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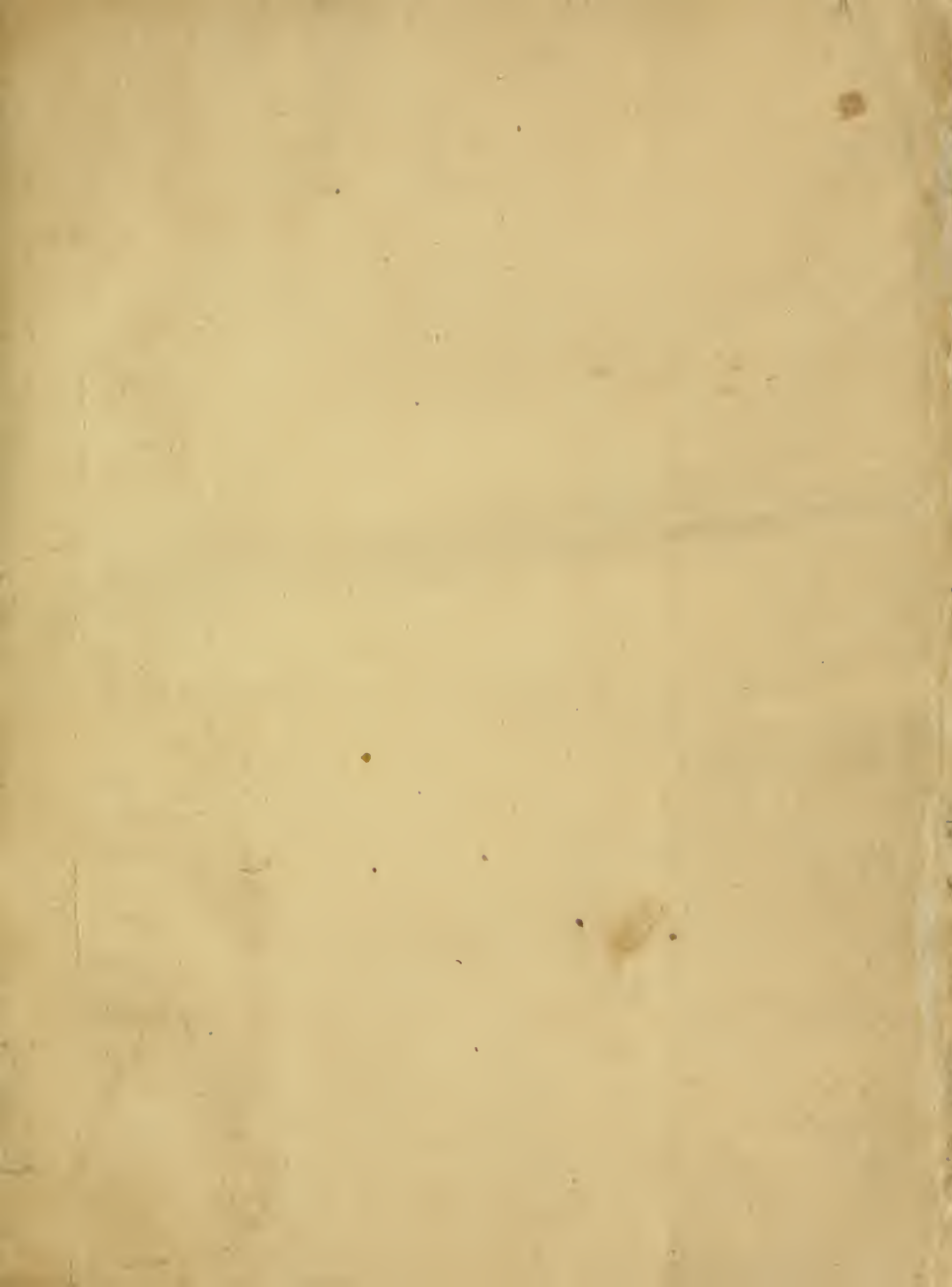
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SHELF N°

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Index to this Collection

Printed

Author	Title	Place	Year	Condition
1 E. Winslow	Good News from New England - - -	London	1624	
2 S.A.N.I.	Polive Anglie: or Desires & wishes of England, strong Reason to perswade this maj ^{ty} to draw his sword for y ^e Restoration of y ^e Catholique & Electorate, &c.	Utrecht	1624	
3 J. Wing	y ^e (steward) - in y ^e worst of Times; a Sermon at y ^e Heique before y ^e 2 of Bohemia, May 18	London	1624	
4 Eburne	Plain both way to y ^e Plantations: &c - - - w th motives for a plantation at Newfoundland, above y ^e Rest.	- - -	1624	
5 H. Major	New art of lying, covered by y ^e Jesuits, und ^r y ^e Veil of Equivocation - - -	Loncl	1624	
6 Que	Foot out of y ^e snare: w th Detect ^{ion} of sundry late Practises of y ^e Priests & Jesuits in England: & a catalogue of Books vented w th in 2 years last in London by y ^e Priests & y ^e agents.	Loncl	1624	

This wing was sister of y^e English Puritan
at Middleborough in Zealand; wth
widow brot her children to Sandwich
in New England, wth afterwards turned
Quakers, & from wth y^e wing at Sand-
wich, Rochester & Dartmouth are derived.

Good News from New England

By E IV.

ie Edward Winslow.

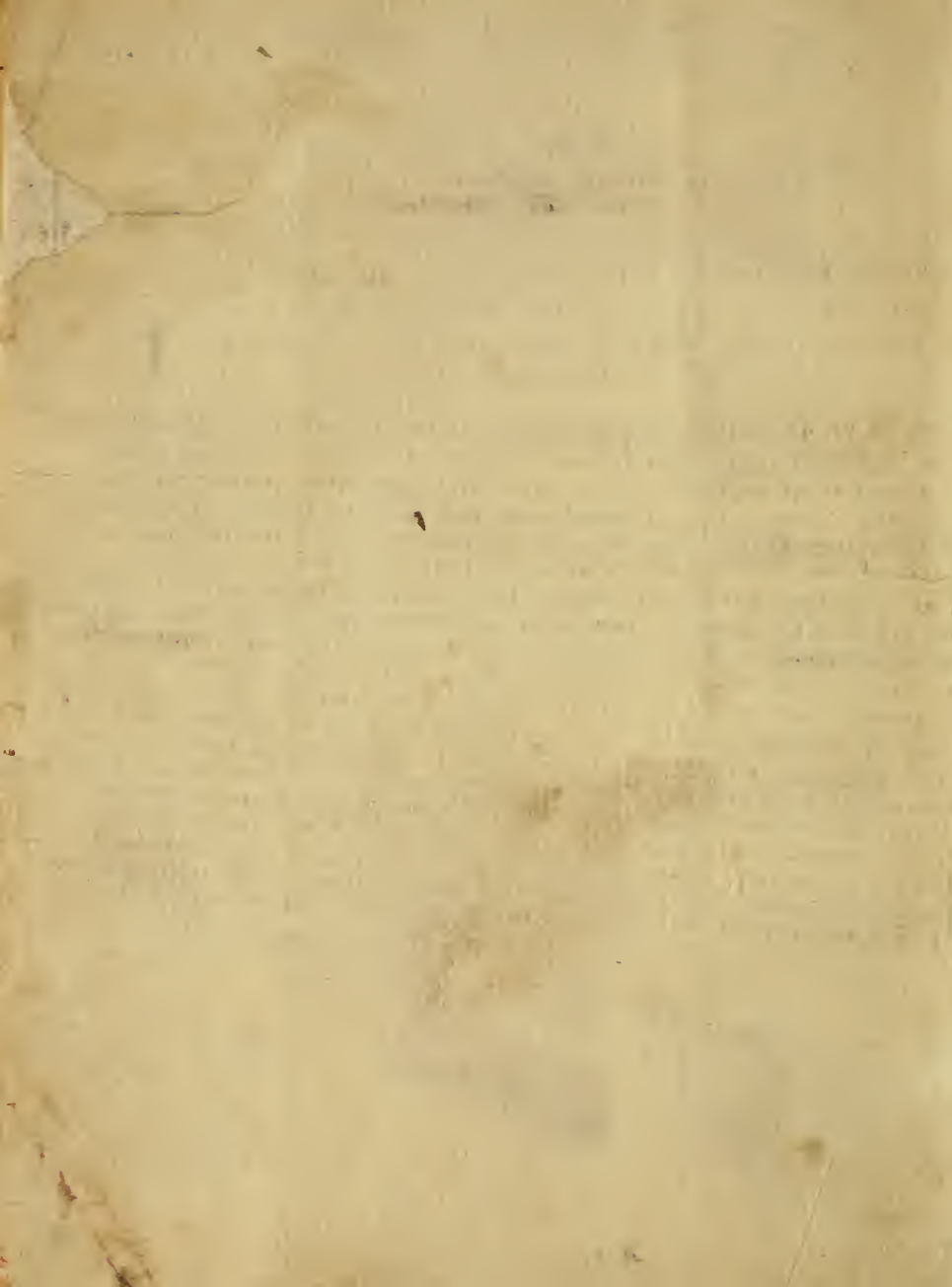
as Purchase says E Winslow.

London Printed by J D. for William Bladen & John Bellamie
& sold at their shop, at the Bible in Pauls Church-yard
& The 3 Golden Lions in Cornhill, near the royal Exchange,
1624.

Page 81 ye author says 'whome [ie from New Plymouth] we set sail
the tenth of September [ie in 1623] and by ye same paragraph
it appears yt he ^{then} sail'd from New Plymouth for London in ye big-
ger ship called ye Ann. and how Bradford in his Manuscript History
of Plymouth colony, says yt with ye Ann they sent Mr Winslow to in-
quire how things are & procure what we want.

Mr Winslow therefore closing this history wth Sept. 10. 1623 when
he set sail for London, we may conclude he arriv'd at London about
ye end of October & prepared this Relation for ye press in November
following & printed it at London in ye beginning of 1624.

Since I wrote ye paragraph above I can write more accurately.
For Mr Morton says yt in March 1624 ie ye beginning of 1624
Mr Winslow arriv'd at Plymouth in New England, having been
employ'd as agent for that plantation, &c. By w^{ch} it seems he
must have left London in Feb^r ^{in beginning of} & must have printed this Rela-
tion there between ye end of October ¹⁶²³ & ye end of January
1624. and I know it is ye custom of ye London printers to
begin ye year in their books at Michaelmas: so yt after Sept 29.
1623, they will date them at ye bottom of ye title page, 1624.



GOOD
NEWES

FROM NEW ENGLAND:

O R

A true Relation of things very remarkable at the Plantation of *Plimoth* in NEW-ENGLAND.

Shewing the wondrous providence and goodness of GOD, in their preservation and continuance, being delivered from many apparant deaths and dangers.

Together with a Relation of such religious and civill Lawes and Customes, as are in practise amongst the *Indians*, adjoyning to them at this day. As also what *Commodities* are there to be rayssed for the maintenance of that and other Plantations in the said Country.

Written by *E. W.* who hath borne a part in the fore-named troubles, and there lived since their first Arrivall.

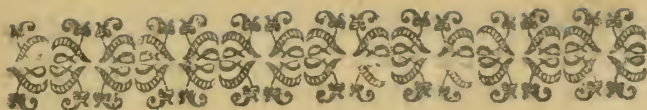
L O N D O N

Printed by *I. D.* for *William Bladen* and *John Bellamie*, and are to be sold at their Shops, at the Bible in *Pauls-Church-yard*, and at the three Golden Lyons in *Corn-hill*, neere the *Royd Exchange*. 1 6 2 4.

At a Court of Commissions for settling Adjutting
and Determining the Boundary of the Colony
of Rhode Island Eastward towards the
Province of the Massachusetts Bay

This Book was produced in Court by the
Agents for the Province to the End they
might give Several passages therein
Contained as Evidence But the Agents
for the Colony Opposed and the Court
Rejected the Same

Dated at of Court of Commissions Sitting in
Providence in the Colony of Rhode Island
The Twentieth day of June Anno Domini
1748 — Attest
William Ballard



TO
ALL WEL-WILLERS
AND FVRTHERES OF
Plantations in *New England*: especially
to such as ~~ever~~ haue or desire to assist, the
*people of Plimoth in their iust pro-
ceedings, Grace, and Peace, bee
multiplied.*



Right Honorable ~~and~~ Wor-
shipfull Gentlemen, or
whatsoever: Since it
hath pleased God to stir
you vp to be instruments
of his glory, in so hono-
rable an enterprise as the
inlarging of his Maiesties
Dominions, by planting
his loyall subiects in so
healthfull and hopesfull a Countrey as *New-
England* is; where the Church of God being seated
in sincerity, there is no lesse hope of convincing
the Heathen of their euill wayes, and converting
them to the true knowledge and worship of the li-
ving God, and so consequently the salvation of
their soules by the merits of Iesus Christ, then
else where though it be much talked on, & lightly

The Epistle Dedicatory.

or lamely prosecuted. I therefore thinke it but my dutie to offer the view of our proceedings to your worthy considerations, hauing to that end composed them together thus briefly as you see; wherein to your great encouragement, you may behold the good providence of God working with you in our preservation from so many dangerous plots and treacheries, as haue beene intended against vs; as also in giuing his blessing so powerfully vpon the weake meanes wee had, inabling vs with health and ability beyond expectation, in our greatest scarcities, and possessing the hearts of the Saluages with astonishment and feare of vs, whereas if God had let them loose, they might easily haue swallowed vs vp, scarce being an handfull in comparison of those forces they might haue gathered together against vs, which now by Gods blessing will be more hard and difficult, in regard our number of men is increased, our towne better fortified, and our store better victualed. Blessed therefore be his name, that hath done so great things for vs, & hath wrought so great a change amongst vs.

Accept I pray you my weake endeouours, pardon my vnskillfulnesse, and beare with my plainenesse in the things I haue handled. Bee not discouraged by our former necessities, but rather incouraged with vs, hoping that as God hath wrought with vs in our beginning of this worthy Worke, vndertaken in his name and feare; so he will by vs accomplish the same to his glory and our comfort, if wee neglect not the meanes. I confesse, it hath not bin much lesse chargeable to some of you, then hard
and

The Epistle Dedicatory.

and difficult to vs, that haue endured the brunt of the battell, and yet small profits returned; onely by Gods mercy wee are safely seated, housed, and fortified, by which meanes a great step is made vnto gaine, and a more direct course taken for the same, then if at first we had rashly and covetously fallen vpon it.

Indeed, three things are the overthrow and bane (as I may terme it) of Plantations.

1. The vaine expectation of present profit, which too too commonly taketh a principall seate in the heart and affection; though Gods glory, &c. is preferred before it in the mouth with protestation.

2. Ambition in their Governours and Commanders, seeking onely to make themselves great, and slaues of all that are vnder them, to maintaine a transitory base honour in themselves, which God oft punisheth with contempt.

3. The carelesnes of those that send over supplies of men vnto them, not caring how they bee qualified: so that oft times they are rather the Image of men endued with bestiall, yea, diabolicall affections, then the Image of God, endued with reason, vnderstanding, and holines. I prayse God I speake not these things experimentally, by way of complaint of our owne condition, but hauing great cause on the contrary part to be thankfull to God for his mercies towards vs: but rather, if there bee any too desirous of gaine, to intreate them to moderate their affections, and consider that no man expecteth fruit before the tree be growne; advising all men, that as they tender their owne well-fare,

The Epistle Dedicatory.

so to make choise of such to mannage and governe their affayres, as are approued not to be seekers of themselves, but the common good of all for whom they are imployed; and beseeching such as haue the care of transporting men for the supply and furnishing of Plantations, to be truely carefull in sending such as may further and not hinder so good an action. There is no godly honest man, but will be helpfull in his kinde, and adorne his profession with an vpright life and conversation, which Doctrine of manners ought first to bee Preached by giuing good example to the poore Savage Heathens amongst whom they liue. On the contrary part, what great offence hath beene giuen by many profane men, who being but seeming Christians, haue made Christ and Christianitie sinke in the nostrils of the poore Infidels, and so laid a stumbling blocke before them: *but woe be to them by whom such offences come.*

These things I offer to your Christian considerations, beseeching you to make a good construction of my simple meaning, and take in good part this ensuing Relation, dedicating my selfe and it euermore vnto your seruice; beseeching God to crowne our Christian and faithfull endeouours with his blessings temporall and eternall.

*Years in this seruice, euer
to be commanded:*

E. W.



To the Reader,



Good Reader, when I first penned this discourse, I intended it chiefly for the satisfaction of my private friends, but since that time have beene perswaded to publish the same: And therather, because of a disorderly Colony that are disper-

sed, and most of them returned, to the great preiudice and dammage of him that set them forth; who as they were a staine to old England that bred them, in respect of their liues and manners amongst the Indians: So it is to be feared, will bee no lesse to New-England in their vile and clamorous reports, because shee would not foster them in their desired idle courses. I would not bee understood to thinke there were no wel-deseruing persons amongst them: for of mine owne knowledge it was a grieft to some that they were so yoked; whose deserts as they were then sutable to their honest protestations, so I desire still may be, in respect of their iust and true Relations.

Peradventure thou wilt rather maruell that I deale so plainly, then any way doubt of the truth of this my Relation, &c. it may be tax me therewith; as seeming rather to discouage men, then any way to further so noble an action? If any honest minde be discouraged, I am sorry, sure

To the Reader.

sure I am, I haue giuen no iust cause, and am so farre from being discouraged my selfe, as I purpose to retorne forthwith. And for other light and vaine persons, if they stumble hereat I haue my desire, accounting it better for them and vs that they keepe where they are, as being unfit and vnable to performe so great a taske.

Some faults haue escaped because I could not attend on the Presse, which I pray thee correct as thou findest, and I shall account it as a fauour vnto me.

Thine E. W.



GOOD NEWES FROM New-England.



HE Good Ship called the Fortune, which in the Moneth of Novemb. 1621. (blessed be God) brought vs a new supply of 35. persons, was not long departed our Coast, ere the Great people of Nanohigganset, which are reported to be many thousands strong, began to breath

forth many threats against vs, notwithstanding their desired and obtained peace with vs in the fore-going summer. Inſomuch as the common talke of our neighbour Indians on all ſides was of the preparation they made to come againſt vs. In reaſon a man would thinke they ſhould haue now more cauſe to feare vs than before our ſupply came: but though none of them were preſent, yet vn-

1621.

1100.

derstanding by others that they neither brought Armes nor other provisions with them, but wholly relied on vs, it occasioned them to sleight and braue vs with so many threats as they did. At length came one of them to vs, who was sent by Coxanatus their chiefe *Sachim* or King, accompanied with one Tokamihamon a friendly *Indian*. This messenger inquired for Tisquantum our Interpreter, who not being at home seemed rather to be glad than sorry, and leauing for him a bundle of new arrowes lapped in a rattle Snakes skin, desired to depart with all expedition. But our Gouvernours not knowing what to make of this strange cariage, and comparing it with that we had formerly heard, committed him to the custodie of Captaine *Standish*, hoping now to know some certaintie of that we so often heard, either by his owne relation to vs, or to Tisquantum at his returne, desiring my selfe, hauing speciall familiaritie with the other fore-named *Indian*, to see if I could learne any thing from him, whose answer was sparingly to this effect; that he could not certainly tell, but thought they were enemies to vs. That night Captaine *Standish* gaue me and another charge of him, and gaue vs order to vse him kindly, and that hee should not want any thing he desired, and to take all occasions to talke and inquire of the reasons of those reports we heard, and withall to signifie that vpon his true relation he should be sure of his owne freedome. At first feare so possesse him, that he could scarce say any thing: but in the end became more familiar, and told vs that the messenger which his Master sent in Summer to treat of peace, at his returne perswaded him rather to warre; and to the end he might prouoke him thereunto, (as appeared to him by our reports) deained many of the things were sent in by our Gouvernour, scorning the meannesse of them both in respect of what himself had formerly sent, & also of the greatnesse of his owne person; so that he much blamed the former Messenger, saying, that vpon the knowledge of this his false cariage, it would cost him his life;

life; but assured vs that vpon his relation of our speech then with him to his Master, he would be friends with vs. Of this we informed the Gouvernour and his Assistant, and Captaine *Standish*, who after consultation considered him howsoever but in the state of a messenger, and it being as well against the Law of Armes amongst them as vs in *Europe*, to lay violent hands on any such, set him at liberty, the Gouvernour giuing him order to certifie his Master that he had heard of his large and many threatnings, at which, hee was much offended, daring him in those respects to the utmost, if he would not be reconciled to liue peaceably as other his neighbours; manifesting withall (as cuer) his desire of peace; but his searelesse resolution, if he could not so liue amongst them. After which he caused meat to be offered him, but he refused to eat, making all speed to returne, and giuing many thanks for his liberty. But requesting the other *Indian* againe to returne, the weather being violent, he vsed many words to perswade him to stay longer, but could not. Whereupon he left him, and said he was with his friends, and would not take a iourney in such extremitie.

After this when *Tisquantum* returned, and the arrowes were deliuered, and the manner of the messengers cariage related, he signified to the Gouvernour, that to send the rattle Snakes skin in that manner, imported enmitie, and that it was no better than a challenge. Hereupon after some deliberation, the Gouvernour stuffed the skin with powder and shot, and sent it backe, returning no lesse defiance to *Conanacuss*, assuring him if hee had shipping now present thereby to send his men to *Nanobigganset* (the place of his abode) they should not need to come so farre by land to vs: yet withall shewing that they should neuer come vnwelcome or vnlooked for. This message was sent by an *Indian*, and deliuered in such sort, as it was no small terrour to this sauage

4 Good Newes from New-England.

King, insomuch as hee would not once touch the powder and shot, or suffer it to stay in his house or Country. Whereupon the Messenger refusing it, another tooke it vp, and hauing beene posted from place to place a long time, at length came whole backe againe.

1621, 2.

In the meane time, knowing our owne weaknesse, notwithstanding our high words and loftie lookes towards them, and still lying open to all casualty, hauing as yet (vnder God) no other defence than our Armes, wee thought it most needfull to impale our Towne, which with all expedition wee accomplished in the moneth of February and some few dayes, taking in the top of the Hill vnder which our Towne is seated, making foure bulwarkes or ietties without the ordinarie circuit of the pale, from whence wee could defend the whole Towne: In three whereof are gates, and the fourth in time to be. This being done, Captaine Standish diuided our strength into foure squadrons or companies, appointing whom hee thought most fit to haue command of each; And at a generall Muster or Trayning, appointed each his place, gaue each his Companie, giuing them charge vpon euery alarum to resort to their Leaders to their appointed place, and in his absence, to be commanded and directed by them. That done according to his order, each drew his Companie to his appointed place for defence, and there together discharged their muskets. After which they brought their new Commanders to their houses, where againe they graced them with their shot, and so departed.

Fearing also lest the enemie at any time should take any aduantage by firing our houses, Captaine Standish appointed a certaine Companie, that whensoever they saw or heard fire to be cryed in the Towne, should onely betake themselues to their Armes, and should inclose

Good newes from new England
Good newes from new England
Good newes from new England

inclose the house or place so indangered, and stand aloofe on their guard, with their backs towards the fire, to prevent trechery, if any were in that kinde intended. If the fire were in any of the houses of this guard, they were then freed from it, but not otherwise, without speciall command.

Long before this time wee promised the people of *Massachusetts* in the beginning of March to come vnto them, and trade for their Furres, which being then come, we began to make preparation for that voyage. In the meane time, an *Indian* called *Hobbamock*, who still liued in the Towne, told vs, that hee feared the *Massachusetts* or *Massachusets* (for they so called the people of that place) were ioyned in confederacy with the *Nanohigganucks*, or people of *Nanohiggan-set*, and that they therefore would take this opportunitie to cut off Captaine *Standish* and his company abroad: but howsoever in the meane time, it was to be feared that the *Nanohigganucks* would assault the Towne at home, giuing many reasons for his iealousie, as also that *Tisquantum* was in the confederacie, who we should finde would vse many perswasions to draw vs from our shallop to the *Indians* houses for their better aduantage. To confirme this his iealousie he told vs of many secret passages that passed betweene him and others, hauing their meetings ordinarily abroad in the woods: but if at home howsoever he was excluded from their secrecie, saying it was the manner of the *Indians* when they meant plainly to deale openly: but in this his practise there was no shew of honestie.

Hereupon the Governor, together with his Assistant and Captaine *Standish*, called together such, as by them were thought most meet for aduice in so weightie a businesse, who after consideration hereof came to this resolution; That as hitherto vpon all occasions betweene them and vs, we had euer manifested vndanted courage and resolu-

lution, so it would not now stand with our safetie to new
 vp our selues in our new-enclosed towne, partly because
 our Store was almost emptie, and therefore must seeke out
 for our daily food, without which we could not long sub-
 sist; but especially for that thereby they would see vs dis-
 maied, & be encouraged to prosecute their malicious pur-
 poses, with more eagernesse than euer they intended:
 whereas on the contrary, by the blessing of God, our feare-
 lesse carriage might be a meanes to discourage and weaken
 their proceedings. And therefore thought best to pro-
 ceed in our trading voyage, making this vse of that wee
 heard, to goe the better provided, and vse the more care-
 fulnesse both at home and abroad, leauing the euent to the
 disposing of the Almighty, whose prouidence as it had
 hitherto beene ouer vs for good, so we had now no cause
 (saue our finnes) to dispaire of his mercie in our preserua-
 tion and continuance, where wee desired rather to bee in-
 struments of good to the Heathens about vs, than to giue
 them the least measure of iust offence.

All things being now in readinesse, the forenamed
Captaine with ten men, accompanied with Tisquantum
 and Hobbamock, set forwards for the Massachusetts: but
 wee had no sooner turned the point of the harbour called
 the Gurnets nose (where being becalmed wee let fall our
 grapnell, to set things to rights, and prepare to row) but
 there came an Indian of Tisquantums family, running to
 certaine of our people that were from home with all eager-
 nesse, hauing his face wounded, and the blood still fresh on
 the same, calling to them to repaire home, oft looking be-
 hind him, as if some others had him in chase, saying that
 at Namascchet (a towne some fiftene miles from vs) there
 were many of the Nanobiggansets, Massassawat our suppo-
 sed friend, and Conbatant our feared enemie, with many
 others, with a resolution to take aduantage on the present
 opportunitie, to assault the towne in the Captaines ab-
 sence, affirming that he receiued the wound in his face for
 the king

speaking in our behalfe, and by flight escaped, looking oft backward, as if he suspected them to be at hand. This he affirmed againe to the *Gouverneur*, whereupon he gaue command that three peece of Ordnance should bee made ready and discharged, to the end that if we were not out of hearing, we might returne thereat. Which we no sooner heard, but wee repaired homeward with all conuenient speed, arming our selues, and making all in readinesse to fight. When wee entred the harbour, we saw the Towne likewise on their guard, whither we halted with all conuenient speed. The newes being made knowne vnto vs, *Hobbamock* said flatly that it was false, alluring vs of *Massassowats* faithfulnessse; howsoever he presumed he would neuer haue vnderaken any such act without his priuie, himselfe being a Prise, that is, one of his chiefeft champions or men of valour, it being the manner amongst them not to vndertake such enterprises without the aduice and furtherance of men of that ranke. To this the *Gouverneur* answered, hee should be sorry that any iust and necessarie occasions of warre should arise betweene him and any the Sauages, but especially *Massassowat*, nor that hee feared him more than the rest, but because his loue more exceeded towards him than any. Whereunto *Hobbamock* replied; There was no cause wherefore hee should distrust him, and therefore should doe well to continue his affections.

But to the end things might be made more manifest, the *Gouverneur* caused *Hobbamock* to send his wife with all priuacie to *Puckanokick* the chiefe place of *Massassowats* residence, (pretending other occasions) there to informe hertelfe, and so vs, of the right state of things. When shee came thither, and saw all things quiet, and that no such matter was or had beene intended, told *Massassowat* what had hapned at *Plimoth* (by them called *Patuxet*) which when hee vnderstood, he

was much offended at the carriage of *Tisquantum*, returning many thanks to the Gouvernour for his good thoughts of him; and assuring him that according to their first Articles of peace, he would send word and giue warning when any such businesse was towards.

Thus by degrees wee began to discouer *Tisquantum*, whose ends were onely to make himselfe great in the eyes of this Country-men, by meanes of his neer-nesse and fauour with vs, not caring who fell so hee stood. In the generall, his course was to perswade them hee could lead vs to peace or warre at his pleasure, and would oft threaten the Indians, sending them word in a priuate manner, wee were intended shortly to kill them, that thereby hee might get gifts to himselfe to worke their peace, insomuch as they had him in greater esteeme than many of their Sachims; yea they themselves sought to him, who promised them peace in respect of vs, yea and protection also, so as they would resort to him. So that whereas diuers were wont to relie on *Massassowat* for protection, and resort to his abode, now they began to leaue him, and seeke after *Tisquantum*. Now though hee could not make good these his large promises, especially because of the continued peace betweene *Massassowat* and vs, he therefore raised this false alarum, hoping whilst things were hot in the hear of bloud, to prouoke vs to march into his Country against him, whereby he hoped to kindle such a flame as would not easily be quenched, and hoping if that blocke were once remoued, there were no other betweene him and honour; which he loued as his life, and preferred before his peace. For these and the like abuses, the Gouvernour sharply reprocued him, yet was hee so necessarie and profitable an instrument, as at that time wee could not miste him. But when wee understood his dealings, we certified all the Indians of our ignorance and innocencie therein, assuring them

them till they begun with vs, they should haue no cause to feare. And if any hereafter should raise any such reports, they should punish them as liars and seekers of their and our disturbance, which gaue the *Indians* good satisfaction on all sides.

After this wee proceeded in our voyage to the *Massachusetts*, where wee had good store of Trade, and (blest be God) returned in safety, though driven from before our Towne in great danger and extremitie of weather.

1622.

At our returne, wee found *Massassowat* at the Plantation, who made his seeming iust Apologie for all former matters of accusation, being much offended and intraged against *Tisquantum*, whom the Gouvernour pacified as much as hee could for the present. But not long after his departure, hee sent a messenger to the Gouvernour, intreating him to giue way to the death of *Tisquantum*, who had so much abused him. But the Gouvernour answered; Although hee had deserued to die both in respect of him and vs; yet for our sakes hee desired hee would spare him, and the rather because without him hee knew not well how to vnderstand himselfe, or any other the *Indians*. With this answer the messenger returned, but came againe not long after, accompanied with diuers others, demanding him from *Massassowat* their Master, as being one of his subjects, whom by our first Articles of peace wee could not retaine: yet because hee would not willingly doe it without the Gouvernours approbation, offered him many Beuers skins for his consent thereto, saying, that according to their manner, their *Sachim* had sent his owne knife, and them therewith, to cut off his head and hands, and bring them to him. To which the Gouvernour answered, It was not the manner of the *English* to sell mens liues at a price, but

1622

when they had deserued iustly to die, to giue them their reward, and therefore refused their Beauers as a gift: but sent for *Tisquantum*, who though hee knew their intent, yet offered not to flie, but came and accused *Hobbamock* as the author and worker of his ouerthrow; yeelding himselfe to the Gouvernour to bee sent or not according as hee thought meet. But at the instant, when our Gouvernour was ready to deliuer him into the hands of his Executioners, a Boat was seene at Sea to crosse before our Towne, and fall behinde a head-land not farre off: whereupou, hauing heard many rumors of the *French*, and not knowing whether there were any combination betweene the Sauages and them, the Gouvernour told the *Indians*, he would first know what Boat that was ere he would deliuer him into their custodie. But being mad with rage, and impatient at delay, they departed in great heat.

Here let mee not omit one notable (though wicked) practise of this *Tisquantum*, who to the end he might possesse his Countrymen with the greater feare of vs, and so consequently of himselfe, told them wee had the plague buried in our store-house, which at our pleasure wee could send forth to what place or people wee would, and destroy them therewith, though wee stirred not from home. Being vpon the fore-named brabbles sent for by the Gouvernour to this place, where *Hobbamock* was and some other of vs, the ground being broke in the middest of the house, (whereunder certaine barrells of powder were buried, though vknowne to him) *Hobbamock* asked him what it means? To whom he readily answered; That was the place wherein the plague was buried, whereof hee formerly told him and others. After this *Hobbamock* asked one of our people, whether such a thing were, and whether wee had such command

command of it? Who answered no; But the God of the English had it in store, and could send it at his pleasure to the destruction of his and our enemies.

1622.

may. 2.

This was, as I take it, about the end of May 1622. At which time our store of victuals was wholly spent, having liued long before with a bare and short allowance: The reason was, that supply of men before mentioned, which came so vnprovided, not landing so much as a barrell of bread or meat for their whole company, but contrariwise receiued from vs for their ships store homeward. Neither were the setters forth thereof altogether to be blamed therein, but rather certaine amongst our selues, who were too prodigall in their writing and reporting of that plenty we enioyed. But that I may returne.

Spawdow

This Boat proued to be a Shallop that belonged to a fishing ship, called the Sparrow, set forth by Master Thomas Weston, late Merchant and Citizen of London, which brought six or seuen passengers at his charge, that should before haue beene landed at our Plantation, who also brought no more prouision for the present than serued the Boats gang for their returne to the ship, which made her voyage at a place called Damarins Coue neere Munhiggen some forty leagues from vs North-east-ward; about which place there fished about thirty saile of ships, and whither my selfe was imployed by our Gouvernour, with orders to take vp such victuals as the ships could spare, where I found kinde entertainment and good respect, with a willingnesse to supply our wants: But being not able to spare that quantitie I required, by reason of the necessitie of some amongst themselves, whom they supplied before my comming, would not take any Bills for the same, but did what they could freely, wishing their store had beene such as they might

1622.

in greater measure haue exprest their owne loue, and supplied our necessities, for which they sorrowed, prouoking one another to the utmost of their abilities: which although it were not much amongst so many people as were at the Plantation, yet through the prouident and discreet care of the Gouernours, recovered and preserved strength till our owne crop on the ground was ready.

Having dispatched there, I returned home with all speed conuenient, where I found the state of the Colonie much weaker than when I left it: for till now wee were neuer without some bread, the want whereof much abated the strength and flesh of some, and swelled others. But here it may be said, if the Country abound with Fish and Fowle in such measure as is reported, how could men vndergoe such measure of hardnesse, except through their owne negligence? I answer; Euery thing must be expected in its proper season. No man, as one saith, will goe into an Orchard in the Winter to gather Cherries: so hee that lookes for Fowle there in the Summer, will be deceived in his expectation. The time they continue in plenty with vs, is from the beginning of October to the end of March: but these extremities befell vs in May and June. I confesse that as the Fowle decrease, so Fish increase. And indeed their exceeding abundance was a great cause of increasing our wants. For though our Bay and Creekes were full of Basse, and other fish, yet for want of fit and strong Saynes, and other netting, they for the most part brake thorow and carried all away before them. And though the Sea were full of Cod, yet wee had neither tackling nor harseis for our Shallops. And indeed had wee not bene in a place where diuers sorts of shell-fish are that may be taken with the hand, wee must haue perished, vnlesse God had raised

sed some vnknowne or extraordinary meanes for our preservation.

1622

In the time of these streits (indeed before my going to *Munhiggen*) the *Indians* began againe to cast forth many insulting speeches, glorying in our weaknesse, and giuing out how easie it would beere long to cut vs off. Now also *Massassowat* seemed to frowne on vs, and neither came or sent to vs as formerly. These things occasioned further thoughts of Fortification: And whereas wee haue a *Hill* called the Mount, inlosed within our pale, vnder which our Towne is seated, wee resolved to erect a Fort thereon, from whence a few might easily secure the Towne from any assault the *Indians* can make, whilst the rest might be imployed as occasion serued. This worke was begun with great eagernesse, and with the approbation of all men, hoping that this being once finished, and a continuall guard there kept, it would vterly discourage the Sauages from hauing any hopes or thoughts of rising against vs. And though it tooke the greatest part of our strength from dressing our corne, yet (life being continued) we hoped God would raise some meanes in stead thereof for our further preservation.

* In the end of Iune, or beginning of Iuly, came into our harbour two ships of Master *Westons* aforesaid, the one called the *Charitie*, the other the *Swan*, hauing in them some fifty or sixty men sent ouer at his owne charge to plant for him. These we receiued into our Towne, affording them whatsoeuer curtesie our meane condition could afford. There the *Charitie*, being the bigger ship, left them, hauing many passengers which shes was to land in *Virginia*. In the meane time, the body of them refreshed themselves at *Plimoth*, whilst some most fit sought out a place for them. That little store of corne wee had,

Iune. 2.

Iuly. 6

Charitie. & Swan.

1022. was exceedingly wasted by the vniust and dishonest walking of these strangers, who though they would sometimes seeme to helpe vs in our labour about our corne, yet spared not day and night to steale the same, it being then eatable, and pleasant to taste, though greene and vnprofitable. And though they receiued much kindnesse, set light both by it and vs; not sparing to require the loue wee shewed them, with secret backbitings, reuilings, &c. the chiefe of them being forestaled and made against vs, before they came, as after appeared: Neuerthelesse for their Masters sake, who formerly had deserued well from vs, wee continued to doe them whatsoeuer good or furtherance wee could, attributing these things to the want of conscience and discretion, expecting each day, when God in his prouidence would disburden vs of them, sorrowing that their Ouer-seers were not of more abilitie and fitnesse for their places, and much fearing what would be the issue of such raw and vnconscionable beginnings.

At length their Coasters returned, hauing found in their iudgement a place fit for plantation, within the Bay of the *Massachusetts*, at a place called by the Indians *Wichaguscuset*. To which place the bodie of them went with all conuenient speed, leauing still with vs such as were sicke and lame, by the Gouernours permission, though on their parts vnderferued, whom our Surgeon by the helpe of God recouered gratis for them, and they fetched home, as occasion serued.

They had not beene long from vs, ere the Indians filled our eares with clamours against them, for stealing their corne, and other abuses conceiued by them. At which wee grieved the more, because the same men, in mine owne hearing, had beene earnest in perswading Captaine *Standish*, before their coming to sollicite our

Gouernour to send some of his men to plant by them, alledging many reasons how it might be comodious for vs. But we knew no meanes to redresse those abuses, saue reproofe, and aduising them to better walking, as occasion serued.

In the end of August came other two ships into our harbour, the one (as I take it) was called the Discouerie, Captaine Jones hauing the command thereof, the other was that ship of Mr. Westons called the Sparrow, which had now made her voyage of fish, and was conforced with the other, being both bound for Virginia. Of Captaine Jones wee furnished our selues of such prouisions as we most needed, and he could best spare, who as hee vsed vs kindly, so made vs pay largely for the things wee had. And had not the Almightye. in his All-ordering Prouidence, directed him to vs, it would haue gone worse with vs, than euer it had beene, or after was: for, as wee had now but small store of corne for the yeere following: so for want of supply, wee were worne out of all manner of trucking-stuffe, not hauing any meanes left to helpe our selues by trade; but, through Gods good mercie towards vs, he had wherewith, and did supply our wants on that kinde competently.

In the end of September, or beginning of October, Mr. Westons biggest ship called the Charitie, returned for England, and left their Colony sufficiently victualled, as some of most credit amongst them reported. The lesser, called the Swan, remained with his Colony for their further helpe. At which time they desired to ioyne in partnership with vs to trade for corne; to which our Gouenour and his Assistant agreed vpon such equall conditions, as were drawne and confirmed betweene them and vs. The chiefe places aimed at were to the Southward of Cape Cod, and the more because Tisquantum, whose peace before this time

1522.

Aug. 2.

Discouery.

Sparrow.

100. Breadford says, if
capt Jones was going
from Virginia home-
wards, & in John
Pury in this. But in
Morton says, Mr. Dorr
was in the Westons
[viz the Charitie] & got
home in Nov.

Sept.
Oct.

Charity.

Swan.

1622. was wrought with *Massassowat*, vnderooke to discover vnto vs that supposed, and still hoped passage within the Sholes.

Both Colonies being thus agreed, and their companies fitted and ioyned together, wee resolved to set forward, but were oft crosse'd in our purposes; as first Master Richard Greene, brother in Law to Master Weston, who from him had a charge in the oversight and government of his Colony, died suddenly at our Plantation, to whom wee gaue buriall befitting his place, in the best manner wee could. Afterward, hauing further order to proceed by letter from their other Gouvernour at the *Massachusetts*, twice Captaine Standish set forth with them, but were driuen in againe by crosse and violent windes: himsele the second time being sicke of a violent feuer. By reason whereof (our owne wants being like to bee now greater than formerly; partly, because wee were enforced to neglect our corne, and spend much time in fortification, but especially because such hauocke was made of that little wee had, through the vniust and dishonest carriage of those people before mentioned, at our first entertainment of them) our Gouvernour in his owne person supplied the Captaines place, and in the month of November againe set forth, hauing Tisquantum for his Interpreter and Pilot, who affirmed hee had twice passed within the Sholes of Cape Cod, both with *English* and *French*. Neuerthelesse, they went so farre with him, as the Master of the ship saw no hope of passage: but being (as hee thought) in danger, bare vp, and according to Tisquantums directions, made for an harbour not farre from them, at a place called *Manamoycke*, which they found, and founding it with their shallop found the channell, though but narrow and crooked, where at length they harboured the ship. Here they perceined that the tide set in and out with more violence at some other

our Bradford sent Capt Standish was appointed to go, about the latter end of Sept; but the wind put him in againe: setting out the 2^d time, he fell sick of a Fever: so he our went himself.

now

other place more Southerly, which they had not scene nor could discouer, by reason of the violence of the season all the time of their abode there. Some iudged the entrance thereof might bee beyond the Sholes, but there is no certaintie thereof as yet knowne, That night the Governour accompanied with others, hauing *Tisquantum* for his Interpreter went ashore; At first the Inhabitants plaied least in sight, because none of our people had euer beene there before; but vnderstanding the ends of their comming, at length came to them, welcomming our Governour according to their Sauage manner, refreshing them verie well with store of venison and other victuals, which they brought them in great abundance, promising to trade with them, with a seeming gladnesse of the occasion: yet their ioy was mixed with much ieaousie, as appeared by their after practises: for at first they were loath their dwellings should bee knowne, but when they saw our Governours resolution to stay on the shore all night, they brought him to their houses, hauing first conuayed all their stuffe to a remote place, not farre from the same, which one of our men walking forth occasionally espied; whereupon, on the sudden, neither it nor them could bee found, and so many times after vpon conceiued occasions, they would bee all gone, bag and baggage: But being afterwards (by *Tisquantums* meanes) better perswaded, they left their ieaousie and traded with them; where they got eight hogsheads of corne and beanes, though the people were but few. This gaue our Governour and the company good encouragement. *Tisquantum* being still confident in the passage, and the Inhabitants assenting, they had scene ships of good burthen passe within the Sholes aforesaid. But here, though they had determined to make a second assay, yet God had otherwayes disposed, who deuicke *Tisquantum* with sicknesse, in so much as hee

1622

there died, which crossed their Southward trading, and the more because the Masters sufficiencie was much doubted, and the season verie tempestuous, and not fit to goe vpon discourie, hauing no guide to direct them.

From thence they departed, and the wind being faire for the *Massachusetts*. went thither, and the rather because the Sauages vpon our motion had planted much corne for vs, which they promised not long before that time. When they came thither, they found a great sicknesse to be amongst the *Indians*, not vnlike the plague, if not the same. They renewed their complaints to our Gouvernour, against that other plantation feared by them, for their iniurious walking. But indeed the trade both for Furrer and corne was ouerthrowne in that place, they giuing as much for a quart of corne, as we vsed to doe for a Beauers skin; so that little good could be there done. From thence they returned into the bottome of the Bay of Cape Cod, to a place called *Nauset*, where the *Sachins* vsed the Gouvernour very kindly, and where they bought eight or ten hogheads of corne and beanes. Also at a place called *Muttachiest*, where they had like kind entertainment and corne also. During the time of their trade in these places, there were so great and violent stormes, as the ship was much endangered, and our shallop cast away, so that they had now no meanes to carry the corne aboard that they had bought, the ship riding by their report well neere two leagues from the same, her owne Boat being small, and so leake, (hauing no Carpenter with them) as they durst scarce fetch wood or water in her. Hereupon the Gouvernour caused the corne to be made in a round stack, and bought mats, and cut sedge to couer it, and gaue charge to the *Indians* not to meddle with it, promising him that dwelt next to it a reward, if he would keep vermine also from it, which he vnderooke, and the

Sachins

Sachim promised to make good. In the meane time, according to the *Gouvernours* request, the *Sachim* sent men to seeke the shallop, which they found buried almost in sand at a high-water marke, hauing many things remaining in her, but vnserviceable for the present; whereof the *Gouvernour* gaue the *Sachim* speciall charge that it should not be further broken, promising ere long to fetch both it and the corne; assuring them, if neither were diminished, he would take it as a signe of their honest and true friendship, which they so much made shew of, but if they were, they should certainly smart for their vniust and dishonest dealing, and further make good whatsoeuer they had so taken. So he did likewise at *Mattachiest*, and tooke leaue of them, being resolved to leaue the ship, and take his iourney home by land with our owne company, sending word to the ship, that they should take their first opportunitie to goe for *Plimoth*, where hee determined, by the permission of God, to meet them. And hauing procured a Guide, it being no lesse than fifty miles to our Plantation, set forward, receiuing all respect that could be from the *Indians* in his iourney, and came safely home, though weary and surbated, whither some three daies after the ship also came. The corne being diuided which they had got, Master *Westons* company went to their owne Plantation, it being further agreed, that they should returne with all convenient speed, and bring their Carpenter, that they might fetch the rest of the corne, and saue the shallop.

At their returne, Captaine *Standish* being recovered and in health, tooke another shallop, and went with them to the corne, which they found in safety as they left it: also they mended the other shallop, and got all their corne aboard the ship. This was in Ianuary, as I take it, it being very cold and stormy, insomuch as (the harbour being none of the best) they were constrained to cut both the shallops from the ships sterne,

9010 feet -

1623

Jan.

102 $\frac{2}{3}$.J^s

and so lost them both a second time. But the storme being ouer, and seeking out, they found them both, not hauing receiued any great hurt. Whilest they were at *Nauset*, hauing occasion to lie on the shore, laying their shallop in a Creeke not far from them, an *Indian* came into the same, and stole certaine Beads, Cissers, and other trifles out of the same, which when the Capitaine missed, he tooke certaine of his company with him, and went to the *Sachim*, telling him what had hapned, and requiring the same againe, or the party that stole them, (who was knowne to certaine of the *Indians*) or else he would reuenge it on them before his departure, and so tooke leaue for that night being late, refusing whatsoever kindnesse they offered. On the morrow, the *Sachim* came to their randeuow, accompanied with many men, in a stately manner, who saluting the Capitaine in this wise; He thrust out his tongue, that one might see the root thereof, and therewith licked his hand from the wrist to the fingers end, withall bowing the knee, struing to imitate the English gesture, being instructed therein formerly by *Tisquantum*: his men did the like, but in so rude and sauage a manner, as our men could scarce forbear to break out in open laughter. After salutation, he deliuered the Beads, & other things, to the Capitaine, saying, he had much beaten the partie for doing it, causing the women to make bread, and bring them, according to their desire, seeming to be very sorry for the fact, but glad to be reconciled. So they departed, and came home in safety; where the corne was equally diuided, as before.

After this the Gouvernour went to two other inland Townes, with another company, and bought corne likewise of them, the one is called *Namasket*, the other *Manomet*. That from *Namasket* was brought home partly by *Indian* women; but a great sicknesse arising amongst them, our owne men were inforced to fetch home

home therest. That at Manomet the Gouvernour left in the Sachims custody: this Towne lieth from vs South well neere twenty miles, and stands vpon a fresh river, which runneth into the Bay of Nanobiggan set stand can-^t not be lesse than sixty miles from thence. It will beare a boat of eight or ten tunne to this place. Hither the Dutch or French, or both vie to come. It is from hence to the Bay of Cape Cod about eight miles; out of which Bay it floweth into a Creeke some six miles almost directt towards the Towne. The heads of the River, and this Creeke are not far distant. This River yeeldeth thus high, Oysters, Mufcles, Clams, and other shell-fish, one in shape like a beane, another like a Clam, both good meat, and great abundance at all times; besides it aboundeth with diuers sorts of fresh fish in their seasons. The Gouvernour or Sachim of this place, was called Canacum, who had formerly, as well as many others, (yea all with whom as yet we had to doe) acknowledged themselves the subiects of our Soueraigne Lord the King. This Sachim vsed the Gouvernour very kindly, and it seemed was of good respect and authoritie amongst the Indians. For whilest the Gouvernour was there within night in bitter weather, came two men from Manamoick before spoken of, and hauing set aside their bowes and quiuers, according to their manner, sate downe by the fire, and tooke a pipe of Tobacco, not vsing any words in that time, nor any other to them, but all remained silent, expecting when they would speake: At length they looked toward Canacum, and one of them made a short speech, and deliuered a present to him from his Sachim, which was a basket of Tobacco, and many Beads, which the other receiued thankfully. After which hee made a long speech to him, the contents hereof was related to vs by Hobbansock (who then accompanied the Gouvernour for his Guide) to be as followeth; It hapned that two of their men fell out as they were in game (for they

^t Manomet Bay But by mistake they thought this River was 60 miles long & run into Narraganset Bay 60 miles off from Manomet.

* is scullie creek or Rie

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use gaming as much as any where, and will play away all, euen their skin from their backs, yea and for their wines skins also, though it may be they are many miles distant from them, as my selfe haue seene) and growing to great heat, the one killed the other. The actor of this fact was a *Powah*, one of special note amongst them, and such an one as they could not well misse, yet another people greater than themselves threatned them with warre, if they would not put him to death. The party offending was in hold, neither would their *Sachins* doe one way or other till their returne, resting vpon him for aduice and furtherance in so weighty a matter. After this there was silence a short time; at length men gaue their iudgement what they thought best. Amongst others, he asked *Hobbamock* what he thought? Who answered, he was but a stranger to them, but thought it was better that one should die than many, since he had deserued it, and the rest were innocent; whereupon he passed the sentence of death vpon him.

With but 6 men. p. 23.

Not long after (hauing no great quantitie of corne left) *Captaine Standish* went againe with a shallop to *Mattachiest*, meeting also with the like extremitie of weather, both of wind, snow, and frost, inso much as they were frozen in the harbour the first night they entred the same. Here they pretended their wonted loue, and spared them a good quantity of corne to confirme the same: Strangers also came to this place, pretending only to see him and his company, whom they neuer saw before that time, but intending to ioyne with the rest to kill them, as after appeared. But being forced through extremitie to lodge in their houses, which they much pressed, God possessed the heart of the *Captaine* with iust iealousie, giuing strait command, that as one part of his company slept, the rest should wake, declaring some things to them which hee vnderstood, whereof hee could make no good

good construction. Some of the *Indians* spying a fit opportunitie, stole some beads also from him, which hee no sooner perceiued, hauing not aboue six men with him, drew them all from the Boat, and set them on their guard about the *Sachims* house, where the most of the people were, threatening to fall vpon them without further delay, if they would not forthwith restore them, signifying to the *Sachim* especially, and so to them all, that as he would not offer the least iniury; so hee would not receiue any at their hands, which should escape without punishment or due satisfaction. Hereupon the *Sachim* bestirred him to finde out the party, which when he had done, caused him to returne them againe to the shallop, and came to the Captaine, desiring him to search whether they were not about the Boat, who suspecting their knauery, sent one, who found them lying openly vpon the Boats cuddy; yet to appease his anger, they brought corne afresh to trade, inasmuch as he laded his shallop, and so departed. This accident so daunted their courage, as they durst not attempt any thing against him. So that through the good mercy and providence of God they returned in safety. At this place the *Indians* get abundance of Basse both summer and winter: for it being now February they abounded with them.

In the beginning of March, hauing refreshed himselfe, he tooke a shallop, and went to *Manomet*, to fetch home that which the Gouvernour had formerly bought, hoping also to get more from them, but was deceiued in his expectation, not finding that entertainment hee found else-where, and the Gouvernour had there receiued. The reason whereof, and of the treachery intended in the place before spoken of, was not then knowne vnto vs, but afterwards: wherein it may be obserued the abundant mercies of God working with his providence for our good. Captaine *Standish* being now far from

Handwritten notes in the right margin, including a large 'S' and various illegible scribbles.

from the Boat, and not about two or three of our men with him, and as many with the shallop, was not long at *Canacum* the *Sachims* house, but in came two of the *Massachusetts* men, the chiefe of them was called *Witwammat*, a notable insulting villaine, one who had formerly imbrued his hands in the bloud of *English* and *French*, and had oft boasted of his owne valour, and derided their weaknesse, especially because (as hee said) they died crying, making sowre faces, more like children than men. This villaine tooke a dagger from about his necke, (which hee had gotten of Master *Westons* people) and presented it to the *Sachim*, and after made a long speech in an audacious manner, framing it in such sort, as the *Captaine* (though he be the best *Linguist* amongst vs) could not gather anything from it. The end of it was afterward discovered to be as followeth: The *Massachusetts* had formerly concluded to ruinate Master *Westons* Colonie, and thought themselves, being about thirty or forty men strong, enough to execute the same: yet they durst not attempt it, till such time as they had gathered more strength to themselves to make their party good against vs at *Plimoth*, concluding, that if we remained, (though they had no other Arguments to vse against vs) yet we would neuer leaue the death of our Countrymen vncouenged, and therefore their safety could not be without the overthrow of both Plantations. To this end they had formerly solicited this *Sachim*, as also the other called *Ianough* at *Mattachiest*, and many others to assist them, and now againe came to prosecute the same; and since there was so faire an opportunitie offered by the *Captaines* presence, they thought best to make sure him and his company. After this his message was deliuered, his entertainment much exceeded the *Captaines*, inso-much as he scorned at their behaviour, and told them of it: after which they would haue perswaded him, be-

cause

cause the weather was cold, to haue sent to the Boat for the rest of his company, but he would not, desiring according to promise, that the corne might be caried downe, and hee would content the women for their labour, which they did. At the same time there was a lusty Indian of Paomet or Cape Cod then present, who had euer demeaned himselfe well towards vs, being in his generall carriage, very affable, courteous, and louing, especially towards the Captaine. This Sauage was now entred into confederacie with the rest, yet to auoid suspicion, made many signes of his continued affections, and would needs bestow a kettle of some six or seuen gallons on him, and would not accept of any thing in lieu thereof, saying, he was rich, and could afford to bestow such fauours on his friends whom he loued: also he would freely helpe to carry some of the corne, affirming he had neuer done the like in his life before, and the wind being bad would needs lodge with him at their Xandeuow, hauing indeed vndertaken to kill him before they parted, which done they intended to fall vpon the rest. The night proved exceeding cold, inasmuch as the Captaine could not take any rest, but either walked or turned himselfe to and fro at the fire: This the other obserued, and asked wherefore hee did not sleepe as at other times, who answered he knew not well, but had no desire at all to rest. So that hee then mist his opportunity. The wind seruing on the next day, they returned home, accompanied with the other Indian, who vsed many arguments to perswade them to goe to Paomet, where himselfe had much corne, and many other, the most whereof he would procure for vs, seeming to sorrow for our wants. Once the Captaine put forth with him, and was forced backe by contrary wind; which wind seruing for the *Massachusetts*, was fitted to goe thither. But on a sudden it altered againe.

During the time that the Capraine was at *Manomet*, newes came to *Plimoth*, that *Massawot* was like to die, and that at the same time there was a Dutch ship driven so

Capt Smith can
see: But Smith
being taken with
suspect the Indians
took these for
the Capt Smith's
ten consideration.

But these Indians
referred to the Capt
Smith's report
but finally not
at all, as we see
by the end of the
chapter.

high on the shore by stresse of weather, right before his dwelling, that till the tides encreased, shee could not be got off. Now it being a commendable manner of the Indians, when any (especially of note) are dangerously sicke, for all that professe friendship to them, to visit them in their extremitie, either in their persons, or else to send some acceptable persons to them, therefore it was thought meet (being a good and warrantable action) that as wee had cuer professed friendship, so wee should now maintaine the same, by obseruing this their laudable custome: and the rather, because wee desired to haue some conference with the Dutch, nor knowing when wee should haue so fit an opportunitie. To that end my selfe having formerly beene there, and vnderstanding in some measure the Dutch tongue, the Gouverneur againe laid this seruice vpon my selfe, and fitted mee with some cordials to administer to him, hauing one Master John Hamden a Gentleman of London (who then wintered with vs, and desired much to see the Country) for my Comfort, and Hobbamock for our guide. So wee set forward, and lodged the first night at Namasket, where wee had friendly entertainment. The next day about one of the clocke, we came to a ferrie in Conbatant Country, where vpon discharge of my peece, diuers Indians came to vs from a house not farre off. There they told vs, that Masfassarwat was dead, and that day buried, and that the Dutch would be gone before we could get thither, hauing boue off their ship already. This newes stricke vs blanke: but especially Hobbamock, who desired we might returne with all speed. I told him I would first thinke of it, considering now that hee being dead, Conbatant was the most like to succeed him, and that we were not aboute three miles from Mattapuyt his dwelling place, although hee were but a hollow-hearted friend towards vs. I thought no time so fit as this, to enter into more friendly termes with him, and the rest of the Sachims thereabout, hoping (through the blessing of God) it would be a meanes in that vnsettled state, to settle their affections towards vs, and though it were
some what

Next Day

Conbatant's country
 at Mattapuyt.

somewhat dangerous, in respect of our personall safetie, because my selfe and *Hobbamock* had beene employed vpon a seruice against him, which he might now fierly reuenge, yee esteeming it the best meanes, leauing the euent to God in his mercie, I resolu'd to put it in practise, if Master *Hadden* and *Hobbamock* durst attempt it with mee, whom I found willing to that or any other course might tend to the generall good. So we went towards *Mattapuyt*. In the way, *Hobbamock* manifesting a troubled spirit, brake forth into these speeches, *Neen womasn Sagimus, neen womasn Sagimus*, &c. My louing *Sachim*, my louing *Sachim*. Many haue I knowne, but neuer any like thee: And turning him to me said; Whilest I liued, I should neuer see his like amongst the *Indians*, saying, he was no lyer, he was not bloudy and cruell like other *Indians*; In anger and passion he was soone reclaimed, easie to be reconciled towards such as had offended him, ruled by reason in such measure, as he would not scorne the aduice of meane men, and that he gouerned his men better with few strokes than others did with many; truly louing where he loued; yea he feared we had not a faithfull friend left among the *Indians*, shewing how he oft-times restrained their malice, &c. continuing a long speech with such signes of lamentation and vnfeigned sorrow, as it would haue made the hardest heart relent. At length we came to *Mattapuyt*, and went to the *Sachimo Comaco* (for so they call the *Sachims* place, though they call an ordinarie house *Witeo*) but *Combatant* the *Sachim* was not at home, but at *Puckanokick*, which was some fiue or six miles off; the *Squa-sachim* (for so they call the *Sachims* wife) gaue vs friendly entertainment. Here wee inquired againe concerning *Massawoit*, they thought him dead, but knew no certainty; whereupon I hired one to goe with all expedition to *Puckanokick*, that we might know the certainty thereof, and withall to acquaint *Combatant* with our there being. About halfe an houre before Sunne-setting, the messenger returned, and told vs that he was not yet dead, though there was no hope

we should finde him living. Vpon this we were much re-
 uined, and set forward with all speed, though it was late,
 within night ere we got thither. About two of the clocke
that afternoone the Dutchmen departed, so that in that re-
 spect our journey was frustrate. When we came thither, we
 found the house so full of men, as we could scarce get in,
 though they vsed their best diligence to make way for vs.
 There were they in the midst 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. About
 him were six or eight women, who chafed his armes, legs,
 and thighs, to keepe heat in him; when they had made
 an end of their charming, one told him that his friends
the English were come to see him; (hauing vnderstanding
 left, but his sight was wholly gone) he asked who was
 come, they told him Winsnow (for they cannot pronounce
 the letter l, but ordinarily n in the place thereof) hee
 desired to speake with me; when I came to him, and they
 told him of it, he put forth his hand to me, which I tooke;
 then he said twice, though very inwardly, *keen Winsnow*,
 which is to say, Art thou *Winslow*? I answered, *ahhe*. that
 is, yes; then hee doubled these words, *Matra keen*
wonckanet namen Winsnow; that is to say, *O Winslow I shall*
neuer see thee againe. Then I called *Hobbamock*. and desi-
 red him to tell *Massassawet*, that the Gouvernour hearing
 of his sicknesse was sorry for the same, and though by rea-
 son of many busineses he could not come himselfe, yet he
 sent me with such things for him as he thought most like-
 ly to doe him good in this his extremitie, and whereof
 if he pleased to take, I would presently giue him; which
 he desired, and hauing a confession of many comfortable
 conserues, &c. on the point of my knife, I gaue him some,
 which I could scarce get thorow his teeth; when it was
 dissolued in his mouth, he swallowed the iuice of it, where-
 at those that were about him much reioyced, saying, he had
not swallowed any thing in two daies before. Then I de-
 sired to see his mouth, which was exceedingly furred, and his

his tongue swelled in such manner, as it was not possible for him to eat such meat as they had, his passage being stopt vp: then I washed his mouth, and scraped his tongue, and got abundance of corruption out of the same. After which, I gaue him more of the confection, which he swallowed with more readinesse; then he desiring to drinke, I dissolued some of it in water, and gaue him thereof: within halfe an houre this wrought a great alteration in him in the eyes of all that beheld him; presently after his sight began to come to him, which gaue him and vs good encouragement. In the meane time I inquired how hee slept, and when he went to the stoole? They said he slept not in two daies before, and had not had a stoole in fve; then I gaue him more, and told him of a mishap we had by the way in breaking a bottle of drinke, which the Governour also sent him, saying, if he would send any of his men to Patuxet, I would send for more of the same, also for chickens to make him broth, and for other things which I knew were good for him, and would stay the returne of the messenger if he desired. This hee tooke maruellous kindly, and appointed some who were ready to goe by two of the clocke in the morning, against which time I made ready a letter, declaring therein our good successe, the state of his body, &c. desiring to send me such things as I sent for, and such physicke as the Surgion durst administer to him. He requested me that the day following, I would take my Peece, and kill him some Fowle, and make him some English portage, such as he had eaten at *Plimoth*, which I promised: after his stomacke comming to him, I must needs make him some without Fowle, before I went abroad, which somewhat troubled me, being vnaccustomed and vnacquainted in such busineses, especially hauing nothing to make it comfortable, my Consort being as ignorant as my selfe; but being wee must doe somewhat, I caused a woman to bruisse some corne, and take the flower from it, and set ouer the grut or broken corne in a pipkin (for they haue earthen pots of all sizes.)

next morning.

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March

When the day broke, we went out (it being now March) to seeke herbes, but could not finde any but strawberry leaues, of which I gathered a handfull and put into the same, and because I had nothing to relish it, I went forth againe, and pulled vp a Saxafraas root, and sliced a peece thereof, and boyled it till it had a good relish, and then tooke it out againe. The broth being boyled, I strained it thorow my handkerchiffe, and gaue him at least a pint, which he dranke, and liked it very well. After this his sight mended more and more, also he had three moderate stools, and tooke some rest. Insomuch as wee with admiration blessed God for giuing his blessing to such raw and ignorant meanes, making no doubt of his recouery, himselfe and all of them acknowledging vs the instruments of his preservation. That morning he caused me to spend in going from one to another amongst those that were sicke in the Towne, requesting me to wash their mouthes also, and giue to each of them some of the same I gaue him, saying, they were good folke. This paines I tooke with willingnesse, though it were much offensiuē to me, not being accustomed with such poysonous saouours. After dinner he desired me to get him a Goose or Duck, and make him some pottage therewith, with as much speed as I could: so I tooke a man with me, and made a shot at a couple of Ducks, some six score paces off, and killed one, at which he wondered: so we returned forthwith, and dressed it, making more broth therewith, which he much desired; neuer did I see a man so low brought, recover in that measure in so short a time. The Fowle being extraordinary fat, I told *Hobbamock* I must take off the top thereof, saying it would make him very sicke againe if he did eat it; this hee acquainted *Mussaffowat* therewith, who would not be perswaded to it, though I pressed it very much, shewing the strength thereof, and the weaknesse of his stomacke, which could not possibly beare it. Notwithstanding he made a grosse meale of it, and ate as much as would well haue satisfied a man in health. About

an houre after he began to be very sicke, and straining very much, cast vp the broth againe, and in ouer-straining himselfe, began to bleed at the nose, and so continued the space of four houres; then they all wished he had beene ruled, concluding now he would die, which we much feared also. They asked me what I thought of him; I answered, his case was desperate, yet it might be it would saue his life: for if it ceased in time, he would forthwith sleepe and take rest, which was the principall thing he wanted. Not long after his bloud staid, and he slept at least six or eight houres; when he awaked I washed his face, and bathed and suppled his beard and nose with a linnen cloth: but on a sudden he chopt his nose in the water, and drew vp some therein; and sent it forth againe with such violence, as he began to bleed afresh, then they thought there was no hope, but we perceiued it was but the tenderneesse of his nostrill, and therefore told them I thought it would stay presently, as indeed it d d.

The messengers were now returned, but finding his stomacke come to him, he would not haue the chickens killed, but kept them for breed. Neither durst wee giue him any physicke which was then sent, because his body was so much altered since our instructions; neither saw we any need, not doubting now of his recouery, if he were carefull. Many whilest we were there came to see him, some by their report from a place not lesse than an hundred miles. To all that came one of his chiefe men related the manner of his sicknesse, how neere hee was spent, how amongst others his friends the *English* came to see him, and how suddenly they recovered him to this strength they saw, he being now able to sit vp right of himselfe.

The day before our comming, another *Sackim* being there, told him, that now he might see how hollow-hearted the *English* were, saying if we had beene such friends in deed, as we were in shew, we would haue visited him in this his sicknesse, vsing many arguments to withdraw his affections, and to perswade him to giue way to some things against vs, which were motioned to him not long before: but vpon this

this his recovery, he brake forth into these speeches; Now I see the *English* are my friends and loue me, and whilst I liue I will neuer forget this kindnesse they haue shewed mee. Whilst we were there, our entertainment exceeded all other strangers. Diners other things were worthy the noting, but I feare I haue bene too tedious.

At our coming away, he called *Hobhamock* to him, & privately (none hearing saue two or three other of his *Princes*, who are of his Councell) revealed the plot of the *Massachusetts* before spoken of, against Master *Westons* Colony, and so against vs, saying that the people of *Nauset*, *Paomet*, *Sacconet*, *Mattashiest*, *Manomet*, *Agowaynam*, and the Ile of *Capawack*, were ioynd with them; himselfe also in his sicknesse was earnestly sollicit, but he would neither ioyne therein, nor giue way to any of his. Therefore as we respected the liues of our Countrymen, and our owne after-safety, he aduised vs to kill the men of *Massachusetts*, who were the authois of this intended mischiefe. And whereas wee were wont to say, we would not strike a stroke till they first begun; if said he ypon this intelligence, they make that answer, tell them, when their Countrymen at *Wichaguscusset* are killed, they being not able to defend themselves, that then it will be too late to recouer their liues, nay through the multitude of aduersaries they shall with great difficulty preserve their owne, and therefore he counselled without delay to take away the principals, and then the plot would cease. With this he charged him thorowly to acquaint me by the way, that I might informe the Gouvernour thereof at my first coming home. Being fitted for our returne, we tooke our leaue of him, who returned many thanks to our Gouvernour, and also to our selues for our labour and loue: the like did all that were about him. So we departed.

That night thorow the earnest request of *Cōbatant*, who till now remained at *Sawams* or *Puckanukick*, we lodged with him at *Mittapuysh*. By the way, I had much conference with him; so likewise at his house, he being a notable politician, yet full of merry iests & squibs, & neuer better pleased than when the

ficient, being satisfied therewith, wee againe returned thanks to the same our God for that our refreshing, &c. This all of them concluded to be very well, and said, they beleueed almost all the same things, and that the same power that wee called God, they called *Kiehran*. Much profitable conference was occasioned hereby, which would be too tedious to relate, yet was no lesse delightfull to them, then comfortable to vs. Here wee remained onely that night, but neuer had better entertainment amongst any of them.

Next Day.

at night.
next Day

whether it should
not be Paomet.

The day following, in our iourney, *Hobbamock* told me of the private conference he had with *Massassowar*, and how he charged him perfectly to acquaint me therewith (as I shewed before) which hauing done, he vsed many arguments himselfe to moue vs therunto; That night we lodged at *Namasket*, and the day following about the mid way betweene it and home, wee met two *Indians*, who told vs that *Captaine Standish* was that day gone to the *Massachusetts*: but contrary windes againe drue him backe, so that we found him at home; where the *Indian* of *Paomet* still was, being very importunate that the *Captaine* should take the first opportunitie of a faire wind to goe with him, but their secret and villanous purposes being through Gods mercy now made knowne, the *Gouernour* caused *Captaine Standish* to send him away without any distast or manifestation of anger, that wee might the better effect and bring to passe that which should be thought most necessary.

†. 16. 6. 2. p. 35.

Before this iourney we heard many complaints both by the *Indians* and some others of best desert amongst *Master Westons* Colony, how exceedingly their Company abased themselves by vndirect meanes, to get victualls from the *Indians*, who dwelt not farre 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 foure times. Other by night brake the earth, and robbed the *Indians* store,

Good Newes from New-England.

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Febr. e.

for which they had beene publicly stocked and whipt, and yet was there small amendment. This was about the end of February, at which time they had spent all their bread and corne, not leauing any for seed, neither would the *Indians* lend or sell them any more vpon any termes. Hereupon they had thoughts to take it by violence, and to that spiked vp euery entrance into their Towne (being well impaled) saue one, with a full resolution to proceed. But some more honettly minded, advised *John Sanders* their Over-seer first to write to *Plimoth*, and if the Gouvernour advised him thereunto, he might the better doe it. This course was well liked, and an *Indian* was sent with all speede with a letter to our Gouvernour, the contents whereof were to this effect; That being in great want, and their people daily falling downe, he intended to goe to *Munhiggen*, where was a Plantation of *Sir Ferd: Gorges*, to buy bread from the Ships that came thither a fishing, with the first opportunitie of wind; but knew not how the Colony would be preserued till his returne: he had vsed all meanes both to buy and borrow of *Indians* whom hee knew to be stored, and he thought maliciously with-held it, and therefore was resolved to take it by violence, and onely waited the returne of the Messenger, which he desired should be hastned, crauing his advice therein, promising also to make restitution afterward. The Gouvernour vpon the receipt hereof, asked the Messenger what store of corne they had, as if he had intended to buy of them; who answered very little more then that they reserued for seed, hauing already spared all they could. Forth-with the Gouvernour and his Assistant sent for many of vs to advise with them herein, who after serious consideration, no way approving of this intended course, the Gouvernour answered his Letter, and caused many of vs to set our handes thereto, the contents whereof were to this purpose; Wee altogether disliked their intendment, as being against the law of God and Nature, shewing how it would crosse the worthy ends and proceedings of the Kings Maiestie, and

his honourable Councell for this place, both in respect of the peaceable enlarging of his Maiesties Dominions, and also of the propagation of the knowledge and Law of God, and the glad tydings of saluation, which we and they were bound to seeke, and were not to vse such meanes as would breed a distast in the Salvages against our persons and professions, assuring them their Master would incurre much blame hereby, neither could they answer the same. For our owne parts our case was almost the same with theirs, hauing but a small quantitie of Corne left, and were enforced to liue on ground nuts, clams, mussels, and such other things as naturally the Countrey afforded, and which did and would maintaine strength, and were easie to be gotten, all which things they had in great abundance, yea, Oysters also which we wanted, and therefore necessitie could not be said to constraîne them thereunto. Moreouer, that they should consider, if they proceeded therein, all they could so get would maintaine them but a small time, and then they must perforce seeke their fooode abroad, which hauing made the *Indians* their enemies, would be very difficult for them, and therefore much better to beginne a little the sooner, and so continue their peace, vpon which course they might with good conscience desire and expect the blessing of God, whereas on the contrary they could not.

Also that they should consider their owne weakenesse, being most swelled, and diseased in their bodies, and therefore the more vnlikely to make their partie good against them, and that they should not expect helpe from vs in that or any the like vnlawfull actions. Lastly, that howsoeuer some of them might escape, yet the principall Agents should expect no better then the Galhouse, whensoever any speciall Officer should be sent ouer by his Maiestie, or his Councell for New England, which wee expected, and who would vndoubtedly call them to account for the same. These were the contents of our Answer, which was directed to their whole Colony. Another particular

Letter

The Indians
 of
 the
 Bay
 of
 Narragansett

The
 Bay
 of
 Narragansett

The
 Bay
 of
 Narragansett

Letter our Governour sent to *John Sanders*, shewing how dangerous it would be for him aboue all others, being he was their leader and commander; and therefore in friendly manner advised him to desist.

With these Letters we dispatched the Messenger; Vpon the receipt whereof they altered their determination, resolving to shift as they could, till the returne of *John Sanders* from *Munhiggen*, who first comming to *Plimoth*, notwithstanding our owne necessities, the Governour spared him some Corne to carry them to *Munhiggen*. But not hauing sufficient for the Ships store, he tooke a Shallop and leauing others with instructions to over-see things till his returne, set forward about the end of February, so that he knew not of this conspiracie of the *Indians* before his going; neither was it knowne to any of vs till our returne from *Sawaams* or *Puckanack*: At which time also another *Sachim* called *Wassapineuat*, brother to *Oblakieft* the *Sachim* of the *Massachusetts*, who had formerly smarted for partaking with *Combatant*, and fearing the like againe, to purge himselfe revealed the same thing.

Te. 6. e.

Sawamit or Puckanack

+

march. 23.

The three and twentieth of March being now come, which is a yeerely Court day, the Governour having a double testimony, and many circumstances agreeing with the truth thereof, not being to vndertake warre without the consent of the bodie of the Company; made known the same in publike Court, offering it to the consideration of the Companie, it being high time to come to resolution, how sudden soeuer it seemed to them, fearing it would bee put in execution before we could giue any intelligence thereof. This businesse was no lesse troublesome then grievous, and the more, because it is so ordinarie in these times for men to measure things by the events thereof: but especially for that wee knew no meanes to deliuer our COUNTRYMEN and preferue our selues, then by returning their malicious and cruell purposes vpon their owne heads, and causing them to fall into the same pitte

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they had digged for others, though it much grieved vs to shed the blood of those whose good wee euer intended and aymed at, as a principall in all our proceedings. But in the end we came to this publique conclusion, that because it was a matter of such weight as euery man was not of sufficiency to iudge, nor fittest to know because of many other *Indians* which dayly as occasion serueth conuerse with vs; therefore the Governour, his Assistant, and the Captaine, should take such to themselves as they thought most meete, and conclude thereof; which done we came to this conclusion, That Captaine Standish should take so many men as he thought sufficient to make his party good against all the *Indians* in the *Massachusetts-bay*; and 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 trappes as they lay for others; therefore hee should pretend trade as at other times: but first goe to the *English* and acquaint them with the plot, and the end of his owne comming, that comparing it with their carriages towards them hee might the better iudge of the certainty of it, and more fitly take opportunity to revenge the same: but should forbear if it were possible till such time as hee could make sure *Wiwamiat*, that bloody and bold villaine before spoken of, whose heade hee had order to bring with him, that hee might be a warning and terrour to all of that disposition. Vpon this Captaine *Standish* made choyce of eight men, and would not take more because hee would prevent ialousie, knowing their guilty consciences would soone be prouoked thereunto: but on the next day before hee could goe, came one of Mr. *Wesons* Company by land vnto vs, with his packe at his backe, who made a pitifull narration of their lamentable and weake estate, and of the *Indians* carriages, whose boldnesse increased abundantly, insomuch as the victuals they got they would take it out of their pottes and eate before their faces; yea if in any thing they gaine-sayd them, they were ready to hold a knife at their breasts; that to giue them

162. 24.

them content, since John Sanders went to Munhiggen, they had hanged one of them that stole their corne, and yet they regarded it not; that another of their Company was turned Saluage, that their people had most forsaken the towne, and made their randeuous where they got their victuals, because they would not take paines to bring it home; that they had sold their cloathes 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 dispersed into three Companies scarce hauing any powder and shot left. What would be the event of these things (he said) he much feared; and therefore not daring to stay any longer among them, though hee knew not the way yet aduentured to come to vs, partly to make knowne their weake and dangerous estate, as hee conceiued, and partly to desire hee might there remaine till things were better settled at the other plantation. As this relation was grievout to vs, so it gaue vs good encouragement to proceede in our intendments, for which Captaine Standish was now fitted, and the winde comming faire, the next day set forth for the Massachusetts.

1623.
march 28.

The Indians at the Massachusetts missed this man, and suspecting his coming to vs as we conceiue, sent one after him and gaue out there that hee would never come to Patuxet, but that some Wolues or Beares would eate him: but we know both by our owne experience and the report of others, that though they finde a man sleeping, yet so soone as there is life discerned they feare and shun him. This Indian missed him but very little, and missing him passed by the towne and went to Manomet, whom wee hoped to take at his return, as afterward we did. Now was our Fort made fit for seruice and some Ordnance mounted; and though it may seeme long worke it being ten moneths since it begun, yet wee must note, that where so great a work is begun with such small meanes, a little time cannot bring it to perfection: beside those workes which

tend to the preservation of man, the enemy of mankind will hinder what in him lieth, sometimes blinding the iudgement and causing reasonable men to reason against their owne safety, as amongst vs diuerſe ſeeing the worke proue tedious, would haue diſſwaded from proceeding, flattering themſelues with peace and ſecurity, and accounting it rather a worke of ſuperſtity and vaine-glory, then ſimply neceſſity. But God (whoſe providence hath waked and as I may ſay, watched for vs whilit wee ſlept) having determined to preſerue vs from theſe intended treacheries, vndoubtedly ordained this as a ſpeciall meanes to advantage vs and diſcourage our aduerſaries, and therefore ſo ſtirred vp the hearts of the Governours and other forward inſtruments, as the work was juſt made ſerviceable againſt this needfull and dangerous time, though wee ignorant of the ſame. But that I may proceed, the Indian laſt mentioned in his returne from Monomet, came through the towne pretending ſtill friendſhip 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 weakenefſe like their neighbours, which they hoped and looked for (though God in mercy provided better for vs) and hee knew would be glad tydings to his Countrey men. But here the Governour ſayd him, and ſending for him to the Fort, there gaue the Guard charge of him as their priſoner, where hee told him hee muſt be contented to remaine till the returne of Captaine Standiſh from the *Maſſachuſets*, ſo hee was locked in a chaine to a ſtaple in the Court of guard, and there kept. Thus was our Fort hanſelled, this being the firſt day as I take it, that euer any watch was there kept.

The Captaine being now come to the *Maſſachuſets*, went firſt to the ſhip, but found neither man, or ſo much as a dogge therein: vpon the diſcharge of a Muſket the Maſter and ſome others of the plantation ſhewed themſelues, who were on the ſhore gathering ground-nuts, and getting other fooode. After ſalutation Captaine Standiſh
asked

asked them how they durst so leaue the ship and liue in such security, who answered like men senslesse of their owne misery, they feared not the *Indians*, but liued and suffered them to lodge with them, not having sword, or gunne, or needing the same. To which the Captaine answered, if there were no cause hee was the gladder, but vpon further inquirie, vnderstanding that those in whom *John Sanders* had received most special confidence and left in his stead to gouerne the rest were at the Plantation, thither hee went, and to be briefe, made knowne the *Indians* purpose and the end of his owne comming, as also (which formerly I omitted) that if afterward they durst not there stay, it was the intendment of the Gouernours and people of *Plimouth* there to receiue them till they could be better prouided: but if they conceiued of any other course that might bee more likely for their good, that himselfe should further them therein to the uttermost of his power. These men comparing other circumstances with that they now heard, answered, they could expect no better, and it was Gods mercy that they were not killed before his comming, desiring therefore that hee would neglect no opportunitie to proceede: Hereupon hee aduised them to secrecy, yet withall to send speciall command to one third of their Company that were farthest off to come home, and there enioyne them on paine of death to keepe the towne, himselfe allowing them a pint of *Indian* corne to a man for a day (though that store hee had was spared out of seed.) The weather prouing very wet and stormy, it was the longer before hee could doe any thing.

In the meane time an *Indian* came to him and brought some furies, but rather to gather what hee could from the Captaine, then comming then for trade; and though the Captaine carried things as smoothly as possibly he could, yet at his returne hee reported hee saw by his eyes that hee was angry in his heart, and therefore beganne to suspect themselves discovered. This caused one *Pecksnott* who was a *Pemise*, being a man of a notable spirit to come to

Hobbsmuck who was then with them, and told him hee
 vnderstood that the Captaine was come to kill himselfe
 and the rest of the Saluages there, tell him sayd hee wee
 know it, but feare him not, neither will wee shunne him;
 but let him beginne when hee dare, he shall not take vs at
 vnawares: many times after diuerse of them severally, or
 few together, came to the Plantation to him, where they
 would whet and sharpen the points of their kniues before
 his face, and vse many other insulting gestures and
 speeches. Amongst the rest, Witwamaat bragged of
 the excellency of his knife; on the end of the handle
 there was pictured a womens face, but sayd hee, I haue
 another at home wherewith I haue killed both French and
English, and that hath a mans face on it, and by and by
 these two must marry: Further hee sayd of that knife hee
 there had; Hinnaim namen, hinnaim michen, matta cuts:
 that is to say, By and by it should see, and by and by it
 should eate, but not speake. Also Pecksnot being a man of
 greater stature then the Captaine, told him though hee
 were a great Captaine, yet hee was but a little man: and
 sayd he, though I be no Sachim, yet I am a man of great
 strength and courage. These things the Captaine obser-
 ued, yet bare with patience for the present. On the next
 day, seeing hee could not get many of ^{them} together at
 once, and this Pecksnot and Witwamaat both together,
 with another man, and a youth of some eightene
 yeeres of age, which was brother to Witwamaat, and vil-
 laine-like trode in his steps, dayly putting man, ^{by} vpon
 the weaker sort of men, and hauing about as many of
 his owne Company in a roome with them, gaue the word
 to his men, and the doore being fast shut began himselfe
 with Pecksnot, and snatching his owne knife from his neck
 though with much struggling killed him therewith, the
 point whereof hee had made as sharpe as a needle, and
 ground the backe also to an edge: Witwamaat and the o-
 ther man, the rest killed, and tooke the youth, whom the
 Cap. caused to be hanged; but it is incredible how many
 wounds

Next Day

Tricks

wounds these two Paces received before they dyed, not making any fearfull noyse, but catching at their weapons and striving to the last. Hobbamocke stood by all this time as a spectator and meddled not, observing how our men demeaned themselves in this action; all being here ended, smiling hee brake forth into these speeches to the Captain, Yesterday Pecknot bragging of his owne strength and stature, sayd, though you were a great Capitaine yet you were but a little man; but to day I see you are big enough to lay him on the ground. But to proceed, there being some women at the same time, Captaine Standish left them in the custody of Mr. Westons people at the towne, and sent word to another Company that had intelligence of things to kill those Indian men that were amongst them, these killed two more: himselfe also with some of his owne men went to another place, where they killed another, and through the negligence of one man an Indian escaped, who discovered and crossed their proceedings.

Not long before this execution, three of Mr. Westons men which more regarded their bellies then any command or Commander, having formerly fared well with the Indians for making them Canoes, went againe to the Sachim to offer their service, and had entertainment. The first night they came thither within night late came a Messenger with all speed, and deliuered a sad and short message: Whereupon all the men gathered together, put on their bootes and breeches, trussed vp themselves, and tooke their bowes and arrowes and went forth, telling them they went a hunting, and that at their returne they should haue venison enough. Being now gone, one being more ancient and wise then the rest, calling for some things to minde, especially the Captaines presence, and the strait charge that on paine of death none should go a Musket-shot from the plantation, and comparing this sudden departure of theirs there with, began to dislike and wish himselfe at home againe, which was further of then directed other dwelt. Hereupon hee moued his fellowes to

returne but could not perswade them: so there being none but women left and the other that was turned salvage, about midnight came away, forsaking the pathes lest hee should be pursued, and by this meanes saved his life.

Captaine *Standish* tooke the one halfe of his men, and one or two of *Mr. Westons*, and *Hobbamocke*, still seeking to make spoyle of them and theirs. At length they espied a file of *Indians* which made towards them amaine, and there being a small aduantage in the ground by reason of a hill neere them, both Companies strove for it. Captaine *Standish* got it, whereupon they retreated and tooke each man his tree, letting flie their arrowes amayne, especially at himselfe and *Hobbamocke*, whereupon *Hobbamocke* cast off his coate, and being a knowne Prieste, (theirs being now killed) chased them to fast as our people were not able to hold way with him, insomuch as our men could haue but one certaine marke and then but the arme and halfe face of a notable villaine as hee drew at Captaine *Standish*, who together with another both discharged at once at him, and brake his arme; whereupon they fled into a swampe, when they were in the thicket they parlyed, but to small purpose, getting nothing but foule language. So our Captaine dared the *Sachin* to come out and fight like a man, shewing how base and woman-like hee was in tongueing it as hee did: but hee refused and fled. So the captaine returned to the Plantation, where hee released the women and would not take their beaver coates from them, nor suffer the least discourtesie to be offered them. Now were *Mr. Westons* people resolved to leaue their Plantation and goe for *Munhiggen*, hoping to get passage and returne with the fishing ships. The Captaine told them, that for his owne part hee durst there liue with fewer men then they were, yet since they were otherwayes minded, according to his order from the Governours and people of *Plimouth* he would helpe them with corne competent for their pro-

uision by the way, which hee did, scarce leaving himselfe more then brought them home. Some of them disliked the choyce of the body to goe to *Munhiggen*, and therefore desiring to goe with him to *Plimouth*, he tooke them into the shallop: and seeing them set sayle and cleere of the *Massachusetts bay*, he tooke leaue and returned to *Plimouth*, whither hee came in safety (blessed be God) and brought the head of *Wuramat* with him.

Amongst the rest there was an *Indian* youth that was ever of a courteous and louing disposition towards vs, hee notwithstanding the death of his Countymen came to the Captaine without feare, saying his good conscience and loue towards vs imboldened him so to doe. This youth confessed that the *Indians* intended to kill *Mr. Westons* people, and not to delay any longer then till they had two more Canoes or Boats, which *Mr. Westons* men would haue finished by this time (hauing made them three already) had not the Captaine prevented them, and the end of stay for those Boats, was to take their Ship therewith.

Now was the Captaine returned and receiued with joy, the head being brought to the fort and there set vp, the Governours and Captaines with diuers others went vp the same further, to examine the prisoner, who looked pittifully on the head, being asked whether he knew it, he answered, yea: Then he confessed the plot, and that all the people provoked *Obrakiest* their *Sachim* thereunto, being drawne to it by their importunitie: Five there were (he sayd) that prosecuted it with more eagernes then the rest, the two principall were killed, being *Pecksuor* and *Wuramat*, whose head was there, the other three were *Powahs*, being yet liuing, and knowne vnto vs, though one of them was wounded, as aforesaid. For himselfe he would not acknowledge that he had any hand therein, begging earnestly for his life, saying, he was not a *Massachusetts* man, but as a stranger liued with them. *Hobbamock* also gaue a good report of him, and besought for him, but was bribed so

to doe: Neuerthelesse, that we might shew mercy as well as extremitie, the Governour released him, and the rather because we desired he might carry a messlage to *Obrakieft* his Master. No sooner were the yrons from his legs, but he would haue beene gone, but the Governour bid him stay and feare not, for he should receiue no hurt, and by *Hobba-mock* commanded him to deliuer this messlage to his Master; That for our parts, it neuer entred into our hearts to take such a course with them, till their owne trecherie enforced vs therevnto, and therefore might thanke themselves for their owne ouer-throw, yet since he had begun, if againe by any the like courses he did provoke him, his Countrey should not hold him, for he would neuer suffer him or his to rest in peace, till he had vtterly consumed them, and therefore should take this as a warning. Further, that he should send to *Paruxet* the three Englishmen he had and not kill them; also that he should not spoyle the pale and houses at *Wichaguscusset*, and that this Messenger should either bring the English, or an answer, or both, promising his safe returne.

This messlage was deliuered, and the partie would haue returned with answer, but was at first dissuaded by them, whom afterward they would but could not perswade to come to vs. At length (though long) a Woman came and told vs that *Obrakieft* was sorry that the English were killed before he heard from the Governour, otherwise he would haue sent them. Also shee said, he would faine make his peace againe with vs, but none of his men durst come to treat about it, hauing forsaken his dwelling, and daily removed from place to place, expecting when wee would take further vengeance on him.

Concerning those other people that intended to joyne with the *Adassachusucks* against vs, though we neuer went against any of them, yet this suddaine and v unexpected execution, together with the iust iudgement of God vpon their guiltie consciences, hath so terrified and amazed them, as in like manner they forsooke their houses, running

and fro like men distracted, liuing in swamps and other
 rt places, and so brought manifold diseases amongst
 themselves, whereof very many are dead, as *Canacum* the
 him of *Manomet*, *Aspinet*, the *Sachim* of *Nauset*, and
 orb, *Sachim* of *Mattachuest*. This *Sachim* in his life, in
 midst of these distractions, said the God of the Eng-
 was offended with them, and would destroy them in
 anger, and certainly it is strange to heare how many of
 re haue, and still daily die amongst them, neither is there
 y likelihood it will easily cease, because through feare
 they set little or no Corne, which is the staffe of life, and
 without which they cannot long preserue health and
 strength. From one of these places a boate was sent with
 presents to the Gouvernour, hoping thereby to worke their
 peace, but the boate was calt away, and three of the per-
 sons drowned, not farre from our plantation, onely one
 escaped, who durst not come to vs, but returned, so as none
 of them dare come amongst vs.

|| *Yuanowh* - (Civ)

I feare I haue beene too tedious both in this and other
 things, yet when I considered how necessary a thing it is
 that the truth and grounds of this action, especially should
 be made knowne, and the seuerall dispositions of that dis-
 solved Colony, whose reports vndoubtedly will be as va-
 rious, I could not but enlarge my selfe where I thought to
 be most brieft; neither durst I be too brieft, least I should
 eclipse and rob God of that honour, glory, and prayse,
 which belongeth to him for preseruing vs from falling
 when we were at the pits brim, and yet feared nor knew
 not that we were in danger.

The moneth of April being now come, on all handes
 we beganne to prepare for Corne. And because there was
 no Corne left before this time, saue that was preserued for
 seed, being also hopelesse of reliefe by supply, we thought
 best to leaue off all other works, and prosecute that as most
 necessary. And because there was ~~no~~ small hope of doing
 good in that common course of labour that formerly wee
 were in, for that the Governours that followed men to their
 labours,

Anno 1623.
 April.

R

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labours, had nothing to giue men for their necessities, therefore could not so well exercise that command them therein as formerly they had done; especially considering that selfe-loue wherewith euery man (in a measure more or lesse) loueth and preferreth his owne good before his neighbours, and also the base disposition of drones, that as at other times so now especially would be most burdenous to the rest; It was therefore thought that euery man should vse the best diligence he could for his owne preservation, both in respect of the time present and to prepare his owne Corne for the yeare following and bring in a competent portion for the maintenance of publique Officers, Fishermen, &c. which could not be freed from their calling without greater inconuenience. This course was to continue till harvest, and then the Governours to gather in the appointed portion, for the maintenance of themselves and such others as necessitie constrained to exempt from this condition. Onely if occasion served vpon any speciall service they might employ such as they thought most fit to execute the same, during this appointed time, and at the end thereof all men to be employed by them in such seruice as they thought most necessary for the generall good. And because there is great difference in the ground, that therefore a set quantitie should be set downe for a person, and each man to haue his fall by lot, as being most iust and equall, and against which no man could except.

At a generall meeting of the Company, many courses were propounded, but this approued and followed, being the most likely for the present and future good of the Company; and therefore before this moneth began to prepare our ground against seed-time. In the midst of April we began to set, the weather being then seasonable, which much encouraged vs, giuing vs good hopes of after plentie: the setting season is good till the latter end of May. But it pleased God for our further chastisement, to send a great drowth, insomuch, as in six weekes after the latter

Capt. m.

mon. 2

T. v. d. m. 1. m.

latter setting there scarce fell any rayne, so that the stalke of that was first set began to send forth the eare before it came to halfe growth, and that which was later, not like to yeeld any at all, both blade and stalke hanging the head, and changing the colour in such manner, as wee iudged it viterly dead: our Beanes also ran not vp according to their wonted manner, but stood at a stay, many being parched away, as though they had beene scorched before the fire. Now were our hopes overthrowne, and we discouraged, our joy being turned into mourning.

To adde also to this sorrowfull estate in which we were, we heard of a supply that was sent vnto vs many moneths since, which hauing two repulses before, was a third time in company of another ship three hundred Leagues at Sea, and now in three moneths time heard no further of her, onely the signes of a wrack were seene on the coast, which could not be iudged to be any other then the same. So that at once God seemed to deprive vs of all future hopes. The most couragious were now discouraged, because God which hitherto had beene our onely Shield and Supporter, now seemed in his anger to arme himselfe against vs; and who can withstand the fiercenesse of his wrath.

These, and the like considerations moued not onely euery good man privately to enter into examination with his owne estate betwene God and his conscience, and so to humiliation before him: but also more solemnly to humble our selues together before the Lord by fasting and prayer. To that end a day was appoynted by publique authoritie, and set a-part from all other employments, hoping that the same God which had stirred vs vp hereunto, would be moued hereby in mercy to looke downe vpon vs, & grant the request of our deiected soules, if our continuance there might any way stand with his glory and our good. But oh the mercy of our God! Who was as readie to heare as wee to aske: For though in the morning when we assembled together, the heavens were as cleare and the drought as like to continue as euer it was: yet (our exer-

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July. 2.

8 or 24

cise continuing some eight or nine hours, before our departure the weather was over-cast, the clouds gathered together on all sides, and on the next morning distilled such soft, sweet, and moderate showers of rayne, continuing some foureteene dayes, and mixed with such seasonable weather, as it was hard to say whether our withered Corne, or drouping affections were most quickned or reviyed. Such was the bountie and goodnes of our God. Of this the *Indians* by meanes of *Hobbemock* tooke notice: who being then in the Towne, and this exercise in the midst of the weeke, said, it was but three dayes since Sunday, and therefore demanded of a boy what was the reason thereof? Which when he knew and saw what effects followed thereupon, he and all of them admired the goodnesse of our God towards vs, that wrought so great a change in so short a time, shewing the difference betweene their comuration, and our invocation on the name of God for rayne; theirs being mixed with such stormes and tempests, as sometimes instead of doing them good, it layeth the Corne flat on the ground, to their prejudice: but ours in so gentle and seasonable a manner, as they neuer observed the like.

Pascatoguack.

At the same time *Captaine Standish* being formerly imployed by the Governour to buy provisions for the refreshing of the Colony, returned with the same, accompanied with one *M^r David Tomson*, a Scotchman, who also that Spring began a Plantation twentie five leagues north-east from vs, nere *Smiths* Iles, at a place called *Pascatoguack*, where he liketh well. Now also heard we of the third repulse that our supply had, of their safe though dangerous returne into *England*, and of their preparation to come to vs. So that having these many signes of Gods fauour and acceptation, we thought it would be great ingratitude, if secretly we should smoothe vp the same, or content our selves with private thanksgiving for that which by private prayer could not be obtained. And therefore another solenne day was set a-part and appoynted for that end, wherein

Good Newes from New-England.

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wherein we returned glory, honour, and prayse; with all thankfulness to our good God, which dealt so graciously with vs, whose name for these and all other his mercies towards his Church and chosen ones, by them be blessed and prayed now and euermore, Amen.

1623.

In the latter end of Iuly and the beginning of August, came two Ships with supply vnto vs, who brought all their passengers, except one, in health, who recovered in short time, who also notwithstanding, all our wants and hardship (blessed be God) found not any one sicke person amongst vs at the Plantation. The bigger Ship called the Anne was hired, and there againe freighted backe, from whence we set saile the tenth of September. The lesser called the little Lames, was built for the company at their charge. Shee was now also fitted for Trade and discovery to the South-ward of Cape Cod, and almost readie to set saile, whom I pray God to bleesse in her good and lawfull proceedings.

Iulij.e.
aug. 6.

Sept. 10.

Thus haue I made a true and full Narration of the state of our Plantation, and such things as weremoist remarkable therein since Decemb. 1621. If I haue omitted any thing, it is either through weakenesse of memory, or because I judged it not materiall: I confesse my stile rude, and vnskilfulnesse in the taske I vndertooke, being vrged thereunto by opportunitee, which I knew to be wanting in others, and but for which I would not haue vndertaken the same; yet as it is rude so it is plaine, and therefore the easier to be vnderstood; wherein others may see that which wee are bound to acknowledge, viz. That if euer any people in these later ages were vpheld by the providence of God after a more speciall manner then others, then wee: and therefore are the more bound to celebrate the memory of his goodnesse, with euerlasting thankfulness. For in these forenamed straits, such was our state, as in the morning we had often our food to seeke for the day, and yet performed the duties of our Callings, I mean our daily labours, to provide for after time: and though at some

times in some seasons at noone I haue seene men stagger by reason of faintnesse for want of foode, yet ere night by the good providence and blessing of God, wee haue enjoyed such plentie as though the windowes of heauen had beene opened vnto vs. How few, weake, and raw were we at our first beginning, and there settling, and in the midst of barbarous enemies? yet God wrought our peace for vs. How often haue wee beene at the pits brim, and in danger to be swallowed vp, yea, not knowing, till afterward that we were in perill? and yet God preserved vs: yea, and from how many that we yet know not of, he that knoweth all things can best tell: So that when I seriously consider of things, I cannot but thinke that God hath a purpose to giue that Land as an inheritance to our Nation, and great pittie it were that it should long lie in so desolate a state, considering it agreeth so well with the constitution of our bodies, being both fertile, and so temperate for heate and cold, as in that respect one can scarce distinguish *New-England* from *Old*.

A few things I thought meet to adde hereunto, which I haue obserued amongst the *Indians*, both touching their Religion, and sundry other Customes amongst them. And first, whereas my selfe and others, in former Letters (which came to the Presse against my will and knowledge) wrote, that the *Indians* about vs are a people without any Religion, or knowledge of any God, therein I erred, though we could then gather no better: For as they conceiue of many diuine powers, so of one whom they call *Kiehtan*, to be the principall and maker of all the rest, and to be made by none: He (they say) created the heauens, earth, sea, and all creatures contained therein. Also that he made one man and one woman, of whom they and wee and all mankind came: but how they became so farre dispersed that know they not. At first they say, there was no *Sachim*, or *King*, but *Kiehtan*, who dwelleth aboue in the Heauens, whither all good men goe when they

See Mount's Relation

The meaning of the word, *Kiehtan*, I thinke hath reference to Antiquitie, for *Chise* is an old man, and *Kiechise*, a man that exceedeth in age.

they die, to see their friends, and haue their fill of all things: This his habitation lyeth farre West-ward in the heauens, they say; thither the bad men goe also, and knocke at his doore, but he bids them *Quatchet*, that is to say, Walke abroad, for there is no place for such; so that they wander in restles want and penury: Neuer man saw this *Kiehtan*; onely old men tell them of him, and bid them tell their children, yea, to charge them to teach their posterities the same, and lay the like charge vpon them. This power they acknowledge to be good, and when they would obtaine any great matter, meete together, and cry vnto him, and so likewise for plentie, victorie, &c. sing, daunce, feast, giue thanks, and hang vp Garlandes and other things in memorie of the same.

Another power they worship, whom they call *Hobbamock*, and to the Norward of vs *Hobbamoqui*; this as farre as wee can conceiue is the Deuill, him they call vpon to cure their wounds and diseases. When they are curable, he perswades them he sends the same for some conceived anger against them, but vpon their calling vpon him can and doth helpe them: But when they are mortall, and not curable in nature, then he perswades them *Kiehtan* is angry and sends them, whom none can cure: in so much, as in that respect onely they somewhat doubt whether hee be simply good, and therefore in licknells neuer call vpon him.

This *Hobbamock* appeares in sundry formes vnto them, as in the shape of a Man, a Deare, a Fawne, an Eagle, &c. but most ordinarily a Snake: He appeares not to all but the chiefeest and most iudicious amongst them, though all of them strue to attaine to that hellish height of honour.

Hee appeareth most ordinary and is most conversant with three sorts of people, one I confesse I neither knowe by name nor office directly: Of these they

haue few but esteeme highly of them, and thinke that no weapon can kill them: another they call by the name of *Powah*, and the third *Pniese*.

The office and duty of the *Powah* is to bee exercised principally in calling vpon the Diuell, and curing diseases of the sicke or wounded. The common people ioyne with him in the exercise of invocation, but doe but onely assent, or as wee terme it, say *Amen* to that he sayth, yet sometime breake out into a short muscalle note with him. The *Powah* is eager and free in speech, fierce in countenance, and ioyneth many anticke and labourious gestures with the same ouer the party diseased. If the party bee wounded hee will also seeme to sucke the wound, but if they bee curable (as they say) hee toucheth it not, but a Skooke, that is the Snake, or Woblacuck, that is the Eagle, sitteth on his shoulder and licks the same. This none see but the *Powah*, who rels them hee doth it himselfe. If the party be otherwise diseased, it is accounted sufficient if in any shape he but come into the house, taking it for an vndoubted signe of recouery.

And as in former ages, *Apollo* had his temple at *Delphos*, and *Diana* at *Ephesus*; so haue I heard them call vpon some as if they had their residence in some certaine places, or because they appeared in those formes in the same. In the *Powahs* speech he promisseth to sacrifice many skins of beasts, kettles, hatchets, beades, knives, and other the best things they haue to the fiend, if hee will come to helpe the party diseased: But whether they performe it I know not. The other practises I haue scene, being necessarily called at some times to be with their sicke, and haue vsed the best arguments I could make them vnderstand against the same: They haue told me I should see the Diuell at those times come to the party, but I assured my selfe and them of the contrary, which so prooued: yea, themselves haue confessed they neuer saw him when any of vs were present. In desperate and extraordinary hard trauell in childe-birth, when the party cannot be deliuered by the
ordi-

ordinary meanes, they send for this *Powah*, though ordinarily their travell is not so extreame as in other parts of the world, they being of a more hardy nature; for on the third day after childe-birth I haue seene the mother with the infant vpon a small occasion in cold weather in a boat vpon the Sea.

Many sacrifices the *Indians* vse, and in some cases kill children. It seemeth they are various in their religious worship in a little distance, and grow more and more cold in their worship to *Kiehtan*; saying in their memory hee was much more called vpon. The *Nanobiggansets* exceede in their blinde devotion, and haue a great spacious house wherein onely some few (that are as wee may learne them Priests) come: thither at certaine knowne times resort all their people, and offer almost all the riches they haue to their gods, as kettles, skinner, hatchets, beads, kniues, &c. all which are cast by the Priests into a great fire that they make in the midst of the house, and there consumed to ashes. To this offering euery man bringeth freely, and the more hee is knowne to bring, hath the better esteeme of all men. This the other *Indians* about vs approue of as good, and with their *Sachims* would appoint the like: and because the plague hath not raigned at *Nanobigganset* as at other places about them, they attribute to this custome there vsed.

The *Pnuses* are men of great courage and wisdom, and to these also the Diuell appeareth more familiarly then to others, and as we conceiue maketh covenant with them to preserve them from death, by wounds, with arrowes, kniues, hatchets, &c. or at least both themselves and especially the people thinke themselves to be freed from the same. And though against their battels all of them by painting disfigure themselves, yet they are knowne by their courage and boldnes, by reason whereof one of them will chate almost an hundred men, for they account it death for whomsoever stand in their way. These are highly esteemed of all sorts of people, and are of the *Sachims*

cour-

Councell, without whom they will not warre or vnder-
take any weighty businesse. In warre their *Sachims* for
their more safety goe in the midst of them. They are com-
monly men of the greatest stature & strength, and such as
will endure most hardnesse, and yet are more discreet, cour-
teous, and humane in their carryages then any amongst
them, scorning theft, lying, and the like base dealings,
and stand as much vpon their reputation as any men.

And to the end they may haue store of these, they traine
vp the most forward and likeliest boyes from their child-
hood in great hardnesse, and make them abstaine from
dainty meate, observing diuers orders prescribed, to the
end that when they are of age the Diuell may appeare to
them, causing ^{he} to drinke the iuyce of SENTRY and other bit-
ter hearbes till they cast, which they must disgorge into
the platter, and drinke againe, and againe, till at length
through extraordinary oppressing of nature it will seeme
to bee all blood, and this the boyes will doe with eagernes
at the first, and so continue till by reason of faintnesse they
can scarce stand on their legs, and then must goe forth into
the cold: also they beate their shinnes with sticks, and
cause them to run through bushes, stumps, and brambles;
to make them hardy and acceptable to the Diuell, that in
time he may appeare vnto them.

Their *Sachims* cannot bee all called Kings, but onely
some few of them, to whom the rest resort for protection,
and pay homage vnto them, neither may they warre with-
out their knowledge and approbation, yet to be comman-
ded by the greater as occasion serueth. Of this sort is *Mas-
sawot* our friend, and *Conanacus* of *Nanobiggenset* our
supposed enemy.

Euery *Sachim* taketh care for the widow and fatherlesse,
also for such as are aged, and any way maymed, if their
friends be dead or not able to prouide for them.

A *Sachim* will not take any to wife but such an one as
is equall to him in birth, otherwise they say their seede
would in time become ignoble, and though they haue

many

many other wiues, yet are they no other then concubines or seruants, and yeeld a kinde of obedience to the principall, who ordereth the family, and them in it. The like their men obserue also, and will adhere to the first during their liues; but put away the other at their pleasure.

This gouernment is successiue and not by choyce. If the father die before the sonne or daughter be of age, then the child is committed to the protection and tuition of some one amongst them, who ruleth in his stead till he be of age, but when that is I know not.

Eucry *Sachim* knoweth how farre the bounds and limits of his owne Countrey extendeth, and that is his owne proper inheritance, out of that if any of his men desire land to set their corne, hee giueth them as much as they can vse, and sets them their bounds. In this circuit whosoever hunteth, if they kill any venison, bring him his fee, which is the fore parts of the same, if it be killed on the land, but if in the water, then the skin thereof: The great *Sachims* or Kings, know their owne bounds or limits of land, as well as the rest.

All travellers or strangers for the most part lodge at the *Sachims*, when they come they tell them how long they will stay, and to what place they goe, during which time they receiue entertainment according to their persons, but want not.

Once a yeere the *Priests* vse to prouoke the people to bestow much corne on the *Sachims*. To that end they appoint a certain time and place neere the *Sachims* dwelling, where the people bring many baskets of corne, and make a great stack thereof. There the *Priests* stand ready to giue thanks to the people on the *Sachims* behalfe, and after acquainteth the *Sachim* therewith, who fetcheth the same, and is no lesse thankfull, bestowing many gifts on them.

When any are visited with sicknesse, their friends resort vnto them for their comfort, and continue with them oft-

times till their death or recovery. If they die they stay a certain time to mourne for them. Night and morning they performe this dutie many dayes after the buriall in a most dolefull manner, insomuch as though it be ordinary and the more misfirall, which they take one from another, and all together, yet it will draw teares from their eyes, & almost from ours also. But if they recover then because their sicknesse was chargeable, they send come and other gifts vnto them at a certaine appointed time, whereat they feast and dance, which they call *Commoco*.

When they bury the dead they sow vp the corps in a mat and so put it in the earth. If the party bee a *Sachim* they cover him with many curious mats, and bury all his riches with him, and intose the graue with a pale. If it bee a childe the father will also put his owne most speciell iewels and ornaments in the earth with it, also will cut his haire, and disfigure himselfe very much in token of sorrow. If it be the man or woman of the house, they will pull downe the matres and leaue the frame standing, and burie them in or neere the same, and either remoue their dwelling or giue ouer house-keeping.

The men imploy themselves wholly in hunting, and other exercises of the bow, except at some times they take some paines in fishing.

The women liue, most slavish life, they carry all their burdens, set and dresse their corne, gather it in, seeke out for much of their food, beate and make ready the corne to eat, and haue all household care lying vpon them.

The younger for reverence the elder, and do all meane offices whilst they are together, although they bee strangers. Boyes and girles may not weare their haire like men and women, but are distinguished thereby.

A man is not accounted a man till he doe some notable act, or shew forth such courage and resolution as becometh his place. The men take much tobacco, but for boyes so to doe they account it odious.

All their names are significant and variable; for when they

they come to the state of men and women, they alter them according to their deeds or dispositions.

When a maide is taken in marriage she first cutteth her haire, and after weareth a couering on her head till her hayre be growne out. Their women are diuersly disposed, some as modest as they will scarce talke one with another in the company of men, being very chaste also: yet other some light, lasciuious and wanton.

If a woman haue a bad husband, or cannot affect him, and there be warre or opposition betweene that and any other people, shee will runne away from him to the contrary party and there lue, where they neuer come vnwelcome: for where are most women, there is greatest plenty.

When a woman hath her monethly termes shee separateth her selfe from all other company, and liueth certaine dayes in a house alone: after which she washeth her selfe and all that shee hath touched or vsed, and is againe receiued to her husbands bed or family.

For adultery the husband will beate his wife and put her away, if he please. Some common strumpets there are as well as in other places, but they are such as either neuer married, or widowes, or put away for adultery: for no man will keepe such an one to wife.

In matters of vniust and dishonest dealing the *Sachim* examineth and punisheth the same. In case of thefts, for the first offence he is disgracefully rebuked, for the second beaten by the *Sachim* with a cudgell on the naked backe, for the third hee is beaten with many stroakes, and hath his nose slit vpward, that thereby all men may both know and shun him. If any man kill another, hee must likewise die for the same. The *Sachim* not onely passeth the sentence vpon malefactors, but executeth the same with his owne hands, if the party be then present; if not, sendeth his owne knife in case of death, in the hands of others to performe the same. But if the offender bee to receiue other punishment, hee will not receiue the same but from the

Sachim himselfe, before whom being naked he kneeleth, and will not offer to run away though hee beate him never so much, it being a greater disparagement for a man to cry during the time of his correction, then is his offence and punishment.

As for their apparell they weare breeches and stockings in one like some *Irish*, which is made of Deare skinnies, and haue shooes of the same leather. They weare also a Deares skin loose about them like a cloake, which they will turne to the weather side. In this habit they travell, but when they are at home or come to their journeyes end, presently they pull off their breeches, stockings, and shooes, wring out the water if they bee wet, and dry them, and rub or chafe the same. Though these be off, yet haue they another small garment that couereth their secrets. The men weare also when they goe abroad in colde weather an Otter or Foxe skin on their right arme, but onely their bracer on the left. Woinen and all of that sexe weare strings about their legs, which the men neuer doe.

The people are very ingenious and obtrvative, they keepe account of time by the moone, and winters or summers; they know diuerse of the starres by name, in particular, they know the North-starre and call it maske, which is to say the beare. Also they haue many names for the windes. They will guesse very well at the winde and weather before hand, by observations in the heauens. They report also, that some of them can cause the winde to blow in what part they list, can raise stormes and tempests which they vsually doe when they intend the death or destruction of other people, that by reason of the vnseasonable weather they may take advantage of their enemies in their houses. At such times they performe their greatest exploitys, and in such seasons when they are at enmity with any, they keepe more carefull watch then at other times.

As for the language it is very copious, large, and difficult, as yet we cannot attaine to any great measure thereof, but

but can vnderstand them, and explaine our selues to their vnderstanding, by the helpe of those that daily converse with vs. And though there be difference in an hundred miles distance of place, both in language and manners, yet not so much but that they very well vnderstand each other. And thus much of their liues and manners.

In stead of Records and Chronicles, they take this course, where any remarkable act is done, in memorie of it, either in the place, or by some path-way neere adioyning, they make a round hole in the ground about a foote deepe, and as much over, which when others passing by behold, they enquire the cause and occasion of the same, which being once knowne, they are carefull to acquaint all men, as occasion serueth therewith. And least such holes should be filled, or growne vp by any accident, as men passe by they will oft renew the same: By which meanes many things of great Antiquitie are fresh in memory. So that as a man travelleth, if he can vnderstand his guide, his iourney will be the lesse tedious, by reason of the many historicall Discourses will be related vnto him.

In all this it may be said, I haue neither prayesd nor disprayesd the Country: and since I liued so long therein, my iudgment thereof will giue no lesse satisfaction to them that know me, then the Relation of our proceedings. To which I answere, that as in one so of the other, I will speake as sparingly as I can, yet will make knowne what I conceiue thereof.

And first for that Continent, on which wee are called *New England*, although it hath ever beene conceived by the English to be a part of that maine Land adioyning to *Virginia*, yet by relation of the *Indians* it should appeare to be otherwise. for they affirme confidently, that it is an Island, and that either the *Dutch* or *French* passe thorow from Sea to Sea, betweene vs and *Virginia*, and driue a great Trade in the same. The name of that inlet of the Sea they call *Mohegan*, which I take to be the same which we call *Hudsons-River*, vp which Master *Hudson* went many

Leagues, and for want of meanes (as I heare) left it vnder covered. For confirmation of this, their opinion is thus much; Though *Virginia* be not aboue an hundred and fiftie Leagues from vs, yet they neuer heard of *Pombatan*, or knew that any English were planted in his Countrey, saue onely by vs and *Iuquantum*, who went in an English Ship thither: And therefore it is the more probable, because the water is not passable for them, who are very adventurous in their Boates.

Then for the temperature of the ayre, in almost three yeares experience, I can scarce distinguish *New-England* from *Old England*, in respect of heate, and cold, frost, snow, raine, winds, &c. Some obiect, because our Plantation lieth in the latitude of 42. it must needs be much hotter. I confesse, I cannot giue the reason of the contrary; onely experience teacheth vs, that if it doe exceed *England*, it is so little as must require better iudgements to discern it. And for the Winter, I rather thinke (if there be difference) it is both sharper and longer in *New England* then *Old*; and yet the want of those comforts in the one which I haue enjoyed in the other, may deceiue my iudgment also. But in my best obseruation, comparing our owne condition with the Relations of other parts of *America*, I cannot conceiue of any to agree better with the constitution of the English, not being oppressed with extremities of heate, nor nipped with biting cold, by which meanes, blessed be God, wee enioy our health, notwithstanding, those difficulties wee haue vnder-gone, in such a measure as would haue beene admired, if wee had liued in *England* with the like meanes.

The day is two houres longer then here when it is at the shortest, and as much shorter there, when it is at the longest.

The soile is variable, in some places mould, in some clay, others, a mixed sand, &c. The chiefeest graine is the *Indian Mays*, or *Ginny-Wheate*; the seed-time beginneth in midst of Aprill, and continueth good till the midst of May.

May. Our harvest beginneth with September. This corne increaseth in great measure, but is inferiour in quantitie to the same in *Virginia*, the reason I conceiue, is because *Virginia* is farre hotter then it is with vs, it requiring great heate to ripen; but whereas it is objected against *New-England*, that Corne will not there grow, except the ground be manured with fish? I answere, That where men set with fish (as with vs) it is more easie so to doe then to cleare ground and set without some fise or fixe yeares, and so begin anew, as in *Virginia* and else-where. Not but that in some places, where they cannot be taken with ease in such abundance, the *Indians* set foure yeares together without, and haue as good Corne or better then we haue that set with them, though indeed I thinke if wee had Cartell to till the ground, it would be more profitable and better agreeable to the soile, to sow Wheate, Rye, Barley, Pease, and Oats, then to set Mays, which our *Indians* call *Ewachim*: for we haue had experience that they like and thrive well; and the other will not be procured without good labour and diligence, especially at seed-time, when it must also be watched by night to keepe the Wolves from the fish, till it be rotten, which will be in foureteene dayes; yet men agreeing together, and taking their turnes it is not much.

Much might be spoken of the benefit that may come to such as shall here plant by Trade with the *Indians* for Furs, if men take a right course for obtaining the same, for I dare presume vpon that small experience I haue had, to affirme, that the *English*, *Dutch*, and *French*, returne yeerely many thousand pounds profits by Trade onely from that *Island*, on which we are seated.

Tobacco may be there planted, but not with that profit as in some other places, neither were it profitable there to follow it, though the increase were equall, because fish is a better and richer Commoditie, and more necessary, which may be and are there had in as great abundance as in any other part of the world; Witnesse the West-coun-

try Merchants of *England*, which returne incredible gaines yearely from thence. And if they can so doe which here buy their salt at a great charge, and transport more Company to make their voyage, then will saile their Ships, what may the planters expect when once they are seated, and make the most of their salt there, and imploy themselves at lest eight moneths in fishing, whereas the other fish but foure, and haue their ship lie dead in the harbour all the time, whereas such shipping as belong to plantations, may take freight of passengers or cattell thither, and haue their lading provided against they come. I confesse, we haue come so farre short of the meanes to raise such returns, as with great difficultie wee haue preserved our liues; insomuch, as when I looke backe vpon our condition, and weake meanes to preserve the same, I rather admire at Gods mercy and providence in our preservation, then that no greater things haue becue effected by vs. But though our beginning haue beene thus raw, small, and difficult, as thou hast seene, yet the same God that hath hitherto led vs thorow the former, I hope will raise means to accomplish the latter. Not that we altogether, or principally propound profit to be the maine end of that wee haue vnderaken, but the glory of God, and the honour of our Country, in the enlarging of his Maiesties Dominions, yet wanting outward meanes, to set things in that forwardnesse we desire, and to further the latter by the former, I thought meete to offer both to consideration, hoping that where Religion and profit iump together (which is rare) in so honourable an action, it will encourage euery honest man, either in person or purse, to set forward the same, or at least-wise to commend the well-fare thereof in his daily prayers to the blessing of the blessed God.

I will not againe speake of the abundance of fowle, store of Venison, and varietie of Fish, in their seasons, which might incourage many to goe in their persons, onely I advise all such before hand to consider, that as they heare of Countries that abound with the good creatures of
 God,

God, so meanes must be vsed for the taking of euery one in his kinde, and therefore not onely to content themselves that there is sufficient, but to foresee how they shall be able to obtaine the same, otherwise, as he that walketh *London* streetes, though he be in the middelt of plentie, yet if he want meanes, is not the better but hath rather his sorrow increased by the sight of that he wanteth, and cannot enioy it: so also there, if thou want art and other necessities thereunto belonging, thou maist see that thou wantest, and thy heart desireth, and yet be never the better for the same. Therefore if thou see thine owne insufficiencie of thy selfe, then ioyne to some others, where thou maist in some measure enioy the same, otherwise assure thy selfe, thou art better where thou art. Some there be that thinking altogether of their present wants they enioy here, and not dreaming of any there, through indiscretion plunge themselves into a deeper sea of misery. As for example, it may be here, rent and firing are so chargeable, as without great difficultie a man cannot accomplish the same; neuer considering, that as he shall haue no rent to pay, so he must build his house before he haue it, and peradventure may with more ease pay for his fuell here, then cut and fetch it home, if he haue not cattell to draw it there; though there is no scarcitie but rather too great plentie.

I write not these things to dissuade any that shall seriously vpon due examination set themselves to further the glory of God, and the honour of our Countrey, in so worthy an Enterprise, but rather to discourage such as with too great lightnesse vndertake such courses, who peradventure straine themselves and their friends for their passage thither, and are no sooner there, then seeing their foolish imagination made voyde, are at their wits end, and would giue ten times so much for their returne, if they could procure it, and out of such discontented passions

and humors, spare not to lay that imputation vpon the Country, and others, which themselves deserue.

As for example, I haue heard some complaine of others for their large reports of *New-England*, and yet because they must drinke water and want many delicates they here enjoyed, could presently returne with their mouthes full of clamours. And can any bee so simple as to conceiue that the fountaines should streame forth Wine, or Beare, or the woods and rivers be like Butchers-shops, or Fish-mongers-stalles, where they might haue things taken to their hands. If thou canst not liue without such things, and hast no meanes to procure the one, and wilt not take paines for the other, nor hast ability to employ others for thee, rest where thou art: for as a proud heart, a dainty tooth, a beggers purse, and an idle hand, bee here intollerable, so that person that hath these qualities there, is much more abhominable. If therefore God hath giuen thee a heart to vndertake such courses, vpon such grounds as beare thee out in all difficulties, *viz.* his glory as a principall, and all other outward good things but as accessories, which peradventure thou shalt enioy, and it may be not: then thou wilt with true comfort and thankfulness receiue the least of his mercies, whereas on the contrary, men depriue themselves of much happinesse, being senslesse of greater blessings, and through prejudice smother vp the loue and bounty of God, whose name be euer glorified in vs, and by vs, now and euermore. *Amen.*

F I N I S.



A Postscript.

IF any man desire a more ample relation of the State
of this Countrie, before such time as this present re-
lation taketh place, I referre them to the two former
printed bookes: The one published by the President
and Councell for New-England, and the o-
ther gathered by the Inhabitants of this present Plan-
tation at Plimouth in New-England: Both
which bookes are to be sold by Iohn Bellamy, at
his shop at the three golden Lions in Cornhill neere
the Royall Exchange.

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