, *Plymouth* Colony was in some Danger of being involved in Trouble by the *Wampanoag* Indians. After *Massasoit* was dead, his two Sons called *Wamsutta* and *Metacomet*, came to the Court at *Plymouth* pretending high Respect for the English, and therefore desired English Names might be imposed on them, whereupon the Court there named *Wamsutta* (the elder Brother) *Alex-*

“legall Triall.” At the Session in August of the same Year the Tunxis Indians agreed to pay for the Damage done at Farmington, “occasioned

“by *Mesupeno*” (as he is then called) eighty Fathom of Wampum, “well strungd,” for seven Years. See also Trumbull’s *Hist. Conn.*, i, 230.

*ander*, and *Metacomet* (the younger Brother) *Philip*; this *Alexander* (*Philips* immediate Predecessor) was not so faithful and friendly to the English as his Father had been.<sup>295</sup> For some of *Boston* having occasionally been at *Narraganset* wrote to Mr. *Prince* who was then Governour of *Plymouth*, that *Alexander* was contriving Mischiefe against the English, and that he had solicited the *Narragansets* to ingage with him in his designed Rebellion. Hereupon Capt. *Willet* (who lived near to *Mount Hope*, the Place where *Alexander* did reside) was appointed to speak with him, and to desire him to attend the next Court in *Plymouth*, for their Satisfaction, and his own [71] Vindication, he seemed to take the Message in good Part, professing that the *Narragansets* who (he said were his Enemies) had put an Abuse upon him, and he readily promised to attend at the next Court. But when the Day of his Appearance was come, instead of that, he at that very Time went over to the *Narragansets* his pretended Enemies; which compared with other Circumstances, caused the Gentlemen at *Plymouth*, to suspect there was more of Truth in the Information given, than at first they were aware of.

<sup>295</sup> The Treaty made with Philip at this Time may be seen in the *Plymouth Col. Records*, iv, 256. The Substance of it is also contained in Morton's *Memorial*, *Sub. an.* 1662. But Morton omits Part of the Signers of the Treaty. They are these: "The Marke ——  
" PHILLIP, allis METACUM,  
" Sachim of Pocanckett, The Marke

" y——b VNCOMPOWETT,  
" Vnkell to the abouesaid Sachem.  
" Witnesse, John Sasomon.  
" The Marke of —— Francis,  
" the Sachem of Nanset.  
" The Marke of Nimrod ——,  
" allis Pumpasa,  
" Marke —— of Punckquaneck,  
" The Marke —— of Aquete-  
" quesh."

Wherefore the Governour and Magistrates there, ordered Major *Winslow* (who is since and at this Day Governour of that Colony) to take a Party of Men and fetch down *Alexander*. The Major considering that *semper nocuit differre paratis*, he took but ten armed Men with him from *Marshfield*, intending to have taken more at the Towns that lay nearer *Mount Hope*. But Divine Providence so ordered, as that when they were about the Midway between *Plymouth* and *Bridgewater*, observing an hunting House they rode up to it, and there did they find *Alexander* and many of his Men well armed, but their Guns standing together without the House, the Major with his small Party, possessed themselves of the Indians Arms, and beset the House; then did he go in amongst them, acquainting the *Sachim* with the Reason of his coming in such a Way, desiring *Alexander* with his Interpreter to walk out with him, who did so a little Distance from the House, and then understood what Commission the *Major* had received concerning him. The proud *Sachim* fell into a raging Passion at this Surprise, saying that the Governour had no Reason to credit Rumors, or to send for him in such a Way, nor would he go to *Plymouth* but when he saw Cause. It was replied to him, that his Breach of Word touching Appearance at *Plymouth* Court, and instead thereof going at the same Time to his pretended Enemies, augmented Jealousies concerning him. In fine, the Major told him that his Order was to bring him to *Plymouth*, and that (by the help of God) he would do it, or else he would



dy on the Place; Also declaring to him that if he would submit, he might expect respective Usage, but if he once more denied to go, he should never stir from the Ground wheron he stood, and with a Pistol at the *Sachims* Breast, required that his next Words should be a positive and clear Answer to what was demanded. Hereupon his Interpreter (a discreet Indian, brother to *John Sauſaman*) being sensible of *Alexanders* passionate Disposition entreated that he might speak a few Words to the *Sachim* before he gave his Answer. The prudent Discourse of this Indian prevailed so far as that *Alexander* yielded to go, only requesting that he might go like a *Sachim*, with his Men attending him, which (although [72] there was some Hazard in it, they being many, and the English but a few) was granted to him. The Weather being hot, the Major offered him an Horse to ride on, but his Squaw and diverse Indian Women being in Company, he refused, saying he could go on Foot as well as they, entreating only that there might be a complying with their Pace, which was done, and resting several Times by the Way, *Alexander* and his Indians were refreshed by the English; no other Discourse hapning while they were upon their March, but what was pleasant and amicable. The Major sent a Man before, to entreat that as many of the Magistrates of that Colony as could; would meet at *Duxbury*; wherefore having there had some Treaty with *Alexander*, not willing to commit him to Prison, they entreated Major *Winslow* to receive him to his House, untill the Governour (who then

lived at *Eastham*) could come up. Accordingly he and his Train were courteously entertained by the Major. And albeit not so much as an angry Word passed between them whilst at *Marsfield*; yet proud *Alexander* vexing and fretting in his Spirit, that such a Check was given him, he suddenly fell sick of a Fever. He was then nursed as a choice Friend. Mr. *Fuller* (the Physitian) coming providentially thither at that Time, the Sachim and his Men earnestly desired that he would administer to him, which he was unwilling to doe, but by their importunity was prevailed with to doe the best he could to help him and therefore gave him a Potion of working Physick, which the Indians thought did him good; but his Distemper afterwards prevailing, they entreated to dismiss him, in order to a return Home, which upon Engagement of Appearance at the next Court was granted to him, soon after his being returned Home, he dyed.<sup>296</sup>

And this is the Truth and Substance of what concerns Transactions with *Alexander*, concerning which so many fabulous Storyes have been spread abroad.<sup>297</sup>

*Alexander* being dead, his Brother *Philip* (of late

<sup>296</sup> Judge Davis has a long Note in his Edition of Morton's Memorial on this Affair of Alexander, in which he compares the various Accounts of the Transaction, indulging in some probably just Criticisms upon them.

<sup>297</sup> Whether the Author intended

to include Mr. Hubbard's Account among the "many fabulous Storyes" which had been in Circulation is not positive, but probable; and yet what Mr. Hubbard does relate is much to the same Purport as this, and his Work had just been published. Perhaps it had been out near six Months.

curfed Memory)<sup>298</sup> rofe up in his ftead, and he was no fooner ftyled *Sachim*, but immediately in the Year 1662. there were vehement Suspitions of his bloody Treachery againft the Englifh: yet he profefed otherwife, and making his personal Appearance at a Court holden at Plymouth, renewed that Covenant which his Father and Brother had confirmed with the Englifh there.<sup>299</sup> This Covenant he perfidiously brake: For in Anno 1671. it was evident that he with other of his Confederates had been confpiring againft the Colony, under whofe Protection and Jurifdiction he had fubmitted himfelf. He then armed himfelf and acted like a Rebel that intended a fpeedy Rifing, yea, he ordered (as fome Indians [73] have fince confefsed) that if the Englifh did fend Meffengers to treat with him, if above four came in Company together they fhould be fhot down, and appointed fome to ly in Ambufh for that End; and behaved himfelf after a furly and provoking Manner towards Meffengers that defired Treaty with him,<sup>300</sup> and refufed to appear, and give Anfwer for his Infolencyes, his

<sup>298</sup> "The Idea was too much cherifhed, that they [the firft Settlers] were themfelves the People of God—the chofen Israelites, and that the Natives, being Heathen, were in the Situation of the Canaanites whom the Children of Ifrael had a Right, by the Command of God, to extirpate them;" Rev. John Taylor of Deerfield, in his *Appendix* to Williams's *Redeemed Captive*, Ed. 1800, p. 199.

<sup>299</sup> This has Reference to the Treaty in the *Plymouth Col. Recs.* as before cited in *Note 295*. It was doubtlefs owing to the Death of Alexander, that Philip gave Occafion for the Authorities of Plymouth to fufpect him of a treacherous Defign againft the Colony.

<sup>300</sup> This Matter of the Treatment of Meffengers is touched upon in the *Brief Hiftory*, p. 220.

Covenant notwithstanding. Nevertheless, he at last conceded to meet the Governour and Magistrates of *Plymouth*, at *Taunton*, where sundry Commissioners of *Boston* were desired to be, and to hear the Matters of Difference between the English of *Plymouth* and this *Philip* Sachim. This Meeting was attended in April, 1671. when *Philip* confessed his Breach of Covenant, and that he had groundlessly taken up Arms against them, whom he had always found friendly to him; And surrendered some of his Arms, engaging for the delivery of the Rest in due Time.<sup>301</sup> The English being tender of shedding Blood, let him go upon Promise of better Behaviour for the Future. Soon after this, *Philip* (with some of his Counsellors) repaired to *Boston*, endeavouring to possess the English there, with lying Informations about Injuries done to him by those of *Plymouth*. Wherefore the Council of that Colony entreated that Commissioners from *Boston*, and from *Connecticut* also might be sent to *Plymouth*, that so a fair Hearing of Differences before all the World might be attended. So then in *September* following the Governour of *Connecticut*, and several Magistrates from the *Massachusetts*, and some other Gentlemen met at *Plymouth*,<sup>302</sup> where *Philip* appeared, and all his

<sup>301</sup> The Treaty of Taunton is given in the *Brief History*, p. 223. It is also contained in Hubbard's *Narrative*, 11-12. It bears Date, April 10th, 1671.

<sup>302</sup> These Proceedings are entered upon the *Records of Plymouth*. The

Names of those appointed to treat with Philip were Gov. John Winthrop of Connecticut, Maj. General John Leverett, Mr. Thomas Danforth and Capt. William Davis of Massachusetts. The Names of "some other Gentlemen," do not appear in the Records.

Allegations were heard to the Conviction of *Philip* himself, and great Satisfaction of all that Audience. The Conclusion was, *Philip* acknowledged his Offence and was appointed to give a Sum of Mony to defray the Charges which his insolent Clamours had put that Colony unto, The Particulars which *Philip* then covenated to were these.

1. That he would for the Future be subject to the Government of *Plymouth*, and to their Laws.

2. He engaged to pay the Colony an hundred Pound towards reparation of such Wrong as they had sustained by his Misdemeanors.

3. He was under Obligations to send five Wolves Heads every Year to the Governour of *Plymouth* in Token of his Fealty.

4. That he would not make War with any without the Approbation of that Government,

5. In Case any future Difference should arise between him and the English, he would repair to the Government there to rectify Matters, before engaging in any hostile Attempts.

[74] 6. That he would not dispose of any of his Lands but with the Approbation of the English Government there—So was he dismissed.<sup>303</sup> Some

<sup>303</sup> Plymouth had now, in Promises, all the required of the Wampanoags. In Case of Disobedience, she had only to call upon the Commissioners to aid, if she needed Aid, to coerce any refractory Spirit among her neighbouring Indians. Those who made their Marks to the Treaty were PHILIP, Sachem; WOH-

KOWPAHENITT; WUTTA-KOOSEEIM; SONKANUHOO; WOONASHUM, alias NIMROD; WOOSPASUCK, alias CAPTAIN. The Treaty was signed 29 Sept. 1671.

On the 3d of November following Philip came again to Plymouth with the Sachem of Saconet, named

of these Covenants were in Part observed by him, and some Particulars not at all—Thus did Things rest between the English and him, until the Year 1674. when in *January* an Indian Preacher, known by the Name of *John Sausaman*,<sup>304</sup> addressed himself to the present Governour of *Plymouth*, informing him that the Indians were complotting the Destruction of the English, and that not only the *Wampanoags*, but the *Narragansets*, yea, and the *Mobegins* were involving themselves in this Conspiracy. This *Sausaman* was by Birth a *Massachuset*, his Father and Mother living in *Dorchester*, and they both died Christians. This their Son did for some Time apostatize from his Christian Profession, and lived like an Heathen, being *Philips* Secretary (for he could write a very legible Hand) and one of his Counsellors, untill at last God convinced him of his Misery, and he manifested such evident Signs of Repentance as that he was, after his Return from Pagan *Philip*, reconciled to the praying Indians and baptized, and received as a Member in one of the Indian Churches, yea and imployed as an Instructor amongst them every Lords Day. Nevertheless, his Information (because it had an Indian Original, and one can hardly believe them when they speak Truth) was not at first much regarded,

TAKAMUNNA, who also signed an Article binding him to the Observance of the Treaty of the 29th of September preceding. He also agreed to pay one Wolf's Head per annum "into the Treasury of Plymouth," Philip becoming his Sec-

urity. *Plym. Col. Recs.*, v, 67-80.

<sup>304</sup> His own Signature upon a Document in my Possession is *Wusausman*; a Fac Simile of which may be seen in the *Hist. and Antiquities of Boston*, 397.

untill by Relation of Circumstances, he made it too apparent that *Philip* was really hatching Mischief. The Effect was, the Governour of *Plymouth* advising with his Councill, resolved once more to send for *Philip*, and to enquire into the Truth of Things: But before that could be accomplished, an Indian called *Tobias*, with his Son, and another Indian named *Mattashinnamy*, meeting with *John Sausaman* at a Pond, cruelly murdered him; and that their Villany might not be discovered, they cut an Hole through the Ice, and put in the dead murdered Body, leaving his Hat and Gun upon the Ice, that so others might think that he had drowned himself. It being rumored that *Sausaman* was lost, the dead Body was sought after, and found in the Pond, and taken up and buried.<sup>305</sup>

Jealousies being on the Spirits of Men that the other Indians had murdered him, on Account of revealing their Conspiracies to the English: The Governour of *Plymouth* ordered the Constable of *Middlebury*<sup>306</sup> (that being the nearest Town to the Place where the Murther was committed) to cause *John Sausamans* Body to be taken up again, and to empanel a Jury as a *Coroners Inquest*, to make Enquiry how he come by his Death:<sup>307</sup> And they

<sup>305</sup> Affawomset Pond in Middleborough was the Place where Sausaman's Body was found. He was murdered on the 29th January, 1674-5.

<sup>306</sup> Middleborough; said to have been so called because it was about

Midway between Plymouth and a noted Point on Taunton or Tehticut River.

<sup>307</sup> The Names of the Jurymen were WILLIAM SABINE, WILLIAM CROCKER, EDWARD STURGIS, WILLIAM BROOKES, NATHANIL WINS-

found that he had been murdered, for his Neck was broken by twisting of his Head round; which is the [75] Way that the Indians sometimes use when they practice Murthers; also his Head was extremely swollen, and his Body was wounded in several Parts of it, and when it was first taken out of the Pond, no Water issued out of it, which argued that the Body was not drowned, but dead before it came into the Water.

Moreover, when *Tobias*, (the suspected Murtherer) came near the dead Body, it fell a bleeding on fresh as if it had been newly slain, albeit it was buried a considerable Time before that.<sup>308</sup>

Afterwards an Indian called *Patuckson*, came and testified to their Faces that he saw *Tobias* and the other Indians murdering *Sausaman*: He also himself before his Death had declared, that he was

LOW, JOHN WADSWORTH, ANDREW RINGE, ROBERT VIXON, JOHN DONE, JONATHAN BANGS, JONATHAN SHAW, and BENJAMIN HIGGINS.

“It was judged very expedient by the Court, that together with this English Jury above named, some of the most indifferentest, grauest and sage Indians should be admitted to be with the said Jury, and to help to consult and aduice with, of, and concerning the Premises. Their Names are as followeth, viz<sup>t</sup>. one called by an English Name, HOPE, and MASSKIPPAGUE, WANNOO, GEORGE, WAMPYE, and ACANOOTUS; these fully concurred with the above written Jury in their Vedit<sup>t</sup>.”  
*Plymouth Col. Recs.*, v, 168.

<sup>308</sup> The Practice of this Method for the Discovery of a Murderer is very ancient, and dates probably near the Beginning of the human Family. King James alludes to it in his *Demonology*—he says, “if the dead Carcase bee at any Time thereafter handled by the Murtherer, it will gush out of Blood, as if the Blood were crying to the Heaven for Reuenge of the Murtherer, God having appointed that secret supernatural Signe for triall of that secret unnatural Crime.” This is certainly worthy of the Author of the *Demonology*.

It may be presumed that there were few Occasions when this Test was required, or if required the Murderer was not found.



afraid those very Indians would at last prove his Murtherers.

They were therefore apprehended and kept in Durance untill Plymouth Court, which was held in June, 1675. and being found guilty of *Sausaman's* Death, they were (one of them before his Execution confessing the Murther) condemned and executed.<sup>309</sup> And then did *Philip*, being (as was verily supposed) privy to what *Tobias* (his Counsellor) and those with him had perpetrated upon *John Sausaman*, fell to open Rebellion and bloodshedding amongst the English at *Swanzy*, who were his next Neighbours.

But of the special Occurrences attending the late (and not yet ended) *War* between the English and the Indians, I have elsewhere given a brief Account, and therefore shall not here add anything, that not comporting with my present Design.<sup>310</sup>

The Particulars which have been mentioned, are

<sup>309</sup> Their Names were Tobias, Wampapaquan his Son, and Matashunannamo. Tobias and his Son were executed by being "hanged by the Head," on June 8th, 1675. "But the said Wampapaquan, on some Considerations was reprieved 'vntil a Month be expired." He was however shot within the Month—probably owing to the Commencement of Hostilities by Philip; for it will be remembered, that within sixteen Days from the Time Tobias and his Son were hanged, the War began in Swanzy. Tobias was a Chief and one of Philip's

Counsellors, whose Death doubtless exasperated Philip and his other Chiefs, and was the immediate Cause of the War that followed.

The Indians understood very little of Agreements made by a few Scratches upon Paper with Pen and Ink. And they looked upon it that it was no business of the English to punish one Indian for killing another. See *Old Indian Chronicle*, 5-6.

<sup>310</sup> The Author here refers to the *Brief History* which he published the previous Summer or Autumn, so fully noticed in this Volume.

the chief (if not the only) Troubles<sup>311</sup> which have hapned by the Indians in *New England*, from the first Planting thereof by the English till the late Commotions. Some few private Murthers there have been, which are not insisted on in this Narrative, as namely those at *Nantucket*,<sup>312</sup> and that by *Matoonas* his Son, and that at *Woburn*,<sup>313</sup> but the publick Peace was not so endangered by those clandestine Revenges, as by the Conspiracies, the Relation whereof hath been described.

It is easy to observe; from the History of these *Troubles*, that whereas there have been two Sorts of Men designing Settlement in this Part of *America*, some that came hither on Account of Trade and worldly Interests, by whom the Indians have been scandalized, others that came hither on a religious and conscientious Account, having in their Eye the Conversion of the *Heathen* unto Christ; the former have [76] been attended with blasting ruining Providences,<sup>314</sup> these latter have been signally owned

<sup>311</sup> This is hardly expressed as it should be by one who had read the *Records of the Commissioners of the United Colonies* as the Author must have done, as these *Notes* show.

<sup>312</sup> Perhaps the Nature of the Affair at Nantucket may be learned from Macy's History of that Island. See *Macy's Work*, 42-44. In the Year 1665, King Philip pursued a Fugitive to Nantucket, putting the Inhabitants into a great Fright. All that has been learned respecting this Raid of Philip will be found in the *Book of the Indians*, 202.

<sup>313</sup> "That by *Matoonas* his Son, "and that at *Woburn*" I judge to refer to the same Transaction. Compare what is said in the *Old Indian Chronicle*, 137-8, with a Communication of the Rev. Samuel Sewall, D. D., published in the *Book of the Indians*, 698-9. See also Hubbard's *Nar.*, 7. According to the *Chronicle*, the Murder at *Woburn* was about 1669 or 1670.

<sup>314</sup> Had the Author been able to extend his prophetic Vision a hundred Years in advance of his own Age, his Views respecting the Ob-

by the Lord Jesus, for the like hath been rarely known in the World, that a Plantation should be raised out of nothing, and brought to such considerableness in so short a Time, whereas in the Close of the last *Century*, there was not so much as one Christian in this Land, there are now above *Four-score* English, and *six* Indian *Churches*, therein, besides many other Congregations calling upon the Name of the True God in Jesus Christ, although as yet not brought into Church estate, according to the Order of the Gospel.

*This is the Lords doing, and it is marvellous in our Eyes.*

jects of our Fathers would have been somewhat modified. That any Settlement was, or could have been made independent of Trade is preposterous. That the Plymouth Set-

tlers were Traders, is as plain as that they were generally a superior Company of Emigrants to some of those who preceded, as well as many who followed them.

F I N I S .





An  
HISTORICAL DISCOURSE  
Concerning the  
PREVALENCY  
OF  
PRAYER.

Wherein is shown that *New-Englands* Late Deliverance from the  
Rage of the Heathen is an Eminent Answer to Prayer.

---

By INCREASE MATHER,  
*Teacher of a Church in Boston in New-England.*

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Pfal. 102. 18. *This shall be written for the Generation to come.*  
Jam. 5. 17. 18. *Elias was a man subject to like passions, as we are, and  
he prayed earnestly that it might not rain, and it rained not on the  
Earth by the space of three years and six moneths; and he prayed  
again, and the heaven gave rain, and the earth brought forth her fruit.*

---

Preces et Lachrimæ sunt Arma Ecclesiæ. *Ambrosius.*  
Oratio est vis Deo grata. *Tertul.*

---

Boston, printed and sold by *John Foster.* 1677.





**M***Y Design in the Subsequent Discourse, is not to enumerate all the Particulars which might be mentioned, that doe evince New-Englands late Deliverance to be a great Answer of Prayer: only to take Notice of some more eminent Passages of Divine Providence, whereby it doth appear that the God of our Salvation hath answered us by terrible Things in Righteousness, against our Heathen Adversaries. There is now Cause for an Holy Sollicitude lest Security should be the Effect of these Dispensations; lest we should now say, our Mountain is made strong, and we shall never be moved. Howbeit there is little Reason for such Imaginations, if Things be duly laid to Heart: we cannot but remember how near this Tree was to cutting down a Year or two agoe; but the Lord of the Vineyard hath at the earnest Intercession of his Servants let it alone this Year also. But who can say, how far the Lord may cut and lop and mar our Vine branches before many Years be expired? To this Day we see not the End of our late bleeding Distresses,<sup>315</sup> and when this Day of Trouble*

<sup>315</sup> It will be noticed that this Preface was written amidst Alarms and Desolations. Philip had been dead a Year, but there were fearful Ravages in the East and in the West. Only in the previous July many

fishing Vessels had been surpris'd and their Crews carried into Captivity, and Men were killed at Black Point. And, only a Month later, twenty-four People were killed and carried away from Hatfield and Deerfield.

shall be over, I for my part, must solemnly profess and declare, that I look for another seven times greater, though what it shall be, or how it shall come to pass I cannot tell; for I pretend not to any Revelation, beyond what they that diligently compare the Word and Works of God together, may attain unto. It grieveth me not a little that I should so frequently write and speak in such a Strain, but I cannot forbear, the Lord hath spoken, who can but prophecy? There are many Considerations, which are enough to cause sad Expectations of some more fatal Changes of Providence not far off, but especially these two.

[iv] I. There is not a general Reformation in New England so much as in any one Particular, notwithstanding the Lord hath tryed us by all Manner of Wayes that may be thought of, even by lesser and greater Judgments, and by signal Mercyes and Deliverances: and that which aggravateth our unreformedness, is, that in the Time of our Trouble we have said, arise and save us.

2. There are Evills prevailing amongst us, which if they be not reformed, the Lords Controversy will not be ended, such as notorious Self seeking, reigning Pride, shameful Drunkenness, with the Occasions Leading thereunto; wofull Apostacy, the blessed Design of our Fathers in coming into this Wilderness not being minded and attended as ought to be: and as Things are circumstanced, there is no Hope that these and other Evills should be reformed, untill God arise and shake terribly the Earth. So that Nil nisi vota supersunt. On these Accounts, it concerns us, to be



*crying unto the Lord Day and Night. If wee look abroad upon the Face of the Earth, in other Parts of the World, the Children are come to the Birth, and there is not Strength to bring forth. We behold ἀρχὴν ὠδίνων the Begining of travailing Sorrows, even such Things as Evidence that some great Birth is at Hand. And in our Horizon dark Clouds gather apace, and the Heavens are covered over with blackness. Surely in these Respects, we may truly say as sometime that Martyr did, Pray, Pray, Pray, never more need than now. And considering the blessed Encouragement God hath given us, whatever come on us, let us be found so doing.*

BOSTON, N. E.

August. 16. 1677.

*Increase Mather.*





[1]

An

## *HISTORICAL DISCOURSE*

Concerning the Prevalency of

# P R A Y E R .

**I**T was a great Word (and if rightly understood, a true Word) which *Luther* spake when he said, *Est quædam precum omnipotentia*, there is a kind of Omnipotency in Prayer; and the Reason is obvious, *viz.* In that the Almighty doth suffer himself to be prevailed upon and overcome by Prayer. Had not Jacob in this respect Power with God? Yea when he made his Supplication, he had Power, and prevailed over the Angel, even that Angel who is the Lord of Hosts, the Lord is his Memorial. Where do we find in all the Books of God a more wonderfull Expression, then that of the Lord to praying Moses, *Now let me alone?* That ever the eternal God should become thus a

Petitioner to a poor mortal Man! *Ferendi*  
See Mr. Hall.  
*Psalms* 82, p. *licentiam petit a Mose qui fecit Mosen.*  
183, 184.

Prayer then is like the Sword of Saul, or the Bow of Jonathan, which never returned empty from the Battle. Prayer is stronger than iron

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Gates. At the Prayers of the Church the iron Gates fly open, and the Apostles Fetters fall off. Sometimes the Prayers of one Man that hath an eminent Interest in God, are a Means to preserve a whole Town, yea a whole Land from Destruction, Chrysofom. wel might the Antient say, *Homine proborante nihil potentius.* How far did Abrahams Prayers prevail for Sodom? Did not Elijahs Prayers open and shut the Windows of Heaven? Did they not bring down Showers when the gasping Earth was ready to dy for Thirst? When a [2] fiery Drought had like to have devoured the Land of Israel, and the Prophet Amos prayed and cried to the Lord, saying, *O Lord God, Cease I beseech thee, by whom shall Jacob arise? for he is small; the Lord repented for this, and said this shall not be.*

Wars, when justly undertaken, have been successful through the prevalency of Prayer.

Moses in the Mount praying, is too strong for all the Armies in the Valley fighting. When the Philistines went up against the Children of Israel, *Samuel* ceased not to cry to the Lord for Israel, and the Lord thundered with a great thunder that Day upon the Philistines, and discomfited them, that they were smitten before Israel. *Jehoshaphat*, when surrounded by a Multitude of heathen Enemyes, by Prayer overcame them. When *Zera* the Ethiopian came against the Lords People with an Host of a thousand thousand Men, *Asa* by Prayer and Faith overcome them all. *Hezekiah* and *Isaiah* by their Prayers brought an Angel down from

Heaven, who slew an hundred and fourscore and five thousand Assyrians, in the Host of Sennacherib in one Night.

And besides these and many Scriptural Examples in ecclesiastical Story, Instances to this Purpose are frequently observed. The History of the thundering Legion is famously known. Thus it was.

The Emperour *Marcus Aurelius* going to war against the *Quads, Vandals, Sarmats* and *Germans*, who were nine hundred seventy and five thousand fighting Men; The Imperialists were so cooped up by their numerous Enemies, in strait, dry, and hot Places, that the Souldiers having been destitute of Water for five Days together, they were all like to have perished for thirst. In this extremity, a Legion of Christian Souldiers being in the Army, withdrew themselves apart from the Rest, and falling prostrate on the Earth, by ardent Prayers prevailed with God, that he immediately sent a most plentiful Rain, whereby the Army that otherwise had perished, was refreshed and dreadfull Lightnings flashed in the Faces of their Enemies, so as that they were discomfited and put to flight. The Effect of which was, that the Persecution which before that the Emperour designed against the Christians, was diverted; and that *praying Legion* did afterwards, bear the Name of *κερυννοβολος* the *Lightning Legion*.

*Constantine* the Great, being to join the Battle with the Heathen Tyrant *Licinius*, singled out a Number of godly Ministers of [3]

Eusebius in  
vita Constantii.

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Christ, and with them betook himself to earnest Prayer and Supplication, after which God gave him a notable and glorious Victory over his Enemies. But *Licinius* himselfe escaped at that Time, and raised another Army, which was pursued by *Constantine*, who before he would engage with the Enemy, caused a Tent to be erected, wherein he did spend some Time in Fasting and Prayer, being attended with a Company of holy praying Men round about him, after which marching against his Enemies, he fought them, and obtained a more glorious Victory than the former, and the Grand Rebel *Licinius* was then taken Prisoner.

*Theodosius*<sup>316</sup> being in no small Danger by Reason of the potent Army of Adversaries he had to do with, in his Distress cryed unto Heaven for Help, and behold! the Lord sent such a terrible Tempest, as the like was not known, whereby the Darts of the Enemy were driven back upon themselves, to their own Confusion, which caused *Claudian* the Poet, (though no great Friend to the Christian Name) to say concerning *Theodosius*,

*Lego Theo-  
dosi vitam.*

August De  
Civitate Dei  
Lib. 5. 6. 26.

*O nimium dilecte Deo cui militat Æther,  
Et conjurati veniunt ad Classica Venti.*<sup>317</sup>

<sup>316</sup> Theodosius, Senior. He died  
A. C. 397.

<sup>317</sup> The Author has made *Claudian*  
appear to great Disadvantage, by  
quoting him in a blundering Manner.

The Lines he intended to quote are :

*O nimium dilecte deo, cui fundit ab antris  
Æolus armatas hyemes, cui militat æther,  
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti.*

*Cl. Claud. Paneg. Lib. vi, F. 123, Ed,  
Paris, 1530.*

It is storied concerning the City of *Nisibis* that being straitly besieged by *Sapores* King of Persia, the distressed Citizens desired a devout and holy Man amongst them (whose Name was *James*) to be earnest with the Lord in their Behalf. He was so; and the Effect was, God sent an Army of Gnats and Flyes among the *Persians*, which so vexed and tormented them, as that they were forced to raise the Seige and depart.

Symphon's  
*Ecclesiastical*  
*Hisst.*

Amongst the *Waldenses* sometimes an inconsiderable Number have prevailed over their popish Adversaryes. At one Time five hundred of these poor praying Saints overthrew two thousand and five hundred of their Enemies who scoffed at them because they would fall upon their knees and pray before they would fight.

Morland  
*Hisst. Waldenses.*

In the Land of our Father's Sepulchres, when *Oswald* (who succeeded his Father *Ethelfride* in the Northern Kingdom) was assaulted by *Cedwalla* and *Penda*, two Heathen Kings, that raised a great Army, designing the Ruin of *Oswald* and his People, he humbly and earnestly addressed himself to the Lord of Hosts, the great Giver of Victory, entreating him to shew his own Power in saving and protecting his People from the Rage of heathen Adversaryes: which, joyning battle with his Enemies, [4] albeit their Army

See Clark's  
*Example, Vol.*  
*1, C. 100, 318*  
*Idem eodem*  
*Lib.*

<sup>318</sup> This Reference would scarcely be known at this Day. The Work referred to is—*A Mirrour or Looking-Glass both for Saints and Sinners,*

*held forth in some Thousands of Examples, &c.* Printed in London in 1671. Chapter C. is headed *Examples of the Power, and Preva-*

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was far greater than his, he obtained a wonderful Victory, wherein *Gedwalla* himself was slain.

When *England* was invaded by the Danes under the Conduct of their King *Ofrick*, who encamped at *Ashdon*, King *Ethelred* betook himself to Prayer; and marching against the Danish Army, put them to flight, and slew the greatest Part of them.

*Gustavus Adolphus* the King of Sweden, no sooner landed in his Enemies Territories, but he addressed himself to Heaven for Victory, and encouraged his Counsellors and Commanders by saying *The greater the Army of Prayers is, the greater and more assured shall be our Victory.* Yea it was his Manner when the Armies were set in Battle array, to lift up his Eyes to Heaven and say, *Lord prosper the Battle of this Day, according as thou seest my Heart doth aim at thy Glory, and the good of thy Church.* And how successful did God make that excellent Prince to be?<sup>319</sup>

But what need we go far to find Examples confirming the Truth of this Assertion, that *Prayer is of Wonderful Prevalency*, since our own Eyes have seen it? New England may now say, if the Lord (even the Prayer hearing God) had not been on

*lency of Prayer.* But the Author has given a wrong Reference, for there is nothing in the Chapter of Clarke's *Examples* referred to upon the Subject in the Text. See the *Brief History*, 161, for a Note upon the Author of the *Examples*.

<sup>319</sup> "His Army won the Day, though they lost their King; which

"made one say,

'Vpon this Place the great Gustavus di'd,  
'Whilft Victory lay bleeding by his Side.'

"He was slain in the Battell  
"at Lutzen, November the 16  
"Anno Christi 1632. and of his  
"Age thirty eight." Clarke's *Mar-*  
*row of Eccl. Hist.*, Pt. II, p. 265,  
Edit. 1650. 4<sup>o</sup>.



our Side when Men rose up against us, they had swallowed us up; then the proud Waters had gone over our Soul. And thus hath it been more than once or twice, especially since the late Insurrection and Rebellion of the Heathen Nations round about us. We cannot but acknowledge, and Posterity must know, that we were in Appearance a gone and ruined People,<sup>320</sup> and had been so ere this Day, if the Lord had not been a God that heareth Prayer.

And there are especially *two Considerations that doe evince, that New Englands Deliverance from the Rage of the Heathen is an eminent Answer of Prayer,* I. In that God hath graciously answered us as to the very Petitions that have bin mostly insisted on, as will appear to Admiration by instancing in some Particulars.

1. Then, *How often have we prayed that the Lord would divide, infatuate and frustrate the Counsiles of the Heathen that sought our Ruine.* As sometimes David when pursued by Absalom prayed saying, *O Lord divide their Tongues.* Psal. 55. 9. Again David said, *O Lord I pray thee turn the Counsell of Achitophel into foolishness.* 2. Sam. 15. 31. Those Requests of David were heard, and therefore Absaloms Counsellours were divided, one giving this,

<sup>320</sup> It is a well known Portion of New England History, that the early Settlers were importuned by their Friends in England to abandon the Country, as not fit for Habitation. Its severe Winters and sterile Soil it was argued, would forever pre-

vent it being anything but a Desert. Some of the West India Islands were strongly recommended to them in the Time of Cromwell's Commonwealth. Some thirty Years later many "pulled up Stakes" and went to New Jersey, and other Points south.

and another that Advice; and the subtle Counsell of Achitoplél (which had it been hearkened unto, David and those with [5] him had perished) must not be followed. In like Manner hath the Lord done for us; we have heard how that after the Fort fight, Decemb. 19. 1675. some of the Indian Counsellors advised that they might pursue our Army when upon their Retreat;<sup>321</sup> which if they had so done, how fatal would the Consequence have proved? But therefore God divided their Counsells, that others were of another Mind.

Moreover we have received Informations, concerning a great Consultation amongst the Indians, soon after their Mischief done at *Sudbury* in April. 1676.<sup>322</sup> Had they then continued to molest the English, our Case had been sad; but they supposed they had Time enough before them, and therefore resolved to be quiet a Month or two, in order to Attendance upon their own Planting and Fishing.

We have also heard that the old crafty Serpents amongst the Indians advised that they might shun all Encounter with the English Forces, and rather disperse themselves into small Parties, and so fall upon the English Towns, burning their Houses, destroying their Cattle &c. but that the young Men

<sup>321</sup> This was reported by Captives taken sometime after the Fight.

<sup>322</sup> Mrs. Rowlandson who was a Prisoner among them at the Time spoken of, does not mention any "great Consultation" about following up their Victory. On the other Hand she says they returned from

that Fight "rather like Dogs which "have lost their Ears." And, "when they went they acted as if "the Devil had told them that they "should gain a Victory, and now "they acted as if the Devil had told "them they should have a Fall." *Captivity*, 49. Ed. in *Indian Narratives*.

thought it best to cut off our Souldiers, and then they supposed they might do what they pleased with our Towns. Thus were their Tongues divided and Councils turned into foolishness.

2. *How often have we prayed that God would do for us as in the Days of Midian, by causing the Heathen to destroy one another, and that the Egyptians might be set against the Egyptians.* The Lord hath answered that Request also. For the Indians have been wasting and killing one another,<sup>323</sup> yea not only such Indians as do pretend Friendship to the English, (e. g. the *Natick* and *Punkapaog* Indians, and the *Mohawks* and the *Mobeags* under *Vncas*, albeit it is too evident that he was secretly conspiring with *Philip* in his designed Mischiefs, a little before the War brok forth, but God turned him about,<sup>324</sup> and made him a Friend to the English, and an Enemy to *Philip*) but also some of those that were once in Hostility against us, did at last help to destroy their own Nation, Friends and Kindred, that so they might do Service for us. So

<sup>323</sup>This has been pretty fully illustrated by Examples already given. About July 10th, 1637, Roger Williams wrote to John Winthrop—"The last Weeke is a Battell fought betweene the hither Neepmucks [those on the Upper Thames] and the further, the Wunnashowatuckoogs [Nashuas?] &c. the Successe is not yet knowne: it will be of Consequence, for it said they fortifie, ioyning with scattered Pequets." *Majs. Hist. Colls*, 36, 197. On the 15th he

wrote that "the Neepmucks are returned with three Heads of the Wunnashoatuckoogs, they slew six, wounded many, and brought Home twenty Captives." *Ibid.* 204. But little is known of the internal Wars of the Indians.

<sup>324</sup>Before the Reader consents to accept *Uncas* into his Calendar as a Saint, he should read the Letters of Roger Williams, and the Records of the Commissioners of the United Colonies.

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have they that fought to destroy us, gone into the lower Parts of the Earth, they are fallen by the Sword.

3. How often have we prayed that the Lord would take those his Enemies into his own avenging Hand, pleading that though we know not how to come at them, they had such Advantages in respects of Woods and Swamps and dark Corners of the Earth to lurk in; yet the Hand of God could reach them, and that therefore he [6] would scatter them by his Power and bring them down and let them wander up and down for Meat, and the destroying Angel amongst them. This Prayer hath been heard; For it is known that the Indians were distressed with Famine, Multitudes of them perishing for Want of Bread; and the Lord sent Sicknesses amongst them, that Travellers have seen many dead Indians up and down in the Woods, that were by Famine or Sicknes brought unto that untimely End. Yea the Indians themselves have testified, that more amongst them have been cut off by the Sword of the Lord in those Respects, then by the Sword of the English.

4. *How often have we prayed that the Lord would remember the Cruelty, Treachery, and above all the Blasphemy of these Heathen?* This Prayer hath been heard in Heaven. As for their Cruelty, God hath remembered that, many of them falling into the Hands of the *Mobawks* or other Indians, who fought in our Quarrel used their Enemies after their own Kind; and it hath been observed, that the Vengeance from the Lord did pursue them presently

upon the Perpetration of some horrid Acts of barbarous Cruelty towards such as fell into their murderous Hands' And as for the Treachery, God hath retaliated that upon them; as for the perfidious *Narragansets*, *Peter* Indian was False and Perfidious to them, upon a Disgust received amongst them, and directed our Army where to find them.<sup>325</sup> Treacherous *Philip*, one of his own Men ran away from him, and told Capt. *Church* where that grand Enemy had hid himself, the Issue of which was, another Indian shot a Bullet into the treacherous Heart of that Covenant-breaking Infidel. Yea many of those bloody and deceitful Indians who were taken by Capt. *Church*, would frequently destroy and betray their bloody and false-hearted Comrades. *Matoonas* who was the first Indian that treacherously shed innocent English blood in *Massachusetts* Colony,<sup>326</sup> he some Years before pretended to something of Religion, being a Professor in general (though never baptized, nor of the in-churched Indians) that so he might the more covertly manage the hellish Design of Revenge that was harboured in his divelish Heart; but at last Sagamore *John* with some of his Indians unexpectedly surpris'd him, and delivered him to Justice. That abominable Indian *Peter Jethro*<sup>327</sup>

<sup>325</sup> See the Author's *Brief History*, new ed., 105, 249-51. After the War he went by the Name of Peter Freeman.

Language by saying that the Calamity fell upon that Town because "we had not mended our Ways!" A wretched Pun it must be confessed.

<sup>326</sup> At Mendon. In the *Brief History* the Author could not forbear the undignified Torture of

<sup>327</sup> For a farther Account of "that abominable Indian," see the *Book of the Indians*, 265-7, 274.

*Mr. Johnson's copy  
of the  
Narrative of  
the  
Captivity  
& Conversion  
of  
John  
Gorton*

betrayed his own Father, and other Indians of his special Acquaintance, unto Death. Many of the *Nipmuck* Indians, who were wont to lay Snares for others, were at last themselves taken by a Stratagem, and brought to deserved Execution.

[7] And as for their Blasphemy, God hath remembered it, the most notorious Blasphemers amongst them have been made Examples of divine revenging Justice, *Quanonchet*,<sup>328</sup> *Pomham*, *Monoco*,<sup>329</sup> all of them cursed Blasphemers; the Vengeance of Heaven hath not suffered them to live. It is also reported that an English-man belonging to one of the western Plantations, being mortally wounded by an Indian, the Indian upbraided him with his Prayers, saying to him, *You were wont to pray to Jesus Christ, now pray to him, He cannot help you,* and withal added a most hideous Blasphemy (not fit to be named) against our blessed Lord Jesus Christ, immediately upon which a Bullet took him in the Head and dashed out his Brains, sending his cursed Soul in a moment amongst the Devils, and Blasphemers in Hell forever.<sup>330</sup>

5. *How often have we prayed that the Lord would take away Spirit and Courage from those that have*

<sup>328</sup> Usually written Canonchet. A thrilling Account of his Capture and Death may be read in Hubbard's *Narrative*.

<sup>329</sup> He was usually known among the English as *One-eyed John*. Considerable Space is devoted to him in the *Book of the Indians*. He lived at or near Lancaster, and

his Depredations were quite extensive, leading the *Nipmucks* at the Destruction of Medfield and Groton. He suffered on the Gallows "at the "Town's end," Boston, September 26th, 1676.

<sup>330</sup> I have not been able to ascertain who the Parties were, nor any Transaction corresponding with it.

been in Hostility against us, and cause those Haters of the Lord to submit themselves.. In this Thing also the Lord hath had Respect to our Requests. For hundreds of Indians the last Summer came and surrendered themselves to the English, e. g. in *Plymouth* Colony the *Squaw-Sachim* of *Saconet*, with above an hundred Indians submitted themselves to Mercy,<sup>331</sup> June 30, 1676. Not long after that two hundred Indians more surrendered themselves. And in the eastern Parts of this Colony (July 6.) there were six Sachims addressed themselves to the English in order to the obtaining Peace, bringing in with them three hundred Men besides Women and Children.<sup>332</sup> Likewise in the same Month *Sagamore John* submitted himself with about one hundred and eighty Indians;<sup>333</sup> and hundreds of them came and submitted themselves to the English in *Connecticut* Colony. These Things came not to pass without the Finger of God, so manifest as that the Enemy himself could not but take Notice of it. For a stout Indian Captain who was afterwards executed at *Boston*, professed to some of our Soldiers, that they could never have subdued the Indians, *But* (said he striking upon his Breast) *Englishmans God maketh us afraid here.*

6. *How often have we prayed that God would in special look after those Places, which were in most*

<sup>331</sup> These were Awashonks and her People. Maj. Waldron. See *Hubbard*; 110.

<sup>332</sup> This doubtless has Reference to those Indians entrapped at Dover by Capts. Hathorne, Sill, Frost, and

<sup>333</sup> He "came in" to Boston July 27th, bringing Matoonas, Father and Son. See *Brief History*, 184.

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*eminent Danger, as being above others exposed to the Fury of the Enemy?* And we have had the Petitions we desired of him in that Respect. What a black Appearance of Death and Ruine was before the poor People at Quaboag,<sup>334</sup> when they were all cooped up in one unfortified House, and surrounded by a barbarous Multitude of cruel Indians, who thirsted after their Blood? But [8] God by a strange Providence sent Major *Willard*, who with a small Party of Souldiers, came a few Hours or Minutes before it was too late, by which Means the remaining Inhabitants of that Place had their Lives given them for a Prey. After that the western Plantations, *North-Hampton, Hadley, Hatfield, &c.* were in the eminentst Danger, by Reason of the Enemy taking up their Rendezvouze in those Parts; but God preserved and delivered them, in Answer unto Prayer. That memorable Providence ought not to be forgotten, how that in the Begining of March, 1676. Our Army missed their Way (desigining to surprize the Indians about *Wachusset Hills*) and were providentially led to North Hampton. Also Major *Treat* with Souldiers under his Command, did then take up his Quarters in that Town, coming thither a Day sooner than was intended; the next Day a great Body of Indians brake in upon the Town, and in probability had laid it Wast, had there not been such a Supply of Souldiers as hath been mentioned, which the good Providence of God brought thither, in Answer to

<sup>334</sup> Brookfield. See *Brief History*, 68.



the Prayers of his People. Moreover the whole Colony of *Plymouth* was in most apparent Danger of being overrun and overwhelmed with the Enemy; especially in the Spring of the Year 1676. when (as we have been informed) the Indians were designing, with fifteen hundred Men to fall upon all the scattered Towns throughout that Jurisdiction. But God gave Men, yea a great *Sachim*, for the Life of his dear People in that Colony. We have heard that *Quanonchets* Surprisal and Death, struck an Amazement into the Heathen, and diverted their purposed Mischief. May 8. 1676. when Bridgewater was assaulted, and in Danger of being laid Wast, God sent Thunder and Rain from Heaven, which caused the Indians to turn back. And when they attempted to make *Taunton* a Desolation, July 11. how wonderfully did the Lord save that Town? So ordering by his Providence, as that a Captive *Negro* escaping from the Indians, informed of their Purpose to fall upon that Place, whereupon the Inhabitants stood upon their Guard, and Souldiers were timouly sent in to them for their Relief and Defence.

7. *How often have we prayed for our poor Captives, that God would preserve them and return them?* When some of ours not many Years since, were in Captivity under *Mahomet*, what Prayer was made for them continually? Especially it was so in respect to Mr. *Foster* and his Son,<sup>335</sup> the Church in *Charlestown* setting a Day apart to seek unto the

<sup>335</sup> What *Fosters* these were I am does not seem to have stumbled on unable to determine. Mr. *Savage* them; if he has he did not know it.

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Lord by Fasting and Prayer, that the Persons mentioned might be set at liberty, and although at that Time there was [9] no likelihood that ever it should be, the infidel King under whose Power they were, not being willing to accept of Money for their Redemption, yet God brought it about wonderfully, and rather than his Peoples Prayers should not be answered, that Tyrant must dy by a strange and unexpected Providence. But I speak now concerning those that have been Captives amongst the Heathen in this Land. And God hath heard us for them. Whereas upon the 9th of May, 1676. the Magistrates and Ministers of this Colony, and the Deputyes of the General Court, fought the Lord together by Fasting and Prayer, and did in special Manner beg that Captives might be returned, as a Token for Good, and Pledge of further Answers of Prayer, within a few Weeks after this, neer upon twenty of our Captives were set at Liberty. For some, Prayer hath been more abundantly poured forth; so for Mr. *Rowlandson* his Wife and two Children, and we have seen the Lord returning them all again. And whereas in October 1676. Amongst others, the Son of that Man of God, and Man of Prayer, Reverend Mr. *Cobbet* (the faithful Pastor in Ipswich) was surpris'd in a Vessel by the Northern Indians, and led away into Captivity; doubtless God did it, that so glory might be to his holy Name, and that the World might see how Prayer can prevail with him. Mr. *Cobbet* no sooner heard what was befallen his Son, but he called together about thirty of his Christian Neigh-

bors (that being as many as could on the sudden convene) and they set some Time apart to pray for him that was now a Captive, after this his Fathers Heart was sweetly quieted, believing that God had heard them: Some others also that attended that Service, were as confidently perswaded that God would return (and that in comfortable Plight) Mr. *Cobbets* Son to him again as if he were already come; Prayer also was made in publick Congregations in particular for that young Man; and in December following, those Prayers were fully answered, the Lord bringing it about in strange Wayes, the Particulars and Circumstances whereof are too large here to be insisted on.<sup>336</sup>

Let me further take Notice here, that whereas no longer then three Weeks since, (viz, July 25. 1677.) the Church in *Salem* set a Day apart to seek the Lord in special on Behalf of those belonging to that Town lately fallen into the Hands of the Indians; whilst they were praying, God brought Home one of the Vessels that the Indians had surpris'd, and two Persons (who were Masters of Vessels) that had been particularly prayed for in the Morning, returned [10] solemn Thanks to God in the after Part of the Day, in that he had in Answer of the Prayers of his People, brought them out of their Captivity.<sup>337</sup>

<sup>336</sup> The Rev. Thomas Cobbet of Ipswich gave the Author an Account of the Capture and Liberation of his Son, in a Letter of great Length, which is published in the *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Register*, Vol. vii,

209-19. There is also an Account in Mr. Hubbard's *Indian Wars*, Pt. ii, 57-8.

<sup>337</sup> " The Lord having allowed  
" the Indians to take no less than

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8. *How often have prayed that God would cutt off the Ring-leaders, and principal bloody Promoters of the late Troubles?* That the Lord would doe unto them as unto Sifera, as to Jabin at the Brook of Kifon (which perished at Endor, they became as Dung for the Earth) and make their Nobles like Oreb and like Zeeb, yea all their Princes like Zeba and Zalmunna.

Now in these Cryes to Heaven our God hath heard us even to Admiration. *Philip* the grand Enemy and Beginner of the War, is gone to his own Place. It was observed that a little before the Destruction of that bloody Foe, the Lord stirred up the Hearts of some of his Servants, to be instant in Prayer against that Enemy in particular, yea and caused them firmly to believe that it should be so. Nor could they cease crying to the Lord against him, untill they had prayed the Bullet into *Philips* Heart. And concerning what Prayers have been in the Closets about that Thing, we shall hear more at the Day of Judgment when the Lord Jesus will reveal it and reward it openly. Are not all the Chieftains amongst the Heathen who have been in Hostility against us cut off forever? and their Memorial is perished with them.

“ thirteen Ketches of Salem and  
“ captivate the Men (though divers  
“ of them cleared themselves and  
“ came Home) it struck great Con-  
“ sternation into all People here, and  
“ it was agreed that Lecture-day,  
“ July 25th, 1677, should be kept

“ as a Fast.” *Salem Ch. Records*  
in Felt's *Salem*, 258. Nineteen  
wounded Men had been sent in a  
little while before, and some of the  
Ketches arrived the same day of the  
Fast. *Hist. Salem, Ibid.* No Names  
are given.

*O thou most High, Thou hast rebuked the Heathen, thou hast put out their Name for ever and ever!*

We have heard of two and twenty Indian Captains slain all of them, and brought down to Hell in one Day, viz. Decemb. 19. 1675.<sup>338</sup> And some of the Indians have confessed that at the Fall fight, May 18. 1676.<sup>339</sup> they lost no less then three and thirty of their Counsellours, which put them into an absolute Confusion, that they were like Men amazed ever after.

Where are the six *Narraganset* Sachims, with all their Captains and Counsellours? Where are the *Nipmuck* Sachims, with all their Captains and Counsellours? Where is *Philip* and *Squaw-Sachim* of *Pocasset* with all their Captains and Counsellours?<sup>340</sup> God doe so to all the implacable Enemies of Christ and of his People in New England!

2. *If we consider the TIME when God hath appeared for us, it is manifest that our Salvation is our Answer of Prayer.* It was a fatal happy Blow

<sup>338</sup> The Author's Statistics of the Narraganset Swamp Fight are no doubt too large, as they are of the Destruction at the Falls.

<sup>339</sup> The Fight at the Falls in the Connecticut River. See *Brief History*, 148.

<sup>340</sup> These Questions were easier asked than answered in the Author's Time. The six Narraganset Chiefs or Sachems can be pretty easily made out: *Canonchet, Potock, Pumbam, Quinnapin, Quaqualb, Chicon,*

and there might be several others named. A larger Number of the Nipmucks might be reckoned up: There were several Johns— as John *Monoco, Stonewall John, Sagamore John, Old Fetbro, Mautamp, Sagamore Sam* (Ukuttugun), &c. Then of the Wampanoags, *Philip, Annawan, Sam Barrow, Nimrod, Totofon, Pebe, Watuspequin, Akkompoin, Tokamona, Woospasuck, &c.*, were the most prominent; among these the Female Chief *Weetamoo* was regarded next to *Philip* on some Accounts.

which the Indians received at the Fort-fight in the *Narraganfet Country*; and a little before that, all these Churches [11] were solemnly by Fasting and Prayer seeking to the Lord, that the Heathen might be rebuked at that Time. When *Quanonchet* was taken and slain it was an amazing stroke to the Enemy. And but a few Dayes before that many Churches in *England* kept a Day of Fasting and Prayer for poor *New-England*. In the later End of June. 1676, (and ever after that) Successes against the Enemy were wonderfull; especially in *Plymouth Colony*. Now on the 22. of June, all the Churches in that Colony set apart a Day of solemn Humiliation, and renewed their Covenant. And on the 29. of that Month, was a Day of Thankf-giving throughout this Colony, the Prayers and Praises of which Day were signally owned by the Lord, who did then set Ambushments against the Enemy and they were smitten. Also in this very Moneth, the Churches in *Dublin* in Ireland were solemnly seeking to the Lord on our Behalf.<sup>341</sup> Why should not these Things be written and recorded for the Generation to come? Why should they not be made known to our Children, that they might set their Hope in God, and not forget the Works of God, but keep his Commandments.

Some one perhaps will say, did not God in the Time of your late War seem to be angry with your Prayers? Had you not the saddest Tidings on your solemn Dayes of Humiliation?

<sup>341</sup> Nathaniel Mather, the Author's Brother, was then Minister in Dublin.

*Ajfw.* This is true, and the Thoughts of it should forever humble us; yet we know, sometimes the Lord seems to be displeas'd with the Prayers of his People only to try their Faith (as with the Woman of Canaan) when as indeed they are his delight. Moreover (alas!) it cannot be denied or doubted of, but that the Lord saw Formality and Hypocrisy in the Prayers of many amongst us, which he was offended at, howbeit there are some living Christians, that walk closely with God; a few Names that have not defiled their Garments with the Sins, and generally prevailing Temptations of these Times; unto them and to their Prayers hath the Lord had Respect. It must also be confess'd, that the Prayers of the Churches in *Europe* have had no small Influence into our Mercies. I can assure the Reader, that the Churches in *London*, in *Suffolk*, in *Dorset*, in *Devon*, in *Somerset*, in *Lancashire*, have by Fasting and Prayer, sought the Lord for New-England, in the Time of our late Troubles. And I doubt not but that the Lords praying People in other Countreyes, where I have no Acquaintance or Correspondence, have done the like. We are infinitely indebted to that God, who having a Purpose to glorify himself by hearing Prayers, put into their Hearts to be earnest in our Behalf.

[12] Who knoweth but that we may be again involved in Trouble by the Remainder of the Heathen, or otherwise. Let us then be encouraged to take in Hand our old tried Weapons, even *preces et lacryme* the Auntient *Armes of the Church*. If Enemyes arise, let us pray them down again.

And that is the special Improvement which should be made of what hath been discoursed; since we have seen what Prayer can do. *The Consideration of these Things should stir up an holy Resolution in every one, to be sincere, frequent, and constant in this so great and powerful a Duty.* It is reported of Joachim (the Father of the Virgin Mary) *that Prayer was his Meat and Drink.* And we know what was David's Profession, Psal. 116. 1. 2. *I love the Lord, because he hath heard my Voice, and my Supplication, because he hath enclined his ear to me, therefore I will call upon him as long as I shall live.*

Wherefore to the Particulars already mentioned, I shall (for how should a man when writing upon such a Subject, easily break off) add a few more. It would indeed fill a Volume, should all the Instances this Way be produced, which stand upon record in approved Authors; nor have I present leisure to revolve many books that treat upon this Subject; only such Particulars as do presently occur to Mind I shall relate, hoping it will not be unprofitable to the Reader, who possibly hath not had the knowledge of them. To proceed then,

There have been, whom Prayer hath brought back from the Gates of the Grave, whenas to all outward Appearance they have been otherwise past Recovery; not to insist upon Scriptural Examples here neither; It is a memorable Passage which a great Historian hath noted concerning that learned and religious, Sir *John Cheek*, who was



Tutor to our English Josiah, King Edward 6th.<sup>342</sup>

Sir John being sick nigh unto Death, the King did carefully enquire after his welfare every Day; at last the Physitians told him that there was no Hopes of Life; Nay (said the King) he will not dye at this Time, for I have this Morning begged his Life of God in my Prayers, and obtained it; which accordingly came to passe; and soon after Sir John wonderfully recovered beyond all Expectation.

*Melancthon* was taken desperately sick at *Vinaria*, as he was in a journey towards *Hagenaw*, in order to a Conference with some of the reformed Divines in Germany about Matters of Religion, *Luther* hearing of it, hastned to visit him, and with Tears saying Alas! how [13] precious and profitable an Instrument of the Church, is miserably weakned, and ready to perish! and falling upon his knees, he did most earnestly wrestle with the Lord for his Recovery, and prevailed, so as that *Melancthon* would afterwards confess, that if it had not been for *Luther's* Prayers, he had died by that Sickness.

At another Time, *Myconius* being fallen into a deep Consumption, *Luther* was earnest in Prayer to God for his Recovery; and he wrote a Letter

<sup>342</sup> Whose Reign was from 1547 to 1553. How much of a Josiah that puny Boy at nine Years of Age could have been is left for the judgment of those whose Imagina-

tions set down Kings as a sort of Divinities. Edward was only fifteen Years old when he died. Old Fuller was a blind Believer in the Saintship of Kings.

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to him, wherein he thus expreffeth himfelf, ‘I pray Chrift our Lord, our Salvation, our Health, ‘ that I may not live to fee thee, and ſome others ‘ of our Colleagues to dye, and go to Heaven, and ‘ to leave me here amongft the Divels alone. Fare- ‘ well and God forbid that I ſhould hear of thy ‘ Death whilft I live, *ſed te ſuperſtitem faciat mihi ‘ Deus, hoc peto et volo, et fiat voluntas mea, Amen ! ‘ quia hæc voluntas gloriam mominis Dei, certe non ‘ meam voluptatem, nec copiam quærit.*’ A while after *Myconius* recovered, and outlived *Luther*, ever acknowledging that he was beholding to God for putting it into the Heart of *Luther* ; ſo to pray for him, and instrumentally to lengthen out his Life ſeven Years beyond his own, and Friends expectation.

Yea more, Divels and Powers of Darkneſs had fallen before the Power of Prayer. A deſperate young Man in *Germany*, who in a helliſh Pang of Temptation had ſold himſelf to, and made an explicite Covenant with the Divil ; having revealed his miſerable Condition to *Luther*, he called the Church together, they faſted and prayed, ſo that the Divil threw the Writing, which he had received of the young Man in at the Window, and a forlorn Soal was reſcued out of the Hands of that devouring Lion.<sup>343</sup> How often have

<sup>343</sup>This was quite up to the Spirit-writings of the preſent Day. An Acquaintance of ours ſome few Years ago went about exhibiting what many believed to be the Devil’s Autograph, obtained by a Medium.

Doubtleſs Mediums were common in thoſe Days as well as at the preſent Time, but it may be queſtioned whether thoſe of that Day were more under his Satanic Majeſty’s Government than thoſe of this Age.

poore Creatures under bodily Possessions been delivered from that thralldom by earnest Prayer? *Refertur in vita Augustini.* *Austin* by his Prayers cast out Divils. The History of those seven possessed in *Lancashire*, in whose Dispossession *Mr. Darrel* and others were by Fasting and Prayer instrumental, is well known.<sup>344</sup>

There was a Man that lived not far from *Nottingham*, whose Name was *John Fox*. This Man was possessed by the Divil, who would violently throw him down, and take away the Use of every Member of his Body, and was sometimes heard speaking when his Lips moved not at all; yea (albeit the Man could speak no other Language besides his Mother Tongue) the evil Spirit in him would frequently quote Scriptures out of the Originals, Hebrew and Greek, and play the Critick, and back his Allegations with Sayings out of the Fathers and [14] Poets. Among others that came to pray with this poor miserable Man, *Mr. Rothwel* (a Minister that was famous in those Parts in those Days) was one. As he was coming, the Divil told them in the House with the possessed Man, yonder is *Rothwel* a coming; and upon his entering into the House, raged and blasphemed, saying also wilt thou go to Prayer, I'll make such a Noise as shall distract thee, and dost thou think that God will hear distracted Prayers? *Mr. Rothwel* replied, God heareth the Prayers of

<sup>344</sup> If the Reader is inclined to learn something more of *Mr. John Darrel* he may find it in *Hutchinson's Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft*, Ed. London: 1720, 242, 262.

the Upright, and hath promised to give his Spirit to help Infirmities in Prayer, therefore in Confidence of his Promise, & powerfull Assistance of his Spirit, and in the Name of his Son Jesus Christ, we will go to Prayer. So he did. The Devil for above a Quarter of an Hour made an horrid Noise, and roared at Mr. *Rothwells* Face, but at last was forced to be silent, and departed out of the Man, who before the Prayer was ended, did to the Amazement and Joy of all the Auditors present say Amen to the Petitions that were presented before the Lord on his Behalf. After Mr. Rothwel left him, he was stricken dumb for three Years together; at length by Prayer also, God opened his Mouth, and restored his Speech to him; One using this Petition, Lord open his Mouth, and his Lips shall shew forth thy Praise; he answered in the Congregation, *Amen*, and so continued to speak and spake graciously to his dying Day.<sup>345</sup>

I remember I have met with another Example not unlike unto this but now mentioned. In the Town of *Barwick* upon *Tweed*, there was a Man (Steward to the Lord of *Granson*) reputed Godly, who was very much afflicted in his Mind. Mr.

<sup>345</sup> The Author may not intentionally intended to have evaded Pursuit by referring to a Work not published except in Mr. Clarke's *Martyrology*. The Reader will there find "Master Richard Rothwell" among the "Army of Martyrs," And at the End Mr. Clarke tells us "This Life was drawn up by my "reverend Friend Master Stanly

"Gower of Dorchester." But in his *Looking-Glass for Saints and Sinners*, ii, 166, the ridiculous Devil Story is told also, a brief Abstract of which is in the Text. Brook, in his *Lives of the Puritans*, gives that of Rothwell, but avoids the Devil Story, though he copies from the *Martyrology*. Clarke's Works are but little known at this Day.

*Balsom* (an eminent Preacher by whose Ministry  
See Mr. Balsom, his life by Clark. in that one Town, sixty Persons were (as  
was judged) savingly wrought upon, did  
several Times visit him, and sought to apply  
Words of Comfort to him, but nothing of that  
Nature taking place, he whispered the Steward in  
the Ear to this Purpose, *I doubt there is something  
within which you would do well to discover*; where-  
upon immediately the mans Tongue swelled out of  
his Mouth that he was not able to speak, and to the  
Astonishment of those in the Room, a shrill Voice  
was heard, as it were speaking out of his Throat, say-  
ing, what dost thou talking to him of free Grace and  
Promises? he is mine. *Mr. Balsom* perceiving that it  
was the Devil that spoke, told him, he did not know  
that Men were his as long as they were alive in this  
World. To whom the Devil replied, If God would  
let me loose, I would find enough in the best of you  
all to make you mine, and as for this Man he hath  
given himself [15] to me. I will not (said *Mr. Balsom*)  
believe the *Father of Lyes*, but I will goe home and  
pray for this poor Man, and get all the Force in  
the Town I can to join with me, and I do believe  
that thou Satan shalt loose thy hold before tomorrow  
Morning. *Mr. Balsom* upon his return Home that  
Night, found divers Christians in his House, who  
waited to speak with him, unto whom he declared  
that he could not but admiringly take Notice of  
the Providence of God in bringing them to his  
House, whom otherwise he had purposed to send  
for; and desired them to spend Part of the Night

with him, in seeking to the Lord in the Behalf of such a distressed possessed Man: which they did, and the next Morning Satan had lost his Possession: and when Mr. *Balsom* enquired of the poor Man how it was with him, He answered; through the goodness of God, I have overcome, and am now as full of Comfort, as before I was full of Trouble.<sup>346</sup>

I have also heard a worthy Divine in *Dublin*,  
Dr. Winter. speak of a Man, that being under bodily Possession by an evil Spirit, a Company of praying Christians met together, to seek the Lord in his Behalf; amongst them there was a precious holy Woman, who kneeled behind the Door in the Room where they were praying together, and there were strong Actings of Faith in her Soul; at last the Devil was forced to depart: only as he was going out of the possessed Party, he cried out. *O the Woman, the Woman behind the Door!*<sup>347</sup>

Some very learned and judicious Writers conceive, that *Epileptick* and *Lunatick* Persons are those *Domoniacks* whom we read so much of in the New Testament. There is a  
Mr. Mede's works in Folio, Book 1. Discour. 6. *Deliration* that proceeds *ex vi morbi*, being from or with a Fever, and another Kind of Delira-

<sup>346</sup> This Story of "Master Robert " Balsom " is also told in the *Martyrology* of Mr. Clarke, ii, 179, &c. His Conversation with the Devil in the possessed Man is exceedingly amusing. In the Course of the Debate the Devil said to Mr. Balsom: " If God would let me loose " upon you, I should find enough " in the best of you to make you all

" mine." This certainly is pretty well for the old " Father of Lies," and shows that he could sometimes tell the Truth.

<sup>347</sup> Here we lose much intended for us by not being informed of the Names of the Parties. The Name of " the Woman behind the Door," capable of doing what many thou-

tion which is *sine Febre*, when a Man having no other Disease is crazed or distracted. Not they Beza in Mat. 8. 16. that are subjected to the former, but to this et 17. 15. latter have been accounted *Ενεργούμενοι* possessed Persons. The Jews of old had such an Opinion concerning mad Men. Joh. 10. 20. Consider also Math. 17. 14, 15,—18. with Luk. 9. 39. Whatever of Solidity may be in that Notion, is not a Place here to dispute; but this is certain, that distracted Persons have been restored to the use of their understanding again by Fasting and Prayer. That Moses of his Time, Mr. *Dod*<sup>348</sup> (concerning whom Mr. *Burroughs*<sup>349</sup> giveth this Testimony, that he was the meekest Man upon the Face of the Earth) had a godly Son, whom it pleased the Most High to leave unto fore Distraction in his Mind, whereupon Mr. *Dod* called some of his godly praying Friends together, who set a Day apart solemnly to seek [16] the Lord about that Matter, and whilst they were yet speaking in Prayer, God heard them, so as that the distracted Person was not only restored to his right

fands of Men have failed to do, should be handed down to Posterity. An Author guilty of withholding the Name of such a Person deserves the hearty Reprehension of all his Readers.

<sup>348</sup> “Master John Dod” is probably referred to. He was a famous Puritan, and the Author of several Works in much Repute formerly. He was of a Chester Family and

the youngest of seventeen Children. He lived to the great Age of 96, dying in 1645, according to Clarke’s *Martyrology*, ii, 168, &c.

<sup>349</sup> Jeremiah Burroughs, another noted Divine, who will be found duly noticed in Brook’s *Lives*, iii, 1-6. He was at one Time Colleague with the Rev. Dr. Edmund Calamy at Bury St. Edmunds.

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Mind again, but did himself conclude that Day of Prayer with solemn Thanksgiving unto God. This Information I received from a Reverend Minister, who was present in Mr. Dods House, when that Day of Fasting and Prayer was there observed, upon the Occasion mentioned.

It is reported concerning that excellent Man and famous Minister in *Edinburgh*, Mr. *Bruce*<sup>350</sup> (concerning whom the Learned *Didoclavius* hath given a most honorable Testimony) that divers Persons that were distracted, and some who were Epileptick, past Hopes of Recovery, were nevertheless restored to perfect Health in Answer to Mr. *Bruces* Prayers.

But I have not met with any Instance to this Purpose more affecting than that which is (by an Author worthy of Credit) published concerning Mr. *Patrick Simpson* a learned and very holy Minister, sometimes of Sterling in Scotland. The Story in brief is this.

Mr. *Simpsons* Wife (a gracious Woman) falling sick, was sorely assaulted by Satan, who told her that she should be given over into his Hand. The Temptation and Affrightment prevailed so far as to resolve in a visible Distraction, that the good Woman, most unlike her former Way whilst she was herself, would break forth sometimes with dreadful and horrid Expressions; This was (and could not be otherwise) a most bitter Affliction to

<sup>350</sup> I do not find the Christian Name of this Divine among the Puritan Biographers. Calamy mentions a "Mr. Bruce" among the Ejected. The same probably mentioned by Wilson, iv, 62.



her precious husband, who told those about her that he was assured that Satans Malice should at last receive a shameful Foyle; wherefore he retired himself into his Garden, and shutting the Door, betook himself to Fasting and Prayer. One *Helen Garner* (a godly Woman) being sollicitous for Mr. *Simpson*, as fearing that his Labours, Grief, Fasting might be too hard for him, used some Means to get over into the Garden, where Mr. *Simpson* was alone wrestling with God; being come near the Place where he was, she was terrified with an extraordinary Noise which caused her to fall upon the Ground; It was like the Noise of a great rushing of Multitudes together, and therewithal such a melodious Sound as did make her know it was something more than humane; so that she fell to Prayer, entreating the Lord to pardon her Rashness in so coming thither, considering it was Respect to his Servant, who had been an Instrument of Good to her Soul, that did induce her. After going forward, she found Mr. *Simpson* lying upon the ground; nor would he reveal what he had met with, until [17] Promise was made not to speak of it whilst he was alive in this World. Upon this he said, *O what am I being Dust and Ashes, that the holy ministring Spirits should be sent by the Lord to deliver a Message to me*, and shewed that Angels from Heaven had by an audible Voice given him Answer concerning that which he had been praying about. [This was a Thing extraordinary, and in no wise to be expected by Christians ordina-

rily]<sup>351</sup> and returning into his House, he bid those that were in the Room with his Wife, be of good Comfort; for he was assured that within ten Hours she should be delivered from that Distraction. After this he went to Prayer by the Bedside, and as he was in Prayer, mentioning Jacobs wrestling with God, his Wife sate up in the Bed, and casting aside the Curtain said, *Thou art this Day Jacob, thou hast wrestled, and hast prevailed, and now God hath made good his Word which he spake to you this Morning, for I am plucked out of the Hands of Satan, and he shall no more have Power over me.* This Interruption made him silent for a while, but after in great Meltings of Heart he proceeded in Prayer, magnifying the Riches of divine Grace and Love, and from that Hour his Wife continued to discourse Christianly and comfortably even to her dying Hour.

As for those spiritual (which are worse than bodily Possessions) that Satan holds in the Souls of Clark, ubi supra. Men, how often hath Prayer been a Means to out him, and cause him (full sore against his will) to quit his strong Hold for ever. Prayer hath (i. e. instrumentally) converted many a Soul. *Peter Martyr* was wont to pray much for the Conversion<sup>352</sup> of *Bernard Gilpin*, and the Lord an-

<sup>351</sup> The Author can hardly be said to have improved his Account by throwing in this bracketed Caveat. He probably had not had Experience with disordered or diseased Imaginations in 1677, but sixteen Years later in Life he witnessed

similar Delusions, yet with no more Light on his Mind, apparently.

<sup>352</sup> Peter Martyr was a Florentine, born at the City of Florence in 1500. Clarke has given his Life and Portrait in his *Marrow of Eccl. Hist.*,

swered his Prayers, and that *Gilpin* proved an eminent Instrument of Gods Glory and of Good unto his Church.

I have read of one who having a Brother that spent his Time in Hawking, Drinking and other profane Vanities, upon a Saturday, when his un-  
Mr. White, godly Brother was gone upon an hawking his Relation. Match, he set that very Day apart by Fasting and Prayer to beg of God that his Brother might be converted. And the Lord answered his Prayers wonderfully; For within a Week after his Brother was strangely changed, and did himself (instead of spending his Time in Hawking and Drinking) observe many Days of secret Humiliation between the Lord and his own Soul, on the Account of the Sins he had been guilty of, in the Days of Vanity, and made a very godly End at last.

That precious and famous Minister of Christ, Mr. *Welch*,<sup>353</sup> being in a Journey, his Entertainment came to more than he expected, so that the next Morning he had not wherewith to pay for his Horse meat: the Hostler sware and railed exceedingly for his Money: Mr. *Welch* [18] shut his chamber Door and went to Prayer and the Hostler

201-13. He was obliged to fly from his own Country to avoid Persecution, and resided for a Period in Devonshire, England. The Biographical Dictionaries are ample upon him. He has sometimes been confounded with another Peter Martyr, who wrote the *Decades of*

*the New World*, published by Richard Hakluyt. He was celebrated for his varied Learning.

<sup>353</sup> Perhaps Mr. Henry Welsh, of whom Dr. Calamy gives some Account. See *Nonconformists Memorial*, ii, 88.

standing at the Door overheard him, and was converted by that Prayer; ever after that Time highly respecting Mr. *Welch*, and refusing to accept of anything for his Entertainment, either then or at any other Times afterwards, when Occasion was offered.

I knew one, the Son of an holy and eminently faithful Minister, who in some of the Dayes of his Youth had been wild and vain, but was (through the Grace of Christ) converted in his young Years, and after his Fathers death, perusing his private Papers, he perceived, that not many Days before he was in the Pangs of the new Birth, his Father had been by secret Fasting and Prayer seeking unto the Lord that converting sanctifying Grace might be bestowed upon that Son of his.

That notable Israelite, Mr. *Hugh Kennedy*, Provost of Air in Scotland, one Day being long alone in Prayer, while some of his intimate Friends stayed a great while to speak with him, upon their enquiry into the Reason why he made them wait so long; he told them it was no wonder, for (said he) *I have this Day obtained Mercy for me and all mine.* And so indeed it came to pass; for not so much as one of his Children, but evident Signs of Conversion and true Godliness were observed in them. This was that *Kennedy*, who when he was dying could say, *If the Walls of this House could speak, they could tell how many sweet Dayes I have had in secret Fellowship with God, and how familiar he hath been with my Soul.* This is he concerning whom Mr. *Welch*

MR. LEVISTON  
in lib. supra  
citat p. 441.  
442.

once said, 'Happy is that City, yea, happy is that Nation that hath an *Hugh Kennedy* in it. I myself have certainly found the Answers, of his Prayers to the Lord on my behalf.' There is one Passage recorded concerning him which is exceeding strange. It is this.

One of his Sons being absent at Sea, on a certain Night he rose early, before break of Day, and came to his familiar Friend *John Steward*, and desired him to rise, and go with him into a room to pray, for (said he) my Son with the rest of our Christian Friends now at Sea, are at the very nick of perishing. After he had spent some Time in pouring out his Soul before the Lord, he rose up cheerfully, saying, *now are they safe*, John Steward being amazed thereat, writ this down, with the Day and Hour, and at the Return of the Ship made Enquiry, and found that in that very Hour of that Night, they then were in a most Dangerous Place, so that all Hope, that they should be saved was taken away, only they were by an extraordinary unexpected Providence then delivered.

[19] To draw to a Conclusion, let the World beware, of doing any Wrong to a praying People. Such blasting Strokes from God were upon those that set themselves against the reformed Churches and Professors (who were called *Piccardines*) in *Bobemia* of old that it became a proverbial Speech, *If any Man be weary of his Life, let him become an Enemy to the Piccardines.* So I say, *If any Man be weary of his Life, let him become an Enemy*

to a praying People, such as (through Grace) many in *New England* have been, and are to this Day. And wo to that Man, whoever he be, upon whom the Prayers of *New England* shall fall. It were better for that Man that a Mill-stone were hanged about his Neck, and he thrown therewith into the midst of the Sea. It is said concerning the Witnesses, Rev. 11. 5. “if any Man hurt them, fire proceedeth out of their Mouth, and devoureth their Enemies, and if any Man will hurt them, he must in this Manner be killed.” Is not the Spirit of Prayer that Fire? That Scottish Queen once professed, that she was more afraid of Mr. Knox his Prayers, then of an Army of ten thousand Men.

And it is noted concerning *Leolin* Prince of Wales, that being perswaded by some to take up Arms against a Prince that was famous for Religion; he replied that he was afraid of that Mans Prayers more then of Armies.

Wherefore I shall finish this Discourse with the solemn Expression of one (whom I have peculiar Reason to love) that was well known in this Place seven and twenty Years agoe.<sup>354</sup> *I had rather (saith he) be environed with Armies of armed Men, and compassed round with drawn Swords and Instruments of Death, then that the least praying Saint should bend the Edge of his Prayers against me; for there*

<sup>354</sup> The Author refers to his Pedigree in the *Brief History*. See Brother Samuel. See the Family also *Hist. and Antiqs. Boston*, 310.

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*is no standing before the Prayers of Saints, especially if they unite their Forces, and join together in the same Requests. Rise up, O Lord, and let thine Enemies be scattered, and let them that hate thee, flee before thee.*

שמע תפלה עדיך כל-בשו יבאך









## A P P E N D I X .

### A.

*Capt. Israel Stoughton to John Winthrop.*

[Not dated, but endorsed, "Recd 5, 6." 1637]

HONORED S<sup>r</sup>

By y<sup>s</sup> Pinnacle, being Giggles,<sup>355</sup> you shall Receive 48 or 50 women & Children vnlesse there stay any here to be helpfull &<sup>th</sup>, concerning which there is one I formerly<sup>356</sup> mentioned y<sup>t</sup> is y<sup>e</sup> fairest & largest y<sup>t</sup> I saw amongst them, to whome I haue given a coate to Cloath her: It is my desire to haue her for a Servant if it may stand w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> good liking: ells not. There is a little Squa y<sup>t</sup> Steward Calacot desireth, to whom he hath Given a coate Lifetenant Dampport [Davenport] also desireth one, to witt, a tall one, y<sup>t</sup> hath three stroakes vpon her stumach, thus. —ll + : he desireth her if it will stand with yo<sup>r</sup> good likeing: Sofomon<sup>357</sup> y<sup>e</sup> jndian desireth a young little Squa w<sup>ch</sup> I know not. But I leave all to your dispose: He had one here for one of his men.

At present M<sup>r</sup>. Noyes, M<sup>r</sup>. Ludlo, Captayne Mafon & 30 men are w<sup>th</sup> vs in Pequid Riuer, & we shall y<sup>e</sup> next weeke joyne in seeing w<sup>t</sup> we can do ag<sup>st</sup> Safaco<sup>s</sup>, & an other great Sagamo<sup>r</sup>: Momowattuck: Here is yet tuff worke to be done. And how deere it will cost is unknowne: Safaco<sup>s</sup> is resolued to sell his life & so y<sup>e</sup> other with their Company as deere as they cann: but we doubt not but god will giue him to vs; we are in a faire way. One of y<sup>e</sup> former y<sup>t</sup> we tooke (or y<sup>t</sup> was taken to o<sup>r</sup> hands in a great measure) is a great Sachem, y<sup>e</sup> third of y<sup>e</sup> pequids: whome we referue for a help,<sup>358</sup> & find Gods p<sup>r</sup>vidence derected it well, for we are all cleere he is like to do vs good: yet we are farr from giuing him assur-

<sup>355</sup> Roger Williams wrote his Name *Jiggles*. There was a *Thomas Jiggles* of Boston; doubtles the same Person. Mr. Savage does not seem to have heard of him. See our *Note*, 149.

<sup>356</sup> There is a long Letter from Capt. Stoughton dated after this, printed in the Appendix to Winthrop's Journal, i, 398,

&c. That referred to in the Text is not known to exist.

<sup>357</sup> Perhaps the same killed by Philip's Men just before the War of 1675, as detailed in this Work.

<sup>358</sup> This is probably a Reference to Wequash.

ance of life. We see so much worke behind y<sup>t</sup> we dare not dismise more men yet :

We hope to find a way to bring them in plentifully, and to get y<sup>e</sup> murderers too: & to make their associates tributary if they still adhere to them: for we heare of a great Number vp y<sup>e</sup> Country among y<sup>e</sup> Neepe-  
netts: but we shall not deale with them with out yo<sup>r</sup> advice, vnlesse more remotely.

We have settled on a place for our randavooze: not full to o<sup>r</sup> Content but y<sup>e</sup> best we could for y<sup>e</sup> present: vpon y<sup>e</sup> mouth of Pequid Riuer; on y<sup>e</sup> Naanticot side, where we haue 100 acres corne, if not 2 or 300 neere at hand. & a Curio<sup>s</sup> spring of water within o<sup>r</sup> Pallazado, & may by great Gunns Command y<sup>e</sup> Riuer.

So y<sup>e</sup> Charg of keeping y<sup>e</sup> fort need not be great, seeing Corne, water & wood are so neare at hand: & fishing &<sup>th</sup>.

I pray let not p<sup>r</sup>visions be neglected with y<sup>e</sup> first, such as y<sup>e</sup> Country affordeth shall content vs: only w<sup>h</sup> we haue frends, as now, we could betee me them a peece of Beef ets: if we had it. y<sup>e</sup> Rudlet of Sack we haue is some comfort & credit: but many hands make light worke: and in cases of fayntings, sicknes &ets among a many, it cannot be but occasions will happen of some expence of such things as are a little better then ordinary.

Thus w<sup>th</sup> my deere<sup>st</sup> Respects remembered to yo<sup>r</sup> self with y<sup>e</sup> Councell &<sup>s</sup> I take leaue Resting Yor<sup>s</sup> as in duty I am bound.

(. ISRAEL STOUGHTON.)<sup>359</sup>

## B.

*Edward Winslow to John Winthrop.*

[Endorsed "Mr. Winslow about the Pequots."]

WORTHY Sr.

Yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>r</sup> by my wiues sonne I re<sup>d</sup> the 6<sup>th</sup> day of the last weeke being very sorry mine came so unseasonable to yo<sup>r</sup> hands. ffor answere to yo<sup>rs</sup> Our Cowncell having weighty occasions this day to mee<sup>t</sup>e & confer about diuers busines<sup>s</sup>es w<sup>ch</sup> much concerne us I impted yo<sup>r</sup> L<sup>r</sup> to the Gov<sup>r</sup> and them, who seeing it impossible for the Gov<sup>r</sup> or my selfe to bee at yo<sup>r</sup> Court to morrow requested me to write by the bearer & thereby salute yo<sup>r</sup> Gov<sup>r</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> selfe & assistants. Concerning yo<sup>r</sup> prent busines we conceiue it will be simply necessary for you to pceed in the war begun w<sup>th</sup> the Pequots, otherwise the natiues we feare will grow into a stronger confederacy to the further prejudice of the whole English. We are very glad to heare that the Munheges are fallen from the Pequots & brought to a puffed war w<sup>th</sup> them knowing their inueterate hatred & desire it may be nourished by all good meanes, who are soldiers as well as the

<sup>359</sup> A Fac-simile of Capt. Stoughton's Autograph is in the *Hist. Antiq. Boston*, 214.

others. These best know the Pequots holds & holes & the fittest instruments can be employed & such a people as will also well accord w<sup>th</sup> the Narrohiggansets. But there is one thing of ill consequence w<sup>h</sup> we heare from Conecticut viz<sup>t</sup>. that there are some English there that furnish the enemy by way of trade having made a league w<sup>th</sup> them, If you enquire of Mr. Jefop who came in the barke with Mr. Harding you may receive particular informacon thereabout. That this will be ill taken I dowbt not, yet durst not doe no other then informe you, yet let me comend one thing to yo<sup>r</sup> consideracon how dangerous a thing it may proue if the Dutch (who seeke it) & they should close by reason of the Pequots necessity: I speake not this as desiring the benefit of their trade, for we are waary of the worke as we are dealt w<sup>th</sup>all. Concerning things Eastward, Capt. Standish is returned who reporteth of the Royall entertainem<sup>t</sup> Shurt hath given Dony<sup>260</sup> at Pemaquid. He saith (being commander Generall) that if he receive a Comission he must take him, onely six weekes before he will giue him notice, and in lue thereof tis [—] Mr. Shurt hath promised him to informe him of whatever prepacon shall be made or intended against them. He further saith that if his commission be to take the Grand Bay (yo<sup>r</sup> felues) he will attempt it though he should haue no other vessell then a Canoe. But the English are all his friends except Plimoth: nor is he enemies to any other. Shurt hath undertaken to furnish him w<sup>th</sup> powder shot yea all manner of provisions, And to that end under a colour of gathering vp some debts is come to make provisions for them till his owne ship come. Tis also reported that Sr fferdinando Gorges hath written to Saco that the ffrench here are not sett out nor allowed by the King of ff. but a base people w<sup>ch</sup> their state disclaime, & therefore stirreth them up to informe both you & us that we might joyne together to expell them. One thing more w<sup>ch</sup> I had almost forgotten they have lost their Gally & a pinnase at Ile Sable & brought away their people who are at Penobscot where they haue built a pinnase of threescore tunne. I report these things fro Capt. Standish but as the reports y<sup>t</sup> are familiar in the Eastern pts, y<sup>t</sup> you may likewise make yo<sup>r</sup> use of them. The last news is this whereat I am most grieved That all the late differens betw. m<sup>r</sup> Wheelwright & yo<sup>r</sup> felues in Church & Court are in writing at Richmonds Ile where Turlany<sup>361</sup> shewed him six sheets of pap full written about them. The Lord in mercy look upon us and leaue us not to the malice of Satan & wicked men his instruments, but so direct us, by his spirit as the end may redownd to his glory & our mutuall good.

Sr howeuer I could not come at this sudden warning by reason of our publick occasions & the fowlness of the latter pt of the weeke past yet nevertheleffe if you conceiue my coming may be any furtherance in any

<sup>360</sup> D'Aulney. It was within his Territory. See *Hutchinson*, i, 128; *Davis Morton*, 180-1, 232.

<sup>361</sup> No doubt Robert Trelawny, who owned the Island. He died before 10th Oct., 1648. See *Willis's Portland*, 227.

good accou God giving health & ability mine owne occasions shall giue place, & I shall be ready to doe any service God shall inable me In the meane time & whilest I haue being my prs I hope shall be to the Throne of grace for you & yo<sup>r</sup>s whom I salute in the Lord & rest.

Yo<sup>r</sup>s assured

Plym: the 17th of the 2<sup>d</sup> mo. 1637.

EDW. WINSLOW.

If now after your Court you have any desire to speake w<sup>th</sup> me at goodman Stows of Roxbury you shall heare of one that is to come forthw<sup>th</sup> hither.

C.

*John Humfrey to John Winthrop.*

[Dated June 7th, 1637.]

**M**UCH honoured

Hitherto the lord hath beene w<sup>th</sup> us, blessed for ever be his ever blessed name. O<sup>r</sup> nation, the gospel, the blood of those murdered persons of o<sup>r</sup>s seems to triumph in the p<sup>r</sup>sent successe; now I onely desire to suggest it to yo<sup>r</sup> wife & deeper considerations whether it be not p<sup>r</sup>bable the confederates of the Pequots will not be glad to purchase a secure & fearless condition to themselves, by delivering up those men or their heads, who have wrought & brought so much miserie upon themselves & theirs. Or if not so, whither (if they give good assurance by hostages &c.) the blood shed by them may not seeme to be sufficiently expiated by so great an inequality on their sides. Hitherto the hono<sup>r</sup> & terro<sup>r</sup> of o<sup>r</sup> peeple to all the natives is abundantly vendedicated & made good. If p<sup>r</sup>vidence for o<sup>r</sup> humbling (as in regard of my selfe I much feare) should fesh them [word worn off] by some new cruelties upon anie of o<sup>r</sup>s, how low wee may be laide both in their, & the eyes of o<sup>r</sup> confederate Indians, & to how great daunger to us, yea possible o<sup>r</sup> posterities, I leave to yo<sup>r</sup> graver thoughts, if it be worth the consideration. Onely to my shallownes it seemes considerable whither it were not safe pawing to see what effect this will or may work upon such a demaund,<sup>362</sup> 2<sup>d</sup>ly whither not best to rest in certaine victorie & hono<sup>r</sup> acquired, upon so small a losse. 3<sup>d</sup>ly whither, (if wee carrie away the greatest glory of these poore barbarous people in o<sup>r</sup> triumphs over them,) the losse of three men more (if we should not exceede) may not be paraleld w<sup>th</sup> so manie hundreds more of theirs. 4<sup>th</sup>ly whither we must not be forced at last (& it may be in worse cir-

<sup>362</sup> This has Reference to the Capture only eleven Days before this Letter was of the Fort at Mistick, which was done written. See Page .

cumstances) to take this course unlesse divine iustice will miraculously shew it selfe in bringing them all into o<sup>r</sup> net, w<sup>ch</sup> according to reason is not likely. 5<sup>thly</sup>, whether the dreadfulness of o<sup>r</sup> maine Battallio (as it were) be better to be measured by their feares raised on this last, then to see, say or thinke, that o<sup>r</sup> former victorie was not so much of valo<sup>r</sup> as accident w<sup>ch</sup> we o<sup>r</sup>selves do acknowledge p<sup>r</sup>vidence. 6<sup>thly</sup>, if we refuse to give or take such conditions now, they may not be likely to hold us to worfe, or necessitate us to a perpetual war if for o<sup>r</sup> owne ease wee after seeke them, & when they see us (as they may) afraide in like manner.

Much more, & to as little purpose might be saide. But if you continue yo<sup>r</sup> resolutions to p<sup>r</sup>ceede according to former intentions you may please to consider whither these bottles to be used granado wise, may not be of some use; and whither (if the fort<sup>363</sup> be so difficile as it is reported) into which they shall for their last refuge retire) it were not operæ precii to p<sup>r</sup>pare a petar or two to command entrance. Thus laying my low thoughts and myself at yo<sup>r</sup> feete to be kicked out or admitted as you see good, being glad to hope of the continuance of yo<sup>r</sup> purpose to see us in yo<sup>r</sup> way to Ipswich, W<sup>th</sup> my service to you & yo<sup>r</sup><sup>s</sup> I rest yet and ever yo<sup>r</sup><sup>s</sup> (anie thing) to serve you.

Jo: HUMPHREY.<sup>364</sup>

## D.

YARMOUTH PORT [Mafs.], March 9, 1863.

**SAMUEL G. DRAKE, ESQ.**

Dear Sir: I have delayed answering your letter of Feb. 12, in order that I might thoroughly investigate the tradition in the Davis family, that their ancestor Robert bought of Iyannough a tract of land at the north east corner of Barnstable for a brass Kettle.<sup>365</sup> Robert Davis bought lands of the Indians; but it unfortunately happens, that the purchase was made after the year 1650, and was a part of the Indian reservation.

It will not be justifiable to depart from the authority of Winslow, without we can substitute a better. I think no such authority can be substituted, and I shall not therefore occupy space by quoting accounts more familiar to you than to me. The description of the localities so far as given by

<sup>363</sup> It was not then known that the strongest Fort of the Pequots had been abandoned, which some feared was impregnable, and would never be exposed as the other was, to be surpris'd.

*Antiquities of Boston*, p. 52. This Letter has never been published before, entire.

<sup>364</sup> A Fac-simile of Mr. Humphrey's Autograph may be seen in the *History and*

<sup>365</sup> Mr. Otis wrote in a previous Letter, that there was a Tradition in the Davis Family, that their Ancestor, "Robert Davis, bought his Farm of Hyanna for "a brass Kettle."

the early writers is accurate, and I set it down as a historical fact that Iyannough perished in a swamp, as represented, and that the swamp in which he died is probably the one about half a mile east of his town. There is an island in the swamp where tents could have been built. The "Dead Swamp," not far distant, is almost impenetrable to this day. It is wet and muddy, and I do not think even an Indian would have attempted to reside in it.

First we will examine the question genealogically. In 1620 Iyannough is represented as being only 25 years of age; if so he could not have had a son of sufficient age in 1626, to succeed him as Sachem. In 1639, the territory of Iyannough was owned, the northerly portion by Nepogtano (who had by deed of gift conveyed one half to Tuacomicus), and the southerly portion (that portion of Barnstable now called Hyannis and all the south part of Yarmouth) by an Indian Sachem whom Antony Thacher calls Hyanna, and whose name in the records is written Hyanna, Yana, Ianna. Sampson, son of Mashantampanu and his sister claimed a right in those lands; but it was afterwards proved that they had no right, and Nepoitau and Tuacomicus conveyed their lands to the proprietors, reserving about 60 acres at 'Mattakes Swamp or Iyannough's town. Hianna and his son John Hianna, sold that portion of their territory within the present bounds of Barnstable to the proprietors, reserving certain lands and a tract which John says was given by his father Yano to Nicholas Davis. Hiano sold to the proprietors of Yarmouth all the lands on the south side of the town of Yarmouth, reserving certain lands in the vicinity of Bass River for the use of the Indians.

The deed of Nepoyetam to Barnstable is dated in 1641. He was then of age, and could hardly have been a son of Iyannough, if the latter's age is reported rightly. Yanno's deed is dated 19th July, 1664, in which he makes the reservation to the Indians and Nicholas Davis. John Yanno's deed is dated 7 Sep. 1680, and in it he names his father and Nicholas Davis, both deceased. Nepaiton and Yanno may have been sons of Iyannough, but if so I think he was an older man than he was represented to be, and in fact his teeth show that he was probably older. There is much preserved showing the relationship of the several Indian Sachems who lived in this vicinity between 1639 and 1680, and their individual history can be quite satisfactorily traced. I am entirely satisfied that the ancient Indian grave recently discovered, was not that of Tuacomicus, Napoyetan (or his successor Keencomfet) of Paupmunmecke, Sachem of Barnstable and Marstpee, of Yanno (or his son John), of Mashantampaine (Sachem of Nobscuffet), of Sachemus (Sachem of South Dennis and part of Harwich) or of Mat-taquason, Sachem of Monamoiet (though his son John Quason claimed to be an heir of Nepogetain. It is a more ancient grave, and after a very careful examination of all the facts, which I have not time to recapitulate, I am entirely satisfied that the Indian grave discovered in Barnstable on

the 18th of May, 1861, is the grave of that Indian Chief whom the Pilgrim Fathers called Iyanough.

The following are the facts in relation to the finding of the grave :

On Saturday, May 18, 1861, Patrick Hughes an Irishman, a hired man of Mr. Enoch T. Cobb, and David Davis, a son of Benjamin Davis of Barnstable, aged 16, were ploughing in a field on the south of the Great Swamp, which is situate about half a mile east of Mattakeese pond or swamp, now called the "Perch Pond" (on the borders of which in 1620 Iyanough's town was situate). While ploughing the plough struck against something that looked like metal. On examination they found it to be a brass kettle, lying bottom upwards, about seven inches below the surface of the ground. They procured a pick-axe and dug around it, and taking it up found it much rusted and decayed. Under the kettle they found a skull, and other bones. It was so left for the night. Sunday morning following David Davis and his brothers, Adolphus and Robinfon, and their father, and Mr. Nathaniel Gorham, being provided with tools, continued the excavation, and found the skeleton of a man who had been buried in a sitting posture, an Indian pestle, an iron hatchet, a bowl, some white and black wampum, several iron nails and one spike. In making the excavation traces in the earth were noticed in the form of a bow and arrows.

The body was buried in a sitting posture, the kettle placed over the head, the pestle on his right arm, the hatchet and bowl at his feet; dark lines in the earth indicated that his bow and arrows had been placed across his breast.

These facts respecting the exhuming of the remains, I obtained by a personal and separate examination of the parties who were present. All the remains I had packed in a box and sent to the Pilgrim Society at Plymouth, and the late James Davis, Esq., on whose land the grave was found, provided a suitable case, and they are now deposited in the Hall of that Society.

I believe I have now given you all the facts you will want in preparing your article on Iyanough. I have named his contemporaries and their successors. Nepogetam, Tuacommicus and Keencomset, who resided at the Indian village (Iyannough's town) were Christianized Indians, and would not have been buried in that posture. In fact their burial place is known, it was farther west, and the Indian graves are named in ancient deeds, and the lands reserved in the sale. Yanno or Hianna resided at Hyannis, where there is an ancient Indian burial ground containing one acre, reserved when the lands were originally laid out, and if he was brought (after 1664) to the north side of the town to be buried, it is probable that he would have been entombed on the land set apart for that purpose.

Masantampaine lived to be very aged and is buried at Nobsuffet. Paupnummucke was probably buried at Massapee (Marshpee) of which tribe he was Sachem.

There is another consideration ; none excepting the chiefs had brass kettles and hatchets at that time, and if they had, they were too scarce and too valuable to be buried with a common man.

The remains indicate great antiquity, and the articles found indicate with some precision the time of the burial. It was after the time that Capt. John Smith and Hunt visited Barnstable harbor, and before the time that the Indians had laid aside the use of the bow and arrow, in their wars and in hunting. It was before wampum had ceased to pass for money, and before iron nails had become common, and ceased to be regarded as articles of high value. Perhaps the latter fact is the most important in fixing the time of the sepulchre. Taking this as the rule a later period than 1625, can not be safely named as the time of the burial. Very soon after the settlement of Plymouth, nails ceased to be an article of value or curiosity to the Indians. They wanted hatchets, knives or other articles of use.

In regard to an event which happened more than two centuries ago, and of which no record was made at the time, it is unreasonable to expect that the proof will be as strong as a mathematical demonstration.

I have drawn out this letter to an unreasonable length ; but I will repeat that I have no reasonable ground to doubt that the grave of Iyannough has been discovered, and that some of his remains are now in Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth.

Respectfully yours,

AMOS OTIS.







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