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MEMOIRS

OF

AMERICAN GOVERNORS.

BY JACOB BAILEY MOORE.

VOL. I.

NEW-YORK:

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PREFACE.

THE writer of these pages has formed the design of preparing for publication, MEMOIRS OF AMERICAN GOVERNORS—embracing those who have successively held the high office of Chief Magistrate, in the several Colonies, which now form the United States; to to be followed by Memoirs of the Governors of the several States. The intelligent reader has perhaps felt the want of such a work. Our best Biographical Dictionaries contain but meagre sketches of a few of those public men, who have been distinguished as Governors; while of others, who were renowned in their day, and exercised an important influence upon the times in which they lived, no account whatever is to be found.

To supply an obvious want, as far as it may be practicable now to do, is the object of the present undertaking. The task is a very laborious and difficult one, but with proper diligence, and public encouragement, it may be accomplished. It has been the aim of the author to make his work full in details, precise in facts, and, as far as possible, accurate and reliable as a book of reference. Authorities have been carefully scanned; and, to avoid the errors of copyists, as well as to reconcile conflicting dates, originals have been consulted, whenever they

could be found. References to printed authorities, where not otherwise specified, are generally to original editions. Anachronisms are believed to be best avoided, in history, by adhering to dates as originally written; and this course has been adopted in the present work. Every intelligent reader understands the difference between the Julian and the Gregorian year, or the Old and New Style, and can readily make his own computation.

The general plan of the work will be seen at a glance. In order that each volume may be complete in itself,—embracing the Governors of two or more of the Colonies, or States, in regular succession,—a chronological arrangement has been adopted; and for the convenience of the reader, a full and particular Index to all the names, places and events, mentioned in the work, is added.

The author has been kindly and even liberally assisted by numerous individuals, to whom he has applied for information. Years ago, when he first commenced the collection of materials for this work, the rich stores preserved in the archives at Plymouth, Boston, and Worcester, were freely opened to him. He has since derived much assistance from an examination of the books and manuscripts of the New York Historical Society, of the Congress Library, and in particular of the valuable library of PETER FORCE, Esq., of Washington City, whose collection of manuscripts and books, in the department of American History, is unsurpassed in this country.

September, 1846.

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* From Original Sketches by Dr. Belknap, with additions and corrections.

SUCCESSION OF GOVERNORS OF THE COLONIES OF NEW PLYMOUTH AND MASSACHUSETTS BAY, FROM 1620 TO 1692.

A. D.	REIGNS.	NEW PLYMOUTH.	MASSACHUSETTS BAY.
1620	James I.	John Carver.	
1621	"	William Bradford.	
1625	Charles I.	"	
1630	"	"	John Winthrop.
1633	"	Edward Winslow.	"
1634	"	Thomas Prence.	Thomas Dudley.
1635	"	William Bradford.	John Haynes.
1636	"	Edward Winslow.	Henry Vane.
1637	"	William Bradford.	John Winthrop.
1638	"	Thomas Prence.	"
1639	"	William Bradford.	"
1640	"	"	Thomas Dudley.
1641	"	"	Richard Bellingham.
1642	"	"	John Winthrop.
1644	"	Edward Winslow.	John Endecott.
1645	"	William Bradford.	Thomas Dudley.
1646	"	"	John Winthrop.
1648	"	"	"
1649	Commonwealth.	"	John Endecott.
1650	"	"	Thomas Dudley.
1651	"	"	John Endecott.
1653	Oliver Cromwell.	"	"
1654	"	"	Richard Bellingham.
1655	"	"	John Endecott.
1657	"	Thomas Prence.	"
1658	Richard Cromwell.	"	"
1660	Charles II.	"	"
1665	"	"	Richard Bellingham.
1673	"	Josias Winslow.	John Leverett.
1679	"	"	Simon Bradstreet.
1680	"	Thomas Hinckley.	"
1685	James II.	"	"
1686	"	"	Joseph Dudley.
1687	"	Edmund Andros.	Edmund Andros.
1688	"	"	"
1689	William III.	Thomas Hinckley.	Simon Bradstreet.
1690	"	"	"
1691	"		
1692	"	New Plymouth united with Massachusetts Bay.	

PART I.

GOVERNORS OF NEW PLYMOUTH.

1620—1692.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

At the time of the death of Queen Elizabeth, in 1603, one hundred and ten years after the discovery of America by Columbus, no nation except the Spanish had effected a settlement in the New World; and in all the continent north of Mexico, not a single European family was to be found. The French, in 1606, began to make settlements in Canada and Acadie, and Spanish soldiers were stationed at several posts in Florida. Twenty years had elapsed since the first fruitless attempt of Sir Walter Raleigh to establish a colony in Virginia, and not an Englishman was now to be found in that country, and the grant to Raleigh had become void, in consequence of his attainder.

In 1606, King James I., by an ordinance dated the 10th of April, divided all that portion of North America, which is embraced within the 34th and 45th degrees of latitude, into two districts. The Southern, called the First Colony, he granted to the London Company; and the Northern, or Second Colony, he granted to the Plymouth Company. The general superintendence of the Colonies was vested in a Council, resident in England, named by the King, and subject to all orders and decrees under his sign manual; and the local jurisdiction was entrusted to a Council, also named by the King, and subject to his instructions, which was to reside in the colonies. Under these auspices commenced, in 1607, the first permanent settlement of Virginia.

On the third of November, 1620, forty noblemen, knights, and gentlemen of England, were incorporated by King James, under the name and style of "The Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling and governing New England in America." At the head of this corporation was the

Earl of Warwick. The territory subjected to its jurisdiction, extended in breadth from the 40th to the 48th degree of north latitude, and in length from sea to sea—comprising all the present inhabited British possessions north of the United States, all New England and New York, half of New Jersey, nearly the whole of Pennsylvania, and the whole of the country west of these states to the Pacific ocean. Absolute property in this vast domain was conferred upon the corporation, and full powers of government were conceded, subject to the royal will. This patent is the basis of all the subsequent grants in New England.

Before this charter had passed the seals, the Pilgrims were on their way to America. They had obtained permission from the London Company to settle within their limits. Their intention was to found their settlement upon the banks of the Hudson, but, after a perilous voyage, they arrived at Cape Cod, in the 42d degree of north latitude, beyond the limits of the grant to the London Company. It was too late in the season to retrace their steps, and they resolved, therefore, as they were without authority from the Plymouth Company, to establish for themselves a form of government, which was done by a written instrument subscribed on the 11th November, 1620, in the cabin of the Mayflower.

Such was the beginning of the Colony of NEW PLYMOUTH. Of the persecutions which drove the Puritans from England, and led them afterwards to seek an asylum in the New World, and of the perils which they encountered, upon the ocean and upon the land, ample accounts are given in the sketches which follow.

GOVERNORS OF NEW PLYMOUTH.

I. JOHN CARVER.

THE first effectual settlements of the English in New England, were made by those, who, after the Reformation, dissented from the Established Episcopal Church, who were persecuted on account of their dissent, and sought an asylum from their sufferings. Uniformity was insisted on with a rigor that disgusted many conscientious ministers and people of the Church of England, and caused that separation, which has ever since existed. Religious persons, who could not conform to the establishment, but taught the necessity of a more complete and personal reformation, were at first distinguished by the name of PURITANS—a name which they never disowned, though it was given in derision. Among these, the most rigid were the *Brownists*, so called from Robert Brown, "a fiery young clergyman," who in 1580–1586, headed a zealous party, and was vehement for a total separation. But his zeal, though violent, as is often the case with zealots, was not of a temper to resist persecution, and in advanced life, he accepted a living offered by the Church he had reviled; while others, who more deliberately withdrew, retained their separation, though they became more candid and moderate in their principles.* Of these people, a congregation was formed

* Neal's N. E. i. 58, 64.

about the year 1602, near the confines of the counties of York, Nottingham, and Lincoln, in England, who chose for their ministers, Richard Clifton and John Robinson.*

The reigning prince at that time was James the First, than whom a more contemptible character never sat on the British throne. Educated in the principles of Presbyterianism in Scotland, he forgot them all on his advancement to the throne of the three kingdoms. Flattered by the bishops, he gave all ecclesiastical power into their hands, and entrusted sycophants with the management of the state, while he indolently resigned himself to literary and sensual indulgences; in the former of which he was a pedant, in the latter an epicure. The prosecution of the Puritans was conducted with unrelenting severity in the former part of his reign, when Bancroft was Archbishop of Canterbury. Abbot, who succeeded him, was more favorable to them; but when Laud came into power, they were treated with every mark of insult and cruelty. Robinson's little congregation did not escape persecution, by quietly separating from the establishment, and forming an independent church. They were still exposed to the penalties of the ecclesiastical law. They were harrassed with every species of intolerance; some were thrown into prison; some were confined to their own houses; and others were obliged to leave their farms, and suspend their usual occupations.† Such was their distress and perplexity, that an emigration to some foreign country, seemed at length the only means of personal safety. Their first views were directed to Holland, where the

* Prince, i. 4, 20. † See the history of Puritan sufferings in Neal, and authorities there cited, or the graphic account in Bancroft, i. 288—290.

spirit of commerce had dictated a free toleration of religious opinions; a blessing which neither the wisdom of politicians nor the charity of clergymen had admitted into any other of the European states. Mr. Robinson, and as many of his congregation as found it in their power, accordingly left England in the years 1607 and 1608, and settled in Amsterdam; whence, in 1609, they removed to Leyden.

JOHN CARVER, one of the most grave and honored of the Pilgrims, and first governor of the colony of New Plymouth, is supposed to have been a native of Lincolnshire, England, where families of the name were known to exist; and he is represented to have been one of the deacons of the English Congregational Church at Leyden. Of his family, or personal history, prior to his connection with the Pilgrims, little is known. The record of the time and place of his birth, is nowhere found. The earliest account of him known to exist, refers to his appointment as one of the agents of the Leyden Church. At that time, he was in high esteem as a grave, pious, prudent and judicious man. The correspondence, between Sir Edwin Sandys, Treasurer of the Virginia Company, and the Rev. John Robinson, pastor of the Pilgrim Church, and a letter from the latter to Mr. Carver, preserved in Governor Bradford's History, shew that he was a person of consideration and character as a philanthropist and christian. "I hope," said Mr. Robinson, in his parting address to Carver, "that you, having always been able so plentifully to administer comfort unto others in their trials, are so well furnished for yourself, as that far greater difficulties than you have yet undergone (though I conceive them to be great enough) cannot

oppress you, though they press you, as the Apostle speaketh. 'The spirit of a man (sustained by the Spirit of God) will sustain his infirmity.' I doubt not so will yours; and the better much, when you shall enjoy the presence and help of so many goodly and wise brethren, for the bearing of part of your burden; who also will not admit into their hearts the least thoughts of suspicion of any the least negligence, at least presumption to have been in you, whatever they think in others." Carver was one of the oldest of the Pilgrims, and the circumstance that he was selected by Robinson as the individual to whom to address his parting letter, shows that he was a leading and trusted man.*

After residing several years in Leyden, various causes influenced the congregation to entertain serious thoughts of a removal to America. These causes were the unhealthiness of the low country where they lived; the hard labor to which they were subjected; the dissipated manners of the Hollanders; especially the lax observance of the Lord's Day;† the apprehension of a war at the conclusion of the truce between Spain and Holland, which was then near its close; the fear, lest their young men would enter into the military and naval service; the tendency of their little community to become absorbed and lost in a foreign nation; their desire to live under the protection of England, and to retain the language and the name of Englishmen; their inability to give

* Young's Chronicles, 90.

† Sir Dudley Carleton, writing from the Hague, July 22, 1619, says, "It falls out in these towns of Holland, that Sunday, which is elsewhere the day of rest, proves the day of labour, for they never knew yet how to observe the Sabbath." This violation of the Sabbath attracted the attention of the Synod of Dort, which assembled in 1618.

their children such an education as they had themselves received; the natural and pious desire of perpetuating a church, which they believed to be constituted after the simple and pure model of the primitive church of Christ; and a commendable zeal to propagate the gospel in the regions of the New World.

In 1617, having concluded to go to Virginia, and settle in a distinct body under the general government of that colony, they sent Mr. Robert Cushman, and Mr. John Carver, to England, to treat with the Virginia Company, and ascertain whether the King would grant them liberty of conscience in that distant country. Though these agents found the Virginia Company very desirous of the projected settlement in their American territory, and willing to grant them a patent, with as ample privileges as they had power to convey; yet they could prevail with the King no farther, than to engage that he would connive at them, and not molest them, provided they would conduct peaceably. Toleration in religious liberty by public authority, under his seal, was denied.*

The business of the agency was for a long time delayed, by discontents and factions in the company of Virginia, by the removal of their former treasurer, Sir Thomas Smith, and the enmity between him and Sir Edwin Sandys, his successor.† At length a patent was

* Holmes, Am. Ann. i. 158.

† Sir Edwin Sandys was the son of Archbishop Sandys, and the pupil of Hooker. Hume says that in Parliament he was "a member of great authority;" and, for taking the popular side in 1614, was committed to the Tower. He succeeded Sir Thomas Smith, as Treasurer of the Virginia Company, on the 28th of April, 1619. His election was brought about by the Earl of Warwick's hostility to Smith. The historians of Virginia say that he was a person of excellent endowments, great vigor and resolution. King James disliked him, on account of his liberal principles, and when the year came round, he objected to

obtained under the company's seal; but, by the advice of some friends, it was taken in the name of John Wincob, a religious gentleman belonging to the family of the Countess of Lincoln, who intended to accompany the adventurers to America.* This patent, and the proposals of Thomas Weston, of London, merchant, and other persons who appeared friendly to the design, were carried to Leyden, in the autumn of 1619, for the consideration of the people. At the same time, there was a plan forming for a new council in the west of England, to superintend the plantation and fishery of North Virginia, the name of which was changed to *New England.* To this expected establishment Weston and the other merchants began to incline, chiefly from the hope of present gain by the fishery. This caused some embarrassment, and a variety of opinions; but, considering that the council for New England was not yet incorporated, and that, if they should wait for that event, they might be detained another year, before which time the war between the Dutch and the Spaniards might be renewed,† the majority concluded to take the patent, which had been obtained from the company of South Virginia, and emigrate to some place near Hudson's River, which was within their territory.

his re-appointment as Treasurer. "Choose the devil, if you will, (said he) but not Sir Edwin Sandys."

* Wincob never came to America; and all that is known of him is that he was never of the least service to those who had obtained the patent at such toil and cost. Bancroft, i. 305. The precise date of the patent is nowhere mentioned. Young, in his Chronicles, 75, gives the probable reason why the patent was taken in the name of Wincob, that the Leyden people being out of the realm, the patent would not be granted in any of their names.

† The truce, which, after a war of above thirty years, was concluded between Spain and the United Netherlands in 1609, was to expire by its own limitation in 1621.

The next spring, (1620,) Weston himself went over to Leyden, where the people entered into articles of agreement with him, both for shipping and money, to assist in their transportation. Carver and Cushman were again sent to London, to receive the money and provide for the voyage. When they came there, they found the other merchants so very penurious and severe, that they were obliged to consent to some alteration in the articles, which, though not relished by their constituents, yet were so strongly insisted on, that without them the whole adventure must have been frustrated.

The articles, with their amendments, were these:*

"1. The adventurers and planters do agree that every person that goeth, being sixteen years old and upward, be rated at ten pounds, and that ten pounds be accounted a single share."

"2. That he that goeth in person, and furnisheth himself out with ten pounds, either in money or other provisions, be accounted as having twenty pounds in stock, and in the division shall receive a double share."

"3. The persons transported and the adventurers shall continue their joint stock and partnership the space of *seven years*, except some unexpected impediments do cause the whole company to agree otherwise, during which time all profits and benefits that are gotten by trade, traffic, trucking, working, fishing, or any other means, of any other person or persons, shall remain still in the *common stock*, until the division."

"4. That at their coming there they shall choose out such a number of fit persons as may furnish their ships and boats for fishing upon the sea, employing the

* Hubbard's N. E. 48.—Hazard's Hist. Coll. i. 87.

rest in their several faculties upon the land, as building houses, tilling and planting the land, and making such commodities as shall be most useful for the colony."

"5. That at the end of the seven years the capital and profits, viz., the houses, lands, goods, and chattels, be equally divided among the adventurers; if any debt or detriment concerning this adventure"——*

"6. Whosoever cometh to the colony hereafter, or putteth any thing into the stock, shall at the end of the seven years be allowed proportionally to the time of his so doing."

"7. He that shall carry his wife, or children, or servants, shall be allowed for every person now aged sixteen years and upwards, a single share in the division; or, if he provide them necessaries, a double share; or, if they be between ten years old and sixteen, then two of them to be reckoned for a person, both in transportation and division."

"8. That such children as now go, and are under ten years of age, have no other share in the division than fifty acres of unmanured land."

"9. That such persons as die before the seven years be expired, their executors to have their parts or shares at the division, proportionally to the time of their life in the colony."

"10. That all such persons as are of the colony are to have meat, drink, and apparel out of the common stock and goods of the said colony."

The difference between the articles as first agreed upon, and as finally concluded, was in these two points:

1. In the former, it was provided that "the houses

* Here something seems to be wanting, which cannot now be supplied.

and lands improved, especially gardens and home-fields, should remain undivided wholly to the planters at the end of the seven years," but in the latter, the houses and lands were to be equally divided. 2. In the former, the planters were "allowed two days in the week for their own private employment, for the comfort of themselves and families, especially such as had them to take care for." In the latter, this article was wholly omitted.

On these hard conditions, and with this small encouragement, the pilgrims of Leyden, supported by a pious confidence in the Supreme Disposer, and animated by a fortitude resulting from the steady principles of the religion which they professed, determined to cast themselves on the care of Divine Providence, and embark for America. With the proceeds of their own estates, now put into a common stock, and the assistance of the merchants, to whom they had mortgaged their labour and trade for seven years, two vessels were provided. One, in Holland, of sixty tons, called the Speedwell, commanded by a Captain Reynolds, which was intended to transport some of them to America, and there to remain in their service one year, for fishing and other uses. Another, of one hundred and eighty tons, called the Mayflower, was chartered by Mr. Cushman, in London, and sent round to Southampton, in Hampshire, whither Mr. Carver went to superintend her equipment. This vessel was commanded by a Captain Jones, and, after discharging her passengers in America, was to return to England. Seven hundred pounds sterling were expended in provisions and stores, and other necessary preparations, and the value of the trading venture which they car-

ried was seventeen hundred pounds. Mr. Weston came from London to Southampton, to see them despatched.*

The Speedwell, with the passengers, having arrived there from Leyden, and the necessary officers being chosen to govern the people and take care of the provisions and stores on the voyage, both ships, carrying one hundred and twenty passengers, sailed from Southampton on the fifth day of August, 1620.†

They had not sailed many leagues down the channel before Reynolds, master of the Speedwell, complained that his vessel was too leaky to proceed.‡ Both ships then put in at Dartmouth, where the Speedwell was searched and repaired; and the workmen judged her sufficient for the voyage. On the twenty first of August,

* Weston continued to be an active promoter of the New Plymouth settlement until 1622. He then procured a patent, and commenced a plantation of his own at a place called Wessagussett, (Weymouth,) in Massachusetts. Winslow says, Weston "formerly deserved well of us;" and Bradford, in 1623, says he "has become our enemy on all occasions." Weston was at New Plymouth, in 1623, where he was liberally assisted; visited that place again in 1624, and from thence went to Virginia. He died at Bristol, England, during the civil wars. Prince, 135, 144.

† At the quay at Delfthaven, a multitude of people assembled, to witness the embarkation of the first company destined to people the New World, and to unite their sympathies and prayers for the safety and prosperity of the little band. At the moment of their going on board, Mr. Robinson fell on his knees, and with eyes overflowing with tears, in a most fervent and solemn prayer, committed them to their Divine Protector.

"The winds and waves are roaring:
The Pilgrims meet for prayer;
And here, their God adoring,
They kneel in open air."

Mr. Robinson never came to New England. He remained at Leyden until his death, which took place on the first of March, 1625, in the 56th year of his age. His widow and children afterwards came to New Plymouth, where his descendants are still found. At his death, the church over which he presided, and which his talents contributed to illustrate, was dissolved, some of its members remaining in Holland, others removing to America. Thacher, 15.—Baylies, i. 24.

‡ Prince, 71.—Morton, 10.

they put to sea again, and, having sailed in company about one hundred leagues, Reynolds renewed his complaints against his ship, declaring that, by constant pumping, he could scarcely keep her above water, on which both ships again put back to Plymouth. Another search was made, and, no defect appearing, the leaky condition of the ship was judged to be owing to her general weakness, and she was pronounced unfit for the voyage. About twenty of the passengers went on shore. The others, with their provisions, were received on board the Mayflower, and on the sixth of September, the company, consisting of one hundred and one passengers, (besides the ship's officers and crew,) took their last leave of England, having consumed a whole month in these vexatious and expensive delays.

The true causes of these mis-adventures did not then appear. One was, that the Speedwell was overmasted, which error being remedied, the vessel afterward made several safe and profitable voyages. But the principal cause was the deceit of the master and crew, who, having engaged to remain a whole year in the service of the colony, and apprehending hard fare in that employment, were glad of any excuse to rid themselves of the service.

The Mayflower, Jones, proceeded with fair winds in the former part of her voyage, and then met with bad weather and contrary winds, so that for several days no sail could be carried. The ship labored so much in the sea that one of the main beams sprung, which renewed the fears and distresses of the passengers. They had then made about one half of their voyage, and the chief of the company began a consultation with the commander of the ship whether it were better to proceed or re-

turn. But one of the passengers having on board a large iron screw, it was applied to the beam, and forced it into its place. This successful effort determined them to proceed.

No other particulars of this long and tedious voyage are preserved, but that the ship being leaky, and the people closely stowed, were continually wet; that one young man, a servant of Samuel Fuller, died at sea; and that one child was born, and called *Oceanus*—a son of Stephen Hopkins.

On the ninth of November, at break of day, they made land, which proved to be the white sandy cliffs of Cape Cod.* This landfall being farther northward than they intended, they immediately put about the ship to the southward, and before noon found themselves among shoals and breakers.† Had they pursued their southern course, as the weather was fine, they might in a few hours more, have found an opening, and passed safely to the westward, agreeably to their original design, which was to go to Hudson's River. But, having been so long at sea, the sight of any land was welcome to women and

* Cape Cod was discovered, 15th May, 1602, by Bartholomew Gosnold, an English navigator, who gave it the name, on account of the abundance of cod, which he caught in the neighborhood. It was afterwards called Cape James, by Smith. John Brereton, who was one of the companions of Gosnold, and wrote a journal of the voyage, says, "they first made land May 14, in lat. 40 degrees"—and "about three of the clock the same day in the afternoon, we weighed, and standing southerly off into the sea the rest of that day and the night following, with a fresh gale of wind, in the morning we found ourselves embayed with a mighty headland. At length we perceived this headland to be a parcel of the main. In five or six hours we pestered our ship so with codfish, that we threw numbers of them over again. The places where we took these cods, (and might in a few days laden our ship,) were but in seven fathoms water."—Brereton's Account of Gosnold's Voyage, III Mass. Hist. Coll. viii. 86.

† These shoals lie to the southeast extremity of the Cape, which was called by Gosnold *Point Care*, by the Dutch and French *Malebarre*, and is now known by the name of *Sandy Point*.

children; the new danger was formidable; and the eagerness of the passengers to be set on shore was irresistible. These circumstances, coinciding with the secret views of the master, who had been promised a reward by some agents of the Dutch West India Company if he would not carry them to Hudson's River, induced him to put about to the northward.* Before night the ship was clear of the danger. The next day they doubled the northern extremity of the cape, (Race Point,) and, a storm coming on, the ship was brought to anchor in Cape Cod harbour, where she lay perfectly secure from winds and shoals.

This harbour, being in the forty second degree of north latitude, was without the territory of the South Virginia Company. The charter which these emigrants had brought with them of course became useless. Some symptoms of faction, at the same time, appearing among

* Of this plot between Jones and the Dutch, Secretary Morton says he had *certain* intelligence. Memorial, 12. Nearly all the historians have adopted without question the account of this affair given by Morton. Robertson and Bozman speak of it as a rumor; but the first doubt expressed of the truth of this account is in Moulton's unfinished History of New York. Moulton is followed by others, who consider the silence of Bradford and Winslow as to this plot, conclusive against the representation given by Morton. Young's Chronicles, 102. But there are also circumstances which go to sustain the generally received account. It is known that the Pilgrims intended to settle near the Hudson. Their patent did not authorize them to settle beyond the 40th parallel of latitude. They knew that North Virginia, or New England, had been described by Smith and others, as "a cold, barren, mountainous, rocky desart," "uninhabitable by Englishmen." They could not have been indifferent as to the coast upon which they were to land; and when they found themselves at Cape Cod, they desired to return towards the South, but were prevented by the importunities of a portion of their number. It is well known, that the Dutch West India Company objected to English settlements on the Hudson, and would very naturally seek to prevent them. Until further light therefore is thrown upon the subject, the account given by Morton should not be hastily rejected, sustained as it is by his own declaration that he had "certain intelligence" of the fact.

the servants, who had been received on board in England, purporting that when on shore they should be under no government, and that one man would be as good as another, it was thought proper, by the most judicious persons, to have recourse to natural law; and that, before disembarcation, they should enter into an association, and combine themselves in a political body, to be governed by the majority.* To this they consented;

* In Mourt's Relation, (I Mass. Hist. Coll. viii. 205,) is the following and earliest account of the origin of this Compact: "This day, before we are come to harbor, observing some not well affected to unity and concord, but gave some appearance of faction, it was thought good there should be an association and agreement, that we should combine together in one body, and to SUBMIT TO SUCH GOVERNMENT AND GOVERNORS, AS WE SHOULD BY COMMON CONSENT AGREE TO MAKE AND CHOOSE." A late writer questions the high motives usually attributed to the pilgrims in adopting this compact. He supposes that it was adopted to secure for the time the power of the orderly over the evil disposed, without any foresight of the vast political importance of the principles which it established. Hubbard's edit. Belknap's Biog. ii. 306. However this may have been, it is still beyond dispute, that the brief and comprehensive instrument subscribed in the cabin of the Mayflower, established a principle, which is the foundation of all the democratic institutions in America—the principle that the will of the majority shall govern. The proofs that these men were sincere in their professions, and that civil as well as religious liberty, was an object dear to their hearts, would seem to be conclusive, if we admit the testimony of their own lives, and the concurrent statements of Mourt, Winslow, Bradford, and Morton. So evidently thought King James, when, in 1604, the Puritans desired permission to assemble and to be allowed freedom of discussion. "You are aiming at a Scot's presbytery, (said he,) which agrees with monarchy as well as God with the devil!—*I will have none of that liberty as to ceremonies.*" So thought the Commons of England, who favored the Puritans as their natural allies in the struggle against despotism—when the lines were distinctly drawn—the established Church and the Monarch on one side, and the Puritan clergy and the People on the other. Neal, ii. 52. Bancroft, i. 298. The declaration of Robinson and Brewster, in their letter to Sir Edwin Sandys, of Dec. 15, 1617, is in exact accordance with the spirit of the compact on board the Mayflower: "We are knit together as a Body, in a most strict and sacred Bond and Covenant of the Lord; of the violation whereof we make great conscience, and by virtue whereof, we hold ourselves straitly tied to all care of each other's good, and of the whole." Bradford, in Prince, 52. If further proof were wanting of the design of the pilgrims to establish independence, it may be found in that memorable Declaration, drawn up by the Associates at

and, after solemn prayer and thanksgiving, a written instrument being drawn, they subscribed it with their own hands, and by a unanimous vote chose JOHN CARVER their governor for one year.

The instrument was conceived in these terms:

"In the name of God, Amen. We, whose Names are underwritten, the Loyal Subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord, King James, by the Grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, King, Defender of the Faith, &c., Having undertaken, for the Glory of God and advancement of the Christian Faith, and Honour of our King and country, a Voyage, to Plant the first Colony in the Northern Parts of Virginia; Do, by these Presents, solemnly and mutually, in the Presence of GOD, and of one another, Covenant and Combine ourselves together unto a Civil body Politick, for our better Ordering and Preservation, and Furtherance of the Ends aforesaid; and, by Virtue hereof, to enact, constitute, and frame such just and equal Laws, Ordinances, Acts, Constitutions, and Offices, from Time to Time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the General Good of the Colony; unto which we Promise all due Submission and Obedience. In witness whereof, we have hereunder subscribed our Names, at Cape Cod, the eleventh of November, in the year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord, King James, of England, France, and Ireland, the Eighteenth, and of Scotland the Fifty-Fourth, Anno Domini, 1620."

[The names of the subscribers are placed in the fol-

New Plymouth, and entered upon their records, on the 15th November, 1636, in which the authority of English laws, "at present, or to come," is expressly renounced, and Parliament denied the right of legislating for the Colony. See Hazard, i. 408.

lowing order, by Secretary Morton; but Prince, with his usual accuracy, compared the list with Governor Bradford's History, and added their titles, and the number of each one's family which came over at this time; observing that some left the whole, and others a part, of their families, either in England or Holland, who came over afterward. He was also so curious as to note those who brought their wives, marked with a (†), and those who died before the end of the next March, distinguished by an asterism (*).]

1.	Mr. John Carver,†	8	23.	Francis Eaton,†	3
2.	Mr. William Bradford,†	2	24.	*James Chilton,†	3
3.	Mr. Edward Winslow,†	5	25.	*John Crackston, [3]	2
4.	Mr. William Brewster,†	6	26.	John Billington,†	4
5.	Mr. Isaac Allerton,†	6	27.	*Moses Fletcher,	1
6.	Capt. Miles Standish,†	2	28.	*John Goodman,	1
7.	John Alden,	1	29.	*Degory Priest, [4]	1
8.	Mr. Samuel Fuller,	2	30.	*Thomas Williams,	1
9.	*Mr. Christopher Martin,†	4	31.	Gilbert Winslow,	1
10.	*Mr. William Mullins,†	5	32.	*Edmund Margeson,	1
11.	*Mr. William White,† [1]	5	33.	Peter Brown,	1
12.	Mr. Richard Warren,	1	34.	*Richard Britterige,	1
13.	John Howland, [2]		35.	George Soule, [5]	
14.	Mr. Stephen Hopkins,†	8	36.	*Richard Clarke,	1
15.	*Edward Tilly,†	4	37.	Richard Gardiner,	1
16.	*John Tilly,†	3	38.	*John Allerton,	1
17.	Francis Cook,	2	39.	*Thomas English,	1
18.	*Thomas Rogers,	2	40.	Edward Dotey, [6]	
19.	*Thomas Tinker,†	3	41.	Edward Leister, [6]	
20.	*John Ridgdale,†	2			
21.	*Edward Fuller,†	3		Total persons, . . .	101
22.	*John Turner,	3			

Of whom were subscribers to the Compact, . . . 41

[1] Besides a son, born in Cape Cod Harbor, named Peregrine. See page 31.
[2] Of Governor Carver's family.
[3] Morton writes his name Craxton.
[4] In Morton, Digery Priest.
[5] Of Governor Winslow's family.
[6] Of Mr. Hopkins' family.

Government being thus regularly established, on a truly republican principle, sixteen armed men were sent

on shore, as soon as the weather would permit, to fetch wood and make discoveries.* They returned at night with a boat load of juniper wood, and made report "that they found the land to be a narrow neck, having the harbour on one side, and the ocean on the other; that the ground consisted of sandhills, like the Downs in Holland; that in some places the soil was black earth 'a spit's depth;' that the trees were oak, pine, sassafras, juniper, birch, holly, ash, and walnut; that the forest was open and without underwood; that no inhabitants, houses, nor fresh water were to be seen." This account was as much as could be collected in one Saturday's afternoon. The next day they rested.

While they lay in this harbour, during the space of five weeks, they saw great flocks of seafowl and whales every day playing about them. The master and mate, who had been acquainted with the fisheries in the northern seas of Europe, supposed that they might in that time have made oil to the value of three or four thousand pounds. It was too late in the season for cod; and, indeed, they caught none but small fish near the shore, and shellfish. The margin of the sea was so shallow, that they were obliged to wade ashore, and the weather being severe, many of them took colds and coughs, which in the course of the winter proved mortal.

On Monday, the thirteenth of November, the women went ashore under a guard to wash their clothes, and the men were impatient for a farther discovery. The shallop, which had been cut down and stowed between decks, needed repairing, in which seventeen days were employed. While this was doing, they proposed that

* Mourt's Relation, I Mass. Hist. Coll. viii. 206.

excursions might be made on foot. Much caution was necessary in an enterprise of this kind, in a new and savage country. After consultation and preparation, sixteen men were equipped with musket and ammunition, sword and corslet, under the command of Captain Miles Standish,* who had William Bradford, Stephen Hopkins,† and Edward Tilly‡ for his council of war. After many instructions given, they were rather permitted than ordered to go, and the time of their absence was limited to two days.

When they had travelled one mile by the shore, they discovered five or six of the natives, who, on sight of them, fled. They attempted to pursue, and, lighting on their tracks, followed them till night; but the thickets through which they had to pass, the weight of their armour, and their debility after a long voyage, made them an unequal match, in point of travelling, to these nimble sons of nature. They rested at length by a spring, which afforded them the first refreshing draught of American water.§

The discoveries made in this march were few, but novel and amusing. In one place they found a deer trap,

* This intrepid soldier was the hero of New England, as John Smith was of Virginia. An excellent account of him is found in Belknap's Biography, ii. 310.

† Stephen Hopkins was one of the assistants, or magistrates, of the colony, from 1633 to 1636. Stephen Hopkins, governor of Rhode Island nine years from 1755 to 1767, and one of the Signers of the Declaration of Independence, was a descendant of Stephen Hopkins of the Mayflower. Farmer's Geneal.

‡ Edward Tilly died early in 1621. Farmer's Geneal. The exploring party here referred to sat out on Wednesday, November 15. Prince, 74.

§ Mourt represents the spring to have been found on the second day, and adds, "we brought neither beer nor water with us, and our only victuals were biscuit and Holland cheese, and a little bottle of aqua vitæ, so as we were sore athirst." I Mass. Hist. Coll. viii. 208.

made by the bending of a young tree to the earth, with a noose under ground covered with acorns. Mr. Bradford's foot was caught in the trap, from which his companions disengaged him, and they were all entertained with the ingenuity of the device. In another place they came to an Indian burying-ground, and in one of the graves they found a mortar, an earthen pot, a bow and arrows, and other implements, all which they very carefully replaced, because they would not be guilty of violating the repositories of the dead. But when they found a cellar, carefully lined with bark and covered with a heap of sand, in which about four bushels of seed-corn in ears* were well secured, after reasoning on the morality of the action, they took as much of the corn as they could carry, intending, when they should find the owners, to pay them to their satisfaction. On the third day they arrived, weary and welcome, where the ship lay, and delivered their corn into the common store. The company resolved to keep it for seed, and to pay the natives the full value when they should have opportunity.

When the shallop was repaired and rigged, twenty-four of the company ventured on a second excursion to the same place, to make a farther discovery, having Captain Jones for their commander, with ten of his seamen and the ship's long boat.† The wind being high and the sea rough, the shallop came to anchor under the land, while part of the company waded on shore from the long boat, and travelled, as they supposed, six or seven miles, having directed the shallop to follow them

* "Of divers colors, which seemed to them a very goodly sight, having seen none before." Morton, 16.

† This party started on the 27th November. Prince, 75.

the next morning. The weather was very cold, with snow, and the people, having no shelter, took such colds as afterwards proved fatal to many.

Before noon the next day, the shallop took them on board, and sailed to the place which they denominated *Cold Harbour.** Finding it not navigable for ships, and, consequently, not proper for their residence, after shooting some geese and ducks, which they devoured with "soldiers' stomachs," they went in search of seed corn. The ground was frozen and covered with snow, but the cellars were known by heaps of sand, and the frozen earth was penetrated with their swords, till they gathered corn to the amount of ten bushels. This fortunate supply, with a quantity of beans preserved in the same manner, they took on the same condition as before; and it is remarked by Governor Bradford that in six months after they paid the owners to their entire satisfaction.† The acquisition of this corn they always regarded as a particular favour of Divine Providence, without which the colony could not have subsisted.

Captain Jones, in the shallop, went back to the ship, with the corn and fifteen of the weakest of the people, intending to send mattocks and spades the next day. The eighteen who remained, marched, as they supposed, five or six miles into the woods, and, returning another

* Prince conjectures this place to have been Barnstable Harbor. (Page 74.) But neither the time nor the distance can agree with this conjecture. Barnstable is more than fifty miles from Cape Cod Harbor by land, a distance which they could not have travelled and back again in three short days of November. Belknap supposes Cold Harbor to be the mouth of Paomet Creek, between Truro and Welfleet, and the description given in Mourt's Relation corresponds with this idea. Paomet is a tide-harbor for boats, distant between three and four leagues from the harbor of Cape Cod. I Mass. Hist. Coll. iii. 196.

† Prince, 75.

way, discovered a mound of earth, in which they hoped to find more corn. On opening it, nothing appeared but the skull of a man preserved in red earth, the skeleton of an infant, and such arms, utensils, and ornaments as are usually deposited in Indian graves.* Not far distant were two deserted wigwams, with their furniture and some venison, so ill preserved that even "soldiers' stomachs" could not relish it. On the arrival of the shallop, they returned to the ship the first of December. During their absence, the wife of William White had been delivered of a son, who, from the circumstances of his birth, was named Peregrine.†

At this time they held a consultation respecting their future settlement.‡ Some thought that Cold Harbour might be a proper place, because, though not deep enough for ships, it might be convenient for boats, and because a valuable fishery for whales and cods might be carried on there. The land was partly cleared of wood, and good for corn, as appeared from the seed. It was also likely to be healthy and defensible. But the prin-

* Mourt, I Mass. Hist. Coll. viii. 215.

† The following account of him is extracted from the Boston News Letter of July 31, 1704, being the 15th number of the first newspaper printed in New England: "Marshfield, July 22, Captain *Peregrine White*, of this town, aged eighty-three years and eight months, died here the 20th instant. He was vigorous, and of a comely aspect to the last; was the son of William White and Susanna his wife, born on board the Mayflower, Captain Jones, commander, in Cape Cod Harbor, November, 1620, the first Englishman born in New England." William White, the father, died at New Plymouth, in the spring of 1621. His widow, Susannah, married Edward Winslow, the third governor of the colony. This marriage was solemnized the 12th May, 1621. It is mentioned by Baylies, as a singular coincidence that Mrs. White should have been the first mother and first bride in New England, and mother of the first native governor of the colony, who also attained the high and solitary honor of being commander-in-chief of the forces of the confederate Colonies, in a war involving their very existence. Baylies, ii. 18.

‡ Morton, 17.

cipal reasons were, that the winter was so far advanced as to prevent coasting and discovery, without danger of losing men and boats; that the winds were variable, and the storms sudden and violent; that, by cold and wet lodging, the people were much affected with coughs, which, if they should not soon obtain shelter, would prove mortal; that provisions were daily consuming, and the ship must reserve sufficient for the homeward voyage, whatever became of the colony.

Others thought it best to go to a place called Agawam,* twenty leagues northward, where they had heard of an excellent harbour, good fishing, and a better soil for planting. To this it was answered, that there might possibly be as good a place nearer to them. Robert Coppin, their pilot, who had been here before, assured them that he knew of a good harbour and a navigable river, not more than eight leagues across the bay to the westward. Upon the whole, they resolved to send the shallop round the shore of the bay on discovery, but not beyond the harbour of which Coppin had informed them.

On Wednesday, the sixth of December, Governor Carver, with nine of the principal men, well armed, and the same number of seamen, of which Coppin was one, went out in the shallop. The weather was so cold that the spray of the sea froze on their coats, until they were cased with ice, "like coats of iron." They sailed by the eastern shore of the bay, as they judged, six or seven leagues, without finding any river or creek. At length they saw "a tongue of land,† being flat off from the

* The Indian name of Ipswich, Mass. † This "tongue of land," is Billingsgate Point, the western shore of Welfleet Harbor.

shore, with a sandy point; they bore up to gain the point, and found there a fair income, or road of a bay, being a league over at the narrowest, and two or three in length; but they made right over to the land before them." As they came near the shore, they saw ten or twelve Indians cutting up a grampus, who, on sight of them, ran away, carrying pieces of the fish which they had caught. They landed at the distance of a league or more from the grampus with great difficulty, on account of the flat sands. Here they built a barricade, and, placing sentinels, lay down to rest.

The next morning, Thursday, (December 7,) they divided themselves into two parties, eight in the shallop, and the rest on shore, to make farther discovery of this place, which they found to be "a bay, without either river or creek coming into it." They gave it the name of *Grampus Bay*, because they saw many fish of that species. They tracked the Indians on the sand, and found a path into the woods, which they followed a great way, till they came to old cornfields, and a spacious burying-ground enclosed with pales. They ranged the woods till the close of the day, and then came down to the shore to meet the shallop, which they had not seen since the morning. At high water, she put into a creek; and, six men being left on board, two came on shore and lodged with their companions, under cover of a barricade and a guard.

At dawn of day, on Friday, (December 8,) while at their devotions, they were surprised with the war cry of the savages, and a flight of arrows. Those of the English who had retained their arms, immediately stood on the defensive; two muskets were discharged, and the

other men who were armed were ordered not to shoot until they could take sure aim, there being but four who had retained their muskets. The Indians, seeing the others run to the shallop, attacked them again, but being secured by armor and armed with curtel-axes, they sustained themselves until they obtained their muskets from the boat—when a general discharge being made, the Indians were intimidated, and all fled but one stout warrior, who continued to discharge his arrows from behind a tree; but a bullet having struck the tree and scattered the bark and splinters about his ears, he took to his heels, and they all fled. The English pursued them a short distance, with shouts, to show that they were not intimidated, and then returned to their shallop. Thus terminated the first encounter between the English and aboriginals, without bloodshed on either side, and the place was named *First Encounter*.

This unwelcome reception, and the shoal water of the place,* determined the company to seek farther. They sailed along the shore as near as the extensive shoals would permit, but saw no harbour. The weather began to look threatening, and Coppin assured them that they might reach the harbour of which he had some knowledge before night. The wind being southerly, they put themselves before it.† After some hours, it began to rain; the storm increasing, their rudder broke, their mast

* Morton says, "This is thought to be a place called *Namskeket*." (Page 19.) A creek, which now bears the name of *Skakit*, lies between Eastham and Harwich, distant about three or four miles westward from Nauset, the seat of a tribe of Indians, who (as they afterward learned) made this attack. Dr. Freeman, in his notes on Mourt, I Mass. Hist. Coll. viii. 219, supposes this to be Great Meadow Creek, in Truro, Mass.

† The distance directly across the bay from Skakit, is about 12 leagues; in Prince, (p. 77,) it is said they sailed 15 leagues "along the coast."

sprung, and their sails fell overboard. In this piteous plight, steering with two oars, the wind and the flood tide carried them into a cove full of breakers, and it being dark, they were in danger of being driven on shore. The pilot confessed that he knew not the place; but a stout seaman, who was steering, called to the rowers to put about and row hard. This effort happily brought them out of the cove into a fair sound, and under a point of land, where they came safely to anchor. They were divided in their opinions about going on shore; but about midnight, the severity of the cold made a fire necessary. They therefore got on shore, and with some difficulty kindled a fire and rested in safety.

In the morning they found themselves on a small uninhabited island, within the entrance of a spacious bay.* Here they stayed all the next day (Saturday) drying their clothes, cleaning their arms, and repairing, as well as they could, their shallop. The following day, being the Christian Sabbath, they rested.†

* This island has ever since borne the name of *Clark's Island*, from the mate of the ship, the first man who stepped on shore. The cove, where they were in danger, lies between the Gurnet Head and Saguish Point, at the entrance of Plymouth Bay.

† This was the First Christian Sabbath in New England. "The 'Mayflower,' a name now immortal, had crossed the ocean. It had borne its hundred passengers over the vast deep, and after a perilous voyage, it had reached the bleak shores of New England in the beginning of winter. The spot which was to furnish a home and a burial-place, was now to be selected. The shallop was unshipped, but needed repairs, and sixteen weary days elapsed before it was ready for service. Amidst ice and snow, it was then sent out, with some half a dozen Pilgrims, to find a suitable place where to land. The spray of the sea, says the historian, froze on them, and made their clothes like coats of iron. Five days they wandered about, searching in vain for a suitable landing-place. A storm came on, the snow and rain fell; the sea swelled; the rudder broke; the mast and the sail fell overboard. In this storm and cold, without a tent, a house, or the shelter of a rock, the Christian Sabbath approached—the day which they regarded as holy unto God—a day on which they were not to 'do

On Monday, December 11th, they surveyed and sounded the bay, which is described to be in the shape of a fishhook; a good harbour for shipping, larger than that of Cape Cod; containing two small islands without inhabitants, innumerable store of fowls, different sorts of fish, besides shellfish in abundance. As they marched into the land,* they found cornfields and brooks, and a very good situation for building.† With this joyful news they returned to the company, and on the 16th of

any work.' What should be done? As the evening before the Sabbath drew on, they pushed over the surf, entered a fair sound, sheltered themselves under the lee of a rise of land, kindled a fire, and on that island they spent the day in the solemn worship of their Maker. On the next day their feet touched the rock now sacred as the place of the landing of the Pilgrims. Nothing more strikingly marks the character of this people, than this act. The whole scene—the cold winter—the raging sea—the driving storm—the houseless, homeless island—the families of wives and children in the distance, weary with their voyage and impatient to land—and yet, the sacred observance of a day which they kept from *principle*, and not from mere feeling, or because it was a form of religion, shows how deeply imbedded true religion is in the soul, and how little it is affected by surrounding difficulties."—[Barnes' Discourse at Worcester.]

* The rock on which they first stepped ashore at high water, is now enclosed with a wharf. The upper part of it was separated from the lower part, and drawn into the public square of the town of Plymouth, where it was known by the name of *The Forefathers' Rock*. The 22d of December, (Gregorian style) has been regarded by the people of Plymouth as a festival. That portion of the rock remaining in the square at Plymouth, was on the 4th July, 1834, removed to the new Pilgrim Hall, erected in Plymouth, and placed in front of that edifice, under the charge of the Pilgrim Society. A procession was formed on the occasion, and passed over Cole's Hill, where lie the ashes of those who died the first winter at Plymouth. A miniature representation of the Mayflower followed in the procession, placed in a car decorated with flowers, and drawn by six boys—the whole being preceded by the children of both sexes of the several schools in town. The Rock is now enclosed within a railing, formed of wrought iron bars, five feet high, resting on a base of hammered granite. The heads of the perpendicular bars are harpoons and boat hooks alternately—the whole embellished with emblematic figures of cast iron. The upper part of the railing is encircled with a wreath of iron castings, in imitation of heraldry curtains, fringed with festoons; of these there are forty-one, bearing the names of the forty-one puritan fathers, who signed the memorable compact while in the cabin of the Mayflower, at Cape Cod, in 1620. Thacher, 199.

† Mourt's Relation, in I Mass. Hist. Coll. viii. 220.

December, the ship came to anchor in the harbour, with all the passengers, except four, who died at Cape Cod.

Having surveyed the land as well as the season would permit, in three days, they pitched upon a high ground on the southwest side of the bay, which was cleared of wood, and had formerly been planted. Under the south side of it was "a very sweet brook, in the entrance of which the shallop and boats could be secured, and many delicate springs of as good water as could be drank." On the opposite side of the brook was a cleared field, and beyond it a commanding eminence, on which they intended to lay a platform and mount their cannon.

They went immediately to work laying out house-lots, and a street; felling, sawing, riveing, and carrying timber; and before the end of December, though much interrupted by stormy weather, by the death of two, and the sickness of many of their number, they had erected a store-house, with a thatched roof, in which their goods were deposited under a guard. Two rows of houses were begun, and, as fast as they could be covered,* the people, who were classed into nineteen families, came ashore, and were lodged in them. On Lord's day, the 31st of December, they attended Divine service for the first time on shore, and named the place PLYMOUTH, partly because this harbour was so called in Capt. Smith's map, published three or four years before, and partly in remembrance of the very kind and friendly treatment

* The first houses in Plymouth were on each side of a single street, which leads from the old church to the water side. "We agreed that every man should build his own house, thinking by that course men would make more haste than working in common." Mourt, in I Mass. Hist. Coll. viii. 223. On the place where it is supposed the common house stood, in digging a cellar in 1801, there were discovered several tools, and a plate of iron, seven feet below the surface of the ground. Holmes, i. 166.

which they had received from the inhabitants of Plymouth, the last port of their native country from which they sailed.*

At this time, some of the people lodged on shore, and others on board the ship, which lay at the distance of a mile and a half from the town, and, when the tide was out, there could be no communication between them. On the 14th of January, very early in the morning, as Governor Carver and Mr. Bradford lay sick in bed at the storehouse, the thatched roof, by means of a spark, caught on fire, and was soon consumed; but, by the timely assistance of the people on shore, the lower part of the building was preserved. Here were deposited their whole stock of ammunition and several loaded guns; but, happily, the fire did not reach them. The fire was seen by the people on board the ship, who could not come

* The original Indian name of the place was *Accomack*, which means *over the water*. It is evident that Accomack and Plymouth correspond: but when the Pilgrims arrived, they were told by Samoset that the place was called *Patuxet*. See, in Smith's General History, folio edition, the Map of New England as "observed and described in 1614." Smith's "Description of New England," was published in 1616. "I took (says he) the description as well by *map* as writing, and called it New England." He dedicated his work to Prince Charles, begging him to change the "barbarous names." In the list of Indian names given by Smith, which were changed by Prince Charles, *Accomack* was altered to *Plimouth*. See Force's Tracts, vol. ii. p. xii, of No. I. Smith, in his "Generall Historie," edition of 1626, page 247, describes "the Present estate of *New Plimoth*, in 1624;" and in his "True Travels," edition of 1630, page 46, he speaks of the condition of "*New Plymouth*," in 1629. In III Mass. Hist. Coll. iii., Smith's "Pathway to a Plantation," published in 1631, is reprinted with a map, upon which *Plimouth* appears. The folio edition of his "Generall Historie," published in 1632, has apparently the same Map, with several corrections, and among others, the words "NEW *Plimouth*," for "*Plimouth*." In a map, entitled "The South part of New England, as it is planted this year, 1634," inserted in the first edition of Wood's New England Prospect, a place near Narraghanset Bay is named *Old Plymouth;* and in the same map, the Plymouth, which was settled in 1620, is called *New Plymouth*. By Old Plymouth, though not correctly placed on the map, was probably meant the ephemeral settlement of Gosnold, on Elizabeth Island, in 1602. Holmes' Ann. i. 119.

on shore till an hour afterwards. They were greatly alarmed at the appearance, because two men, who had strolled into the woods, were missing, and they were apprehensive that the Indians had made an attack on the place. In the evening the strollers found their way home, almost dead with hunger, fatigue, and cold.

The bad weather and severe hardships to which this company were exposed, in a climate much more rigorous than any to which they had ever been accustomed, with the scorbutic habits contracted in their voyage, and by living so long on shipboard, caused a great mortality among them in the winter. Before the month of April, nearly one half of them died.* At some times the number of the sick was so great, that not more than six or seven were fit for duty, and these were almost wholly employed in attending the sick. The ship's company was in the same situation, and Captain Jones, though earnestly desirous to get away, was obliged to stay till April, having lost one half of his men.

By the beginning of March, the governor was so far recovered of his first illness, that he was able to walk three miles to visit a large pond, which Francis Billington had discovered from the top of a tree on a hill. At first it was supposed to be a part of the ocean, but it proved to be the headwater of the brook which runs by the town. It has ever since borne the name of its first discoverer,† which might otherwise have been forgotten.

Hitherto they had not seen any of the natives at this

* The exact bill of mortality, as collected by Prince, is as follows: In December, 6; January, 8; February, 17; March, 13—total, 44. Of these, 21 were subscribers to the civil compact; and 23 were women, children, and servants.

† It is to this day called Billington Sea.

place. The mortal pestilence which raged through the country four years before, had almost depopulated it. One remarkable circumstance attending this pestilence, was not known till after the settlement was made. A French ship had been wrecked on Cape Cod. The men were saved with their provisions and goods.* The natives kept their eye on them, till they found an opportunity to kill all but three or four, and divide their goods. The captives were sent from one tribe to another as slaves. One of them learned so much of their language as to tell them, that "God was angry with them for their cruelty, and would destroy them and give their country to another people." They answered, that "they were too many for God to kill." He replied that, "if they were ever so many, God had many ways to kill, of which they were then ignorant." When the pestilence came among them, (a new disease, probably the yellow fever,†) they remembered the Frenchman's words, and, when the Plymouth settlers arrived at Cape Cod, the few survivors imagined that the other part of his prediction would soon be accomplished. Soon after their arrival, the Indian priests or powows convened, and performed their incantations in a dark swamp three days successively, with a view to curse and destroy the new comers. Had they known the mortality which raged amongst them, they would have doubtless rejoiced in the success of their endeavours, and might very easily have taken advantage

* Morton, 27.

† Of the peculiar nature of this pestilence, we have no certain information. Gookin says he "had discoursed with some old Indians who were then youths, who told him that the bodies of the sick were all over exceeding yellow (which they described by pointing to a yellow garment) both before they died and afterward." I Mass. Hist. Coll. i. 148.

of their weakness to exterminate them.* But none of them were seen till after the sickness had abated, though some tools which had been left in the woods were missing, which they had stolen in the night.

On the sixteenth of March, when the spring was so far advanced as to invite them to make their gardens, a savage came boldly into the place alone, walked through the street to the rendezvous or storehouse, and pronounced the words, *Welcome, Englishmen!* His name was Samoset; he belonged to a place distant five days' journey to the eastward, and had learned of the fishermen to speak broken English.

He was received with kindness and hospitality, and he informed them "that, by the late pestilence, and a ferocious war, the number of his countrymen had been so diminished, that not more than one in twenty remained; that the spot where they were now seated was called Patuxet, and, though formerly populous, yet every human being in it had died of the pestilence." This account was confirmed by the extent of the fields, the number of graves, and the remnants of skeletons lying on the ground.

The account which he gave of himself was, "that he had been absent from home eight moons, part of the time among the Nausets, their nearest neighbours at the southeast, who were about one hundred strong, and more lately among the Wampanoags at the westward, who were about sixty; that he had heard of the attack made on them by the Nausets at Namskeket; that these people

* During the first winter, the settlers buried their dead on the banks of the shore, since called Cole's hill, near their own dwellings, taking especial care by levelling the earth to conceal from the Indians the number and frequency of the deaths. Dr. Holmes mentions a tradition, that the graves at that spot, after the great mortality alluded to, were levelled and sown over by the settlers, to conceal their loss from the natives. Thacher, 28.

were full of resentment against the Europeans, on account of the perfidy of Hunt, master of an English vessel, who had some years before the pestilence decoyed some of the natives (twenty from Patuxet and seven from Nauset) on board his ship, and sold them as slaves; that they had killed three English fishermen, besides the Frenchmen afore mentioned, in revenge for this affront. He also gave information of the lost tools, and promised to see them restored, and that he would bring the natives to trade with them."

Samoset being dismissed with a present, returned the next day with five more of the natives, bringing the stolen tools, and a few skins for trade.* They were dismissed with a request to bring more, which they promised to do

* "But, being the Lord's day, we would not trade, but, entertaining them, bid them come again." Mourt. The same author, speaking of this friendly sachem, whose salutation of "WELCOME!" must have been grateful to the inhabitants, says he was naked, "only a leather about his waist, with a fringe about a span long." The weather was very cold, and "we cast a horseman's coat about him." "He had a bow and two arrows, the one headed and the other unheaded. He was a tall straight man; the hair of his head black, long behind, only short before; none on his face at all. He asked some beer, but we gave him strong water and biscuit, and butter and cheese, and pudding, and a piece of mallard; all which he liked well." Samoset's companions, "had every man a deer skin on him; and the principal of them had a wild cat's skin, or such like, on one arm. They had most of them long hosen up to their groins, close made; and above their groins to their waist, another leather: they were altogether like the Irish trousers. They are of complexion like our English gipsies; no hair, or very little on their faces; on their heads long hair to their shoulders, only cut before; some trussed up before with a feather, broadwise like a fan; another a foxtail, hanging out." The English had charged *Samoset* not to let any who came with him bring their arms; these, therefore, left "their bows and arrows a quarter of a mile from our town. We gave them entertainment as we thought was fitting them. They did eat liberally of our English victuals;" and appeared very friendly; "sang and danced after their manner, like antics." "Some of them had their faces painted black, from the forehead to the chin, four or five fingers broad; others after other fashions, as they liked. They brought three or four skins, but we would not truck with them all that day, but wished them to bring more, and we would truck for all. So because of the day [Sunday] we dismissed them so soon as we could."

in a few days. Samoset feigned himself sick, and remained; but as his companions did not return at the time, he was sent to inquire the reason.

On the 22d, he returned, in company with Squanto, or Squantum, a native of Patuxet, and the only one then living. He was one of the twenty whom Hunt had carried away; he had been sold in Spain; had lived in London with John Slaney, merchant, treasurer of the Newfoundland Company; had learned the English language, and came back to his native country with the fishermen.* These two persons were deputed by the sachem of the Wampanoags, *Mas-sas-o-it*,† whose residence was at Sowams or Pokanoket, on the Narragansett Bay, to an-

* Thomas Hunt, the first kidnapper and slave-dealer on the coast of North America, commanded one of the ships, with which Captain Smith came to New England in 1614. Smith sailed for England in July, and left Hunt with directions to procure a cargo, and proceed to Spain. His atrocious conduct is thus related by Prince, from Smith, Mourt, &c. "After Smith left New England, Hunt gets twenty Indians on board him at Patuxet, one of whom is called *Squanto*, or *Squantum*, or *Tisquantum*, and 7 more of Nauset, and carried them to Malaga, sells them for slaves at £20 a man, which raises such an enmity in the savages against our nation, as makes further attempts of commerce with them very dangerous." "Smith, generous and humane as he was intrepid, indignantly reprobates the base conduct of Hunt." Many of these helpless captives, it appears, were rescued from slavery by the benevolent interposition of some of the Monks in Malaga. Squanto was probably one who was thus relieved and liberated. He found a friend in Mr. Slaney in England, by whose assistance he was enabled to return to his native land, on board of Capt. Thomas Dermer's vessel in 1619. Thacher, 33. Drake supposes that Squanto, or Tisquantum, was carried away by Weymouth, in 1605, and cites Sir F. Gorges, as his authority. Book of the Indians, b. ii. 4. The *Tasquantum* seized by Weymouth, was probably not among those who were kidnapped by Hunt, unless, nine years having intervened, we may suppose him to have been twice seized and carried away.

† Prince says, that *Mas-sas-o-it*, is a word of four syllables, and was so pronounced by the ancient people of Plymouth (p. 101.) This remark is confirmed by the manner in which it is spelled in some parts of Winslow's Narrative, *Massas-o-wat*. The sachem, in conformity to a custom among the Indians, afterwards changed his name to Owsamequin, or Woosamequen. See Drake's Book of the Indians, b. ii. 25.

nounce his coming, and bring some skins as a present. In about an hour the sachem, with his brother *Qua-de-qui-nah*, and his whole force of sixty men, appeared on the hill over against them. Squanto was sent to know his pleasure, and returned with the sachem's request that one of the company should come to him. Edward Winslow immediately went alone, carrying a present in his hand, with the governor's compliments, desiring to see the sachem, and enter on a friendly treaty. Massasoit left Winslow in the custody of his brother, to whom another present was made, and, taking twenty of his men, unarmed, descended the hill towards the brook, over which lay a log bridge. Captain Miles Standish, at the head of six men, met him at the brook, and escorted him and his train to one of the best houses, where three or four cushions were placed on a green rug spread over the floor. The governor came in, preceded by a drum and trumpet, which greatly delighted the Indians. After mutual salutations,* he entered into conversation with the sachem, which issued in a treaty. The articles were, "1. That neither he nor his should injure any of ours. 2. That if they did, he should send the offender, that *we* might punish him. 3. That if our tools were taken away, he should restore them. 4. That if any *unjustly* warred against him, we would aid him; and if any warred against us, he should aid us. 5. That he should certify his

* "Our governour kissing his hand, the king kissed him, and so they sat down." Mourt, in I Mass. Hist. Coll. viii. 229. On page 230 of the same, Massasoit is thus described: "In his person he is a very lusty man, in his best years, an able body, grave of countenance, and sparing of speech; in attire little or nothing differing from the rest of his followers, only in a great chain of white bone beads about his neck, and at it behind his neck hangs a little bag of tobacco, which he drank (smoked) and gave us to drink. His face was painted with a sad red-like murrey, and oiled both head and face, that he looked greasily. The king had in his bosom, hanging by a string, a great long knife."

neighbour confederates of this, that they might not wrong us, but be comprised in the conditions of peace. 6. That when their men came to us, they should leave their bows and arrows behind them, as we should leave our pieces, when we came to them. 7. That in doing thus, KING JAMES would esteem him as his friend and ally."

All which Massasoit cheerfully assented to; and at at the same time "acknowledged himself content to become the subject of our sovereign lord the king aforesaid, his heirs and successors; and gave unto them all the lands adjacent, to them and their heirs forever."*

The conference being ended, and the company having been entertained with such refreshments as the place afforded, the sachem returned to his camp. This treaty, the work of one day, being honestly intended on both sides, was kept with fidelity as long as Massasoit lived, but was afterwards broken by Philip, his successor.

The next day, Massasoit sent for some of the English to visit him. Captain Standish and Isaac Allerton went, were kindly received, and treated with groundnuts and tobacco.

The sachem then returned to his headquarters, distant about forty miles; but Squantum and Samoset remained at Plymouth, and instructed the people how to plant

* "The New Plymouth associates, by the favor of the Almighty, began the colony in New England, at a place called by the natives Apaum, alias Patuxet; all the lands being void of inhabitants, we, the said John Carver, William Bradford, Edward Winslow, William Brewster, Isaac Allerton, and the rest of our associates, entering into a league of peace with Massasoit, since called Woosamequen, Prince, or Sachem of those parts, he the said Massasoit freely gave them all the land adjacent to them and their heirs forever." See, in the Preface to the Laws of New Plymouth, 1685, "The Warrantable Grounds and Proceedings of the first Associates of New Plimouth, in their laying the first Foundation of this Government."

their corn, and dress it with herrings, of which an immense quantity came into the brooks. The ground which they planted with corn was twenty acres. They sowed six acres with barley and pease; the former yielded an indifferent crop, but the latter were parched with the heat, and came to nothing.

While they were engaged in this labour, in which all were alike employed, on the 5th of April, (the day on which the Mayflower sailed for England,) Governor Carver came out of the field at noon, complaining of a pain in his head, caused by the heat of the sun.* It soon deprived him of his senses, and on the 6th of April, 1621, put an end to his life, to the great grief of this infant plantation.† He was buried with all the honors which could be shown to the memory of a good man by a grateful people. The men were under arms, and fired several volleys over his grave. Jasper, a son of Governor Carver, had died on the 6th of December preceding, and his affectionate wife, overcome with grief for the loss of her husband and son, soon followed them to the grave.

Elizabeth, a daughter, married John Howland;‡ and

* Baylies observes, "it is not a little remarkable that such an effect should have been produced in this climate in the month of April."

† At a general meeting, March 23d, sundry laws were enacted, and Mr. Carver was "chosen, or rather confirmed," governor for the ensuing year. He sustained the office four months and twenty days only. The whole number of survivors in the colony at the time of his death was fifty-five only.

‡ John Howland, the thirteenth signer of the compact, is counted as belonging to Carver's family, whose daughter he married. The Plymouth colony records speak of him as "an ancient professor of the ways of Christ; one of the first comers, and proved a useful instrument of good, and was [one of] the last of the male survivors of those who came over in the Mayflower in 1620, and whose place of abode was Plymouth." John Alden of Duxbury, outlived him fifteen years. The last survivor of the Mayflower was Mary Cushman, daughter of Isaac Allerton. Howland died 23d February 1672, at Rocky Nook in Kingston, aged 80. He had four sons and six daughters, some of whose

there were other children remaining, but their names are nowhere mentioned; neither do they appear at any subsequent time in the annals of the colony; they attained no civil honors; they rose to no distinction; but less fortunate than the children of other governors, they remained in obscurity, and were unnoticed by the people. The name of Carver does not appear in the assignment of lands in 1623, nor in the division of cattle in 1627. William, a grandson of Governor Carver, who lived at Marshfield, acquired some notoriety on account of his extreme age, having lived until he was one hundred and two years old. This grandson, when ninety-six years old, was seen labouring in the same field with his son, grandson, and great-grandson, while an infant of the fifth generation was in his house. He died 2d October, 1760. It has been said that Jonathan Carver, the traveller, who died in London, 31 Jan. 1780, was a descendant of the governor.*

Governor Carver is represented as a man of great prudence, integrity, and firmness of mind. He had a good estate in England, which he spent in the emigration to Holland and America. He was one of the foremost in action, and bore a large share of sufferings in the service of the colony, who confided in him as their friend and father. Piety, humility, and benevolence were eminent traits in his character, and it is particularly remarked that in the time of general sickness which befel the colony, and with which he was affected, after he had

descendants are still living in the Old Colony, and in Rhode Island. A genealogy of the family, written by one of them, the venerable John Howland, President of the Rhode Island Historical Society, is inserted in Thacher's Plymouth, p. 129.

* Edinb. Encyclopedia, (Amer. edit.) v. 467.

himself recovered, he was assiduous, in attending the sick, and performing the most humiliating services for them, without any distinction of persons or characters.

In the records of the Church at Plymouth, due mention is made of the sad loss sustained by the church and colony in the death of Governor Carver. "This worthy gentleman was one of singular piety, and rare for humility, which appeared, as otherwise, so by his great condescendency, when as this miserable people were in great sickness, he shunned not to do very mean services for them, yea, the meanest of them. He bare a share likewise of their labours in his own person, according as their great necessity required. Who being one also of considerable estate, spent the main part of it in this enterprise, and from first to last approved himself not only as their agent in the first transaction of things, but also along to the period of his life, to be a pious, faithful, and very beneficial instrument."*

The memory of Governor Carver is still held in esteem; and a broadsword, and other relics, which belonged to him, are preserved at Pilgrim Hall in Plymouth, or in the cabinet of the Historical Society at Boston, as precious memorials of the first chief magistrate of the Old Colony.

* MS. Records Plymouth Church, i. 27.

II. WILLIAM BRADFORD.

When, at the commencement of the seventeenth century, the little band of English Puritans gathered together, and formed their congregation, near the confines of the counties of York, Nottingham and Lincoln,—choosing for their ministers, Richard Clifton and John Robinson,—a sedate youth, then scarcely twelve years of age, of grave countenance and earnest manner, was observed to be a constant attendant upon their meetings. That youth was William Bradford, an orphan. He was born in the year 1588, at Austerfield, an obscure village in Yorkshire. His parents dying while he was a child, his education was provided for by his grand parents and uncles; but was limited almost exclusively to those branches of knowledge deemed necessary to an agricultural life, and such as generally falls to the share of the children of English husbandmen. Deprived of other sources of information, his love of reading naturally sought gratification in the Bible, and he drank deep of the fountain of truth in the sacred volume. He thus acquired those deep impressions of piety, and that inflexible love for, and disposition to maintain what he believed to be the truth, for which he was afterwards distinguished.

His attendance upon the ministrations of Clifton, deeply offended his relatives. They were hostile to the new sect, and their hostility was not likely to be softened by the reflection, that one of their family, dependent in some degree upon their friendship, had presumed, in opposition to their remonstrances, to embrace the faith of the puritans. Young Bradford was therefore exposed

to their resentment, as well as to the jeers and scoffs of his juvenile companions. But he had deliberately made up his mind, in the full belief that his course was right—and no persuasion nor menaces could induce him to abandon the faith which he had thus adopted.

When he was eighteen years old, in the autumn of 1607, Mr. Bradford became one of the company who resolved upon an early removal to Holland, as the only means of escape from persecution. The narrative of their two first attempts, is best recited in the words of Bradford himself, as follows:

"There was a large company of them proposed to get passage at Boston, in Lincolnshire, and for that end had hired a ship wholly to themselves, and made agreement with the master to be ready at a certain day, and take them and their goods in at a convenient place, where accordingly they would all attend in readiness. So after long waiting and large expense, though he kept not day with them, yet he came at length and took them in, in the night. But when he had them and their goods aboard, he betrayed them, having beforehand complotted with the searchers and other officers so to do, who took them and put them into open boats, and then rifled and ransacked them, searching them to their shirts for money, yea, even the women, further than became modesty, and then carried them back into the town, and made them a spectacle and wonder to the multitude, which came flocking on all sides to behold them. Being thus, first by the catch-poles, rifled and stript of their money, books, and much other goods, they were presented to the magistrates, and messengers sent to inform the lords of the council of them, and so they were committed to ward. Indeed, the magistrates used them courteously, and shew-

ed them what favor they could, but could not deliver them till order came from the council table; but the issue was, that after a month's imprisonment, the greatest part were dismissed and sent to the places from whence they came, but seven of the principal men were still kept in prison, and bound over to the assizes.*

"The next spring after, there was another attempt made, by some of these and others, to get over at another place. And so it fell out that they light of a Dutchman at Hull, having a ship of his own belonging to Zealand. They made agreement with him and acquainted him with their condition, hoping to find more faithfulness in him than in the former of their own nation. He bade them not fear, for he would do well enough. He was by appointment to take them in between Grimsby and Hull, where was a large common a good way distant from any town. Now against the prefixed time, the women and children, with the goods, were sent to the place in a small bark, which they had hired for that end, and the men were to meet them by land; but it so fell out that they were there a day before the ship came, and the sea being rough, and the women very sick, prevailed with the seamen to put into a creek hard by, where they lay on ground at low water. The next morning the ship came, but they were fast and could not stir till about noon. In the meantime the shipmaster, perceiving how the matter was, sent his boat to get the men aboard whom he saw ready, walking about the shore, but after the first boatfull was got aboard, and she was ready to go for more, the master espied a great company both horse and foot, with bills, and guns, and other weapons, for the country was raised to take them. The Dutchman seeing that,

* Bradford was among the number arrested upon this occasion, and was released in consideration of his youth.

swore his country oath 'sacramente,' and having the wind fair, weighed anchor, hoisted sails, and away. After enduring a fearful storm at sea for fourteen days or more, seven whereof they never saw sun, moon nor stars, and being driven near the coast of Norway, they arrived at their desired haven, where the people came flocking, admiring their deliverance, the storm having been so long and sore, in which much hurt had been done, as the master's friends related to him in their congratulations. The rest of the men that were in greatest danger, made a shift to escape away before the troop could surprise them, those only staying that best might be assisting unto the women. But pitiful it was to see the heavy case of these poor women in distress; what weeping and crying on every side, some for their husbands that were carried away in the ship, others not knowing what should become of them and their little ones, crying for fear, and quaking with cold. Being apprehended, they were hurried from one place to another till in the end they knew not what to do with them; for, to imprison so many women with their innocent children, for no other cause, many of them, but that they would go with their husbands, seemed to be unreasonable, and all would cry out of them; and to send them home again was as difficult, for they alleged, as the truth was, they had no homes to go to, for they had either sold or otherwise disposed of their houses and livings. To be short, after they had been thus turmoiled a good while, and conveyed from one constable to another, they were glad to be rid of them in the end upon any terms, though, in the meantime, they, poor souls, endured misery enough."*

* See Appendix, No. I, Hutchinson's History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, p. 449; or Bradford's Hist. in Young's Chronicles, 26.

After some time, Mr. Bradford succeeded in going over to Zealand, though he encountered many difficulties. He had no sooner sat his foot upon the shore, than a malicious person, who had come as passenger in the same vessel, accused him before the Dutch magistrates, as a fugitive from England. But the magistrates were not disposed to heed the tale of the slanderer, and when upon inquiry they came to understand the cause and circumstances of Bradford's emigration, instead of putting him to further inconvenience, they gave him their protection, and permission to join his friends at Amsterdam.

Finding it impossible successfully to prosecute agriculture in Holland, he was obliged to betake himself to some other occupation; and, being then under age, he put himself as an apprentice to a French Protestant, who taught him the art of silk-dyeing. As soon as he attained the years of manhood, he sold his paternal estate in England, and entered on a commercial life, in which it appears that he was not successful.

When the Church of Leyden contemplated a removal to America, Bradford zealously engaged in the undertaking, and came with the first company of emigrants in 1620, to Cape Cod. While the ship lay in that harbour, he was one of the foremost in the several hazardous attempts to find a proper place for the seat of the colony, in one of which he, with others of the principal persons, narrowly escaped the destruction which threatened their shallop.* On his return from this excursion to the ship, with the joyful news of having found a safe harbour and a place for settlement, he was met by the unwelcome intelligence, that, during his

* Prince, 76. See account in Life of Carver, pp. 33–35, of this volume.

absence, his wife had accidentally fallen into the sea and was drowned.*

After the sudden death of Governor Carver, in April, 1621, the eyes of the infant colony were turned to Mr. Bradford, as the proper person to succeed him; but, being so very ill at that time that his life was despaired of, they waited for his recovery, and then invested him with the chief magistracy. He was at this time in the thirty-third year of his age; his wisdom, piety, fortitude, and goodness of heart, were so conspicuous as to merit the sincere esteem of the people.

While Carver lived, he was the sole executive officer. No oath of office was required, and he entered upon his official duties without ceremony or parade. The legislative and judicial power was in the whole body of the people, who had the most entire confidence, that he would not adventure on any matter of moment without their consent, or the advice of the wisest among them. When Mr. Bradford came to be governor, he requested that an assistant or deputy governor should be appointed, and the choice fell upon Isaac Allerton.† This measure

* Mrs. B. was drowned on the 7th of December. Prince, 76. Of this lady, we learn from Prince, that her baptismal name was Dorothy; and from a letter written at Leyden, by Roger White, addressed to Governor Bradford, it appears that her maiden name was May. I Mass. Hist. Coll. iii. 43.

† Isaac Allerton came over in the Mayflower, with his wife and four children. His wife, Mary, died 25th February, 1621, and a few years afterwards he married Fear Brewster, daughter of Elder William Brewster. In point of property, he ranked first in the colony, and was a man of consideration in other respects. He was sent to England in the fall of 1626, to complete a negotiation which Standish had commenced with the adventurers there, but had been obliged to abandon on account of the plague then raging in London. Prince, 156, 162. He returned in the spring of 1627, having conditionally purchased for his associates the rights of the adventurers for the sum of £1800, to be paid in seven years. He also borrowed £200 at 30 per cent. interest, "to the great content of the plantation." Prince, 165. He took a second voyage as agent in 1627, during which he procured a patent for a trading place on the Kennebeck. He made two voyages to England in 1629, to procure a new and enlarged patent for the

was deemed advisable from the precarious health of Governor Bradford, and also to avoid any interregnum in the government, in case of his death before his term of office expired, as had happened in the case of Governor Carver.* They appointed but one assistant to the governor, because they were so reduced in number, that to have made a greater disproportion between rulers and people, would have been absurd, and they knew that it would be in their power to increase the number whenever the circumstances of the colony should require it. Their voluntary combination was probably at this time considered only as a temporary expedient, until they should obtain a charter under the authority of the king.

One of the first acts of Bradford's administration was, by advice of the company, to send Edward Winslow and Stephen Hopkins to Massasoit, with Squanto, for their guide. The design of this embassy was to explore the country; to confirm the league with that sachem; to learn the situation and strength of their new friend; to carry him some presents; to apologize for some misbehaviour on the part of the settlers; to regulate the intercourse between them and the Indians, and to procure seed-corn for the next planting season.

These gentlemen found the sachem at Pokanoket,†

colony. But he met with many difficulties; "many locks (says Shirley) must be opened with the silver, nay, with the golden key." I Mass. Hist. Coll. iii. 70. He gave "great and just offence (says Prince) in bringing over Morton," the unruly leader at Merry Mount. But he was in the end successful in his difficult undertaking for the colony, although the expenses and misunderstandings growing out of the transaction, appear to have occasioned his final separation from the colonists. He returned to England in 1631, and was "no more employed by the plantation." He became an enterprising trader at Penobscot, and elsewhere, and afterwards removed to New-Haven, where he died in 1659.

* Hubbard's Hist. N. E. 61.

† This was a general name for the northern shore of the Narragansett Bay, between Providence and Taunton Rivers, and comprehending the present town-

distance about forty miles from Plymouth. They delivered the presents, renewed the friendship, and satisfied themselves respecting the strength, of the natives, which did not appear to be formidable, nor was the entertainment which they received either liberal or splendid. The marks of desolation and death, by reason of the late pestilence, were very conspicuous in all the country through which they passed; but they were informed that the Narragansetts, who resided on the western shore of the bay of that name, were very numerous, and that the pestilence had not reached them.

After the return of this embassy, another was sent to Nauset,* to recover a boy who had strayed away from New Plymouth, and had been taken up by some of the Indians of that place. They were so fortunate as to recover the boy, and make peace with Aspinet, the sachem, whom they paid for the seed corn which they had taken out of the ground at Paomet, in the preceding autumn.† During this expedition, an old woman, who had never before seen any white people, burst into tears of grief and rage at the sight of them. She had lost three sons, by the perfidy of Thomas Hunt, who decoyed them, with others, on board his ship, and sold them for slaves.

ships of Bristol, Warren, and Barrington, in the State of Rhode Island, and Swansey in Massachusetts. Its northern extent is unknown. The principal seats of the sachem were at *Sowams* and *Keekamuit*. The former is a neck of land, formed by the confluence of Barrington and Palmer's Rivers; the latter is Mount Hope. See Callender's Century Discourse, pp. 30, 73.

* Now Eastham, Mass.

† Mourt's Relation, in Purchas, iv. 1853. "We sent Tisquantum to tell Aspinet, the sachem of Nauset, wherefore we came. After sunset, Aspinet came with a great train, and brought the boy with him, one bearing him through the water. He had not less than an hundred with him; the half whereof came to the shallop side, unarmed with him; the other stood aloof with their bows and arrows. There he delivered us the boy, behung with beads, and made peace with us, we bestowing a knife on him, and likewise on another that first entertained the boy and brought him thither. So they departed from us."

Squanto, who was present, told her that he had been carried away at the same time; that Hunt was a bad man; that his countrymen disapproved of his conduct, and that the English at Plymouth would not offer them any injury. This declaration, accompanied by a small present, appeased her anger, though it was impossible to remove the cause of her grief.

It was fortunate for the colonists, that they had secured the friendship of Massasoit, for his influence was found to be very great among all the surrounding tribes. He was regarded and reverenced by all the natives, from the Bay of Narragansett to that of Massachusetts. Though some of the petty sachems were disposed to be jealous of the new colony, and to disturb its peace, yet their mutual connection with and reliance upon the advice of Massasoit, proved the means of its preservation; as a proof of which, nine of these sachems voluntarily came to Plymouth, and there subscribed an instrument of submission, in the following terms, viz:

"*September* 13, *Anno Dom.* 1621. Know all men by these Presents, that we, whose Names are under written, do acknowledge ourselves to be the Loyal Subjects of King *James*, King of *Great Britain*, *France* and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, &c. In witness whereof, and as a Testimonial of the same, we have Subscribed our Names, or Marks, as followeth:

OHQUAMEHUD,	CHIKKATABAK,
CAWNACOME,	QUADAQUINA,
OBBATINNUA,	HUTTAMOIDEN,
NATTAWAHUNT,	APANNOW."*
CAUNBATANT,	

* Obbatinnua, or Obbatinowat, was one of the Massachusetts sachems; his

Hobbamock,* another of these subordinate chiefs, came and took up his residence at Plymouth, where he continued as a faithful guide and interpreter as long as he lived. The Indians of the Island of Capawock, which had now obtained the name of Martha's or Martin's Vineyard, also sent messengers of peace.

residence was on or near the Peninsula of Shawmut, (Boston.) Chikkatabak, or Chicketawbut, was the sagamore of Neponset, (Dorchester,) and is frequently mentioned in the History of Massachusetts. [See especially the early part of Winthrop's Journal.] He died of the small pox in November, 1633. These Massachusetts sachems were not completely independent, but acknowledged a degree of subjection to Massasoit. Caunbatant, or Corbitant; his residence was at Mattapuyst, a neck of land in the township of Swansey. Mr. Winslow, who had frequent conferences with him at his wigwam and other places, represents him as a hollow-hearted friend to the Plymouth planters, 'a notable politician, yet full of merry jests and squibs, and never better pleased than when the like are returned again upon him.' Quadaquina, or Quindaquina, was a brother of Massasoit. Of the five other sachems, who signed the instrument of submission, no satisfactory account can be given. Davis' note, Morton's Mem. 67.

Cawnacome, or Caunacum, was sachem of Manomet, (Sandwich,) and died, it is said, in 1623. Prince, 126, 133. The name Apannow has a singular resemblance to Epenow, who was a native of the southern part of Cape Cod, supposed to have been carried to England by Captain Harlow, in 1611, and who returned from England with Captain Harley, in 1614. Prince, 41. "In Mourt's Relation, quoted by Prince (p. 111,) it is said, 'Yea, Massasoit, in writing, under his hand to Captain Standish, has owned the King of England to be his master, both he and many other kings under him, as of Pamet, [part of Truro,] Nauset, [part of Eastham,] Cummaquid, [Barnstable north harbor,] Namasket, [part of Middleborough,] with divers others, who dwell about the bays of Patuxet and Massachusetts; and all this by friendly usage, love and peace, just and honest carriage, good counsel," &c.

* Now commonly written Hobomok. This true friend to the English deserves a lasting remembrance. He was attached to them from the beginning, and no threats or danger, or enticements could seduce him from his faithfulness. They were often indebted for much of their advantage and safety to the sagacity of his observation and of his counsels. He served them in every way, as guide, companion, counsellor, and friend, unmoved by the ridicule and scorn of those whom he had abandoned, and unawed by the sworn hatred of the savage and wily Corbitant. His services were acknowledged by a grant of lands in the colony. Gentle and guileless in his temper, he was easily won by the pure and simple truths of religion, and, spite of all temptation, professed himself a Christian. We are not informed of the date of his death, but we are told in a work published in 1642, ("New England's First Fruits,") that "he died amongst them, (the English,) leaving some good hopes in their hearts that his soul went to rest." Note to Davis' Morton, 212.

Having heard much of the Bay of Massachusetts, both from the Indians and the English fishermen, Governor Bradford appointed ten men, with Squanto, and two other Indians, to visit the place and trade with the natives. On the 18th of September, they sailed in a shallop, and the next day got to the bottom of the bay, where they landed under a cliff,* and were kindly received by Obbatinnua, the sachem who had subscribed the submission at Plymouth a few days before. He renewed his submission, and received a promise of assistance and defence against the squaw sachem of Massachusetts, and other of his enemies.

The appearance of the bay was pleasing. They saw the mouths of two rivers which emptied into it. The islands were cleared of wood, and had been planted, but most of the people who had inhabited them, were either dead or had removed. Those who remained were continually in fear of the Tarratines, who frequently came from the eastward in a hostile manner, and robbed them of their corn. In one of these predatory invasions, Nanepashamet, a sachem, had been slain; his body lay buried under a frame, surrounded by an intrenchment and palisade. A monument on the top of a hill designated the place where he was killed.†

Having explored the bay, and collected some beaver, the shallop returned to Plymouth, and brought so good a report of the place, that the people wished they had been seated there. But, having planted corn and built

* Supposed to be Copp's Hill, in the town of Boston.

† Shattuck, in the History of Concord, says this "was in Medford, near Mystic Pond." Lewis, in his History of Lynn, says Nanepashamet was killed about the year 1619, and that his widow, (the Squaw Sachem referred to by Obbatinnua,) continued the government.

huts at Plymouth, and being there in security from the natives, they judged the motives for continuance to be stronger than for a removal. Most of their posterity have judged otherwise.

In November, 1621, a ship arrived from England, with thirty-five passengers, to augment the colony.* Unhappily they were so short of provisions, that the people of Plymouth were obliged to victual the ship home, and then put themselves and the new-comers upon half allowance. Before the next spring, (1622,) the colony began to feel the rigors of famine. The Indians had in some way become apprised of their situation, and in the height of their distress, the governor received from Canonicus, sachem of the Narragansetts, a threatening message, in the emblematic style of the ancient Scythians—a bundle of arrows, bound up with the skin of a serpent. The governor sent an answer, in the same style—the skin of the serpent, filled with powder and ball. The Narragansetts, afraid of its contents, sent it back unopened, and here the correspondence ended.

It was now judged proper to fortify the town. Accordingly, it was surrounded with a stockade and four flankarts; a guard was kept by day and by night, the company being divided for that purpose into four squadrons. A select number were appointed, in case of accidental fire, to mount guard with their backs to the fire, so as to prevent a surprise from the Indians. Within the stockade was enclosed the top of the hill, under which the town was built, and a sufficiency of land for a garden assigned to each family. The works were begun in February, and finished in March.

* This ship was the Fortune, of fifty-five tons. She arrived November 9th. Prince, 114.

At this time, the famine was beginning to be severe. Fish and spring-water were the only food upon which the people subsisted. The want of bread reduced their flesh; yet they had so much health and spirit, that, on hearing of the massacre in Virginia, they erected an additional fort on the top of the hill, with a flat roof, on which their guns were mounted; the lower story being used as a place of worship. Such was the character of these times and of these men. The temple of the Lord was defended by cannon, and his worshippers were armed men.* Sixty acres of ground were this year planted with corn; and their gardens were sown with the seeds of other esculent vegetables in great plenty.

The arrival of two ships† in midsummer, with a new colonists, sent out by Thomas Weston, but without provisions, was an additional misfortune. Some of these people, being sick, were lodged in the hospital at New Plymouth, until they were so far recovered as to join their companions, who seated themselves at Wessagusset, since called Weymouth.

The first supply of provisions was obtained from the fishing vessels, of which thirty-five came this spring from England to the coast. In August, two ships, arrived with trading goods, which the planters bought at a great disadvantage, giving beaver in exchange.‡ The sum-

* Baylies, i. 93.

† The Charity, of one hundred tons, and the Swan, of thirty. The Charity, having gone on to Virginia, returned to Weymouth, and thence to England, about the end of September, 1622. The Swan remained at Weymouth, for the use of the colonists. Prince, 122.

‡ The Sparrow, (Weston's,) which had returned from a fishing voyage on the coast of Maine, and the Discovery, commanded by Jones, the former commander of the Mayflower. "This ship," says Morton, (p. 39,) speaking of the latter, "had store of English beads (which were then good trade) and some

mer being dry, and the harvest short, it became necessary to make excursions among the natives to procure corn and beans, with the goods purchased from the ships. Captain Standish was to have commanded this expedition, but being driven back twice by violent winds, and falling ill of a fever, Governor Bradford took the command himself, and after encountering some hazard from the shoals, he made for a harbour at a place called Mannamoyck, [Chatham,] and, after sounding through a narrow and intricate channel, anchored. The governor, attended by Squanto, went on shore, but the natives were shy of intercourse for some time; at length, understanding his intentions, they threw off their reserve, and welcomed him with much apparent joy, feasting him and his company on venison and other food,—yet so jealous were they, when they ascertained that the governor intended to remain on shore during the night, that they carefully removed their property from their habitations. Squanto having succeeded in persuading them that the intentions of the English were good, they were at length induced to sell them eight hogsheads of corn and beans.

They intended to have proceeded farther down the Cape, being assured both by Squanto and the Indians of Mannamoyck that there was a safe passage, but their design was frustrated by the sudden sickness of Squanto, who was seized with a fever so violent, that it soon occasioned his death, to the great grief of the Governor. Although Squanto had discovered some traits of du-

knives, but would sell none but at dear rates, and also a good quantity together; yet they (the planters) were glad of the occasion, and fain to buy at any rate; they were fain to give after the rate of cent. per cent., if not more, and yet pay away coat beaver at three shillings per pound," "which, (says Prince,) a few years after, yields twenty shillings a pound."

plicity, yet his loss was justly deemed a public misfortune, as he had rendered the English much service. A short time previous to his death, he requested the governor to 'pray that he might go to the Englishman's God in heaven,' and he bequeathed his little property to his English friends, as remembrances of his love.

In these excursions, Mr. Bradford was treated by the natives with great respect, and the trade was conducted on both sides with justice and confidence. At Nauset, the shallop being stranded, it was necessary to put the corn which had been purchased in stack, and to leave it, covered with mats and sedge, in the care of the Indians. This was in November, and it remained there until January, when another shallop was sent round, and it was found in perfect safety, and the stranded shallop was recovered.* Governor Bradford, having procured a guide, when his shallop was stranded, with his party, returned home through the wilderness fifty miles on foot.

At Namasket, [Middleborough,] an inland place, he bought another quantity, which was brought home, partly by the people of the colony, and partly by the Indian women, their men disdaining to bear burdens.

At Manomet, [Sandwich,] he bargained for more, which he was obliged to leave till March, when Captain Standish went and fetched it home, the Indian women bringing it down to the shallop. The whole quantity thus purchased, amounted to twenty-eight hogsheads of corn and beans, of which Weston's people had a share, as they had joined in the purchase.

In the spring of 1623, the governor received a message from Massasoit, that he was sick, on which occasion it

* Winslow, in Purchas, iv. 1858.

is usual for all the friends of the Indians to visit them, or send them presents. Mr. Winslow again went to visit the sachem, accompanied by Mr. John Hampden,* and they had Hobbamock for their guide and interpreter. The visit was very consolatory to their sick friend, and the more so as Winslow carried him some cordials, and made him broth after the English mode, which contributed to his recovery. In return for this friendly attention, Massasoit communicated to Hobbamock, intelligence of a dangerous conspiracy, then in agitation among the Indians, in which he had been solicited to join. Its object was nothing less than the total extirpation of the English, and it was occasioned by the imprudent conduct of Weston's people in the Bay of Massachusetts. The Indians had in contemplation to make them the first victims, and then to fall on the people of Plymouth. Massasoit's advice was, that the English should seize and put to death the chief conspirators, whom he named, and said that this would prevent the execution of the plot. Hobbamock communicated this secret to Winslow, as they were returning home, and it was reported to the governor.

On this alarming occasion, the whole company were

* In Winslow's Journal, Mr. Hampden is said to be "a gentleman of London, who then wintered with us, and desired much to see the country." Belknap supposed this person to be the same who distinguished himself by his opposition to the illegal and arbitrary demands of King Charles the First; and refers to the tradition that Hampden and Cromwell attempted to embark for New England, in 1638. But the evidence seems to be conclusive, that the great English patriot never was in America. Bancroft (i. 412,) thus disposes of the question: "A person who bore the same or nearly the same name, was undoubtedly there; but the greatest patriot-statesman of his times, the man whom Charles I. would gladly have seen drawn and quartered, whom Clarendon paints as possessing beyond all his contemporaries, "a head to conceive, a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute," and whom the fervent Baxter revered as able, by his presence and conversation, to give a new charm to the rest of the Saints in heaven, was never in America; nor did he ever embark for America."

assembled in court, and the news was imparted to them. Such was their confidence in Governor Bradford, that they unanimously requested him, with Allerton, his assistant, to concert the best measures for their safety. The result was, a determination to strengthen the fortifications, to be vigilant at home, and to send such a force to the Bay of Massachusetts, under Captain Standish, as he should judge sufficient to crush the conspiracy.

The people whom Weston had sent to plant his colony at Wessagussett, were so disorderly and imprudent, that the Indians were not only disgusted with them, but despised them, and intended to make them their first victims. One of the settlers came to Plymouth with a lamentable account of their weak condition. He accidentally lost his way on the journey, and thus escaped the tomahawk of an Indian, who followed him. The Indian pursued him to Plymouth, where, being suspected as a spy, he was confined in irons. Standish, with eight chosen men, and the faithful Hobbamock, went in the shallop to Weston's plantation, taking goods with him, as usual, to trade with the Indians. Here he met the persons who had been pointed out to him as the conspirators; who personally insulted and threatened him. A quarrel ensued, in which seven of the Indians were killed. The others were so struck with terror, that they forsook their houses and retreated to the swamps, where many of them died with cold and hunger. The survivors would have sued for peace, but were afraid to go to Plymouth. Weston's people were so apprehensive of the consequences of this affair, that they abandoned their plantation; and the people of Plymouth, who offered them protection, which they would not accept, were glad to be rid of such trou-

blesome neighbors. Weston did not come in person to America, till after the dispersion of his people, some of whom he found among the eastern fishermen, and from them he first heard of the ruin of his enterprise. In a storm, he was cast away between the rivers Merrimack and Pascataqua, and was robbed by the natives of all he had saved from the wreck. Having borrowed a suit of clothes from some of the people at Pascataqua, he came to Plymouth, where, in consideration of his necessity, the government lent him two hundred weight of beaver, with which he sailed to the eastward, with such of his own people as were disposed to accompany him. It is observed, that he never repaid the debt but with enmity and reproach.*

Thus, by the spirited conduct of a handful of brave men, in conformity to the advice of the friendly Massasoit, a dangerous conspiracy was annihilated. But, when the report of this transaction was carried to their brethren in Holland, Mr. Robinson, in his next letter to the governor, lamented with great concern and tenderness, "O that you had converted some, before you had killed any."†

Much obloquy has been thrown on the character of the Pilgrims, for this attack upon the Indians. The existence of the conspiracy is said to have been ideal, and it is confidently asserted in modern times, that the Indians were disposed to friendship when they were assailed by Standish, and that the conspiracy was a mere pretence on the part of the English to rid themselves of troublesome neighbors, and to acquire their country; but any one who examines the proofs with impartiality, will

* Prince, 135. See note, on page 20. † Prince, 146.

be convinced of its existence, and that the colonists were actuated neither by interest nor revenge, but only endeavoured to secure their own safety by attacking those, who, when their projects were matured, would have destroyed them.*

In the autumn of 1623, Captain Standish proceeded to the little settlement, which had been commenced by David Thompson on the banks of the Pascataqua, where the settlers readily supplied him with such provisions as they could spare.

The scarcity which the colonists had hitherto experienced was partly owing to the increase of their numbers, and the scantiness of their supplies from Europe; but principally to their mode of laboring in common, and putting the fruits of their labor into the public store; an error which had the same effect here as in Virginia.

It will be remembered that the Fortune, which arrived from England, in November, 1621, brought thirty-five new settlers, and no supply of provisions. A thrilling narrative of the sufferings of the people at this period, may be gathered from Winslow and Bradford. "They never had any supply to any purpose after this time, but what the Lord helped them to raise by their own industry among themselves; for all that came afterward was too short for the passengers that came with it."† "About the end of May, (1622,) our store of victuals was wholly spent, having lived long before with a bare and short allowance; and, indeed, had we not been in a place where divers sorts of shellfish are, that may be taken with the hand, we must have perished, unless God had raised up some unknown or extraordinary

* Baylies, i. 106. † Morton, 35.

means for our preservation."* Winslow was sent to the fishing vessels at Monhiggon, on the coast of Maine, to seek supplies, and procure enough to give each person a quarter of a pound of bread a day till the harvest. They had planted this year nearly sixty acres of corn, but the harvest proved a scanty year's supply for the colony, "partly by reason they were not yet well acquainted with the manner of the husbandry of Indian corn . . . . but chiefly their weakness for want of food."† In 1623, Governor Bradford says,‡ "By the time our corn is planted, our victuals are spent; not knowing at night where to have a bit in the morning, and have neither bread nor corn for three or four months together, yet bear our wants with cheerfulness, and rest on Providence." Brewster, the ruling elder, lived for many months together without bread, and frequently on fish alone. With nothing but oysters and clams before him, he, with his family, would give thanks that they could "suck of the abundance of the seas, and of the treasures hidden in the sands." It is said that they were once reduced to a pint of corn, which being equally divided, gave to each a proportion of five kernels, which was parched and eaten.§

To remedy as far as possible the evils of scarcity, though it might not be in exact accordance with their engage-

* Winslow's Relation, I Mass. Hist. Coll., viii. 245, 246.

† Morton, 39. ‡ Prince, 135.

§ At the centennial feast, Dec. 22, 1820, much of the beauty, fashion, wealth, and talent of Massachusetts had congregated at Plymouth. Orators spoke, and poets sang, the praises of their pilgrim fathers. The richest viands gratified the most fastidious epicure to satiety. Beside each plate, five grains of parched corn were placed, a simple but interesting and affecting memorial of the distresses of those heroic and pious men who won this fair land of plenty, freedom and happiness, and yet, at times, were literally in want of a morsel of bread. Baylies, i. 121.

ments,* it was agreed, in the spring of 1623, that every family should plant for themselves, on such ground as should be assigned to them by lot, without any division for inheritance ;† and that, in time of harvest, a competent portion should be brought into the common store, for the maintenance of the public officers, fishermen, and such other persons as could not be employed in agriculture. This regulation at once gave a spring to industry ; the women and children cheerfully went to work with the men in the fields, and much more corn was planted than ever before. Having but one boat, the men were divided into parties of six or seven, who took their turns to catch fish; the shore afforded them shellfish, and groundnuts served them for bread. Whenever a deer was killed, the flesh was divided among the whole colony. Water-fowl came in plenty, at the proper season, but the want of boats prevented them from being taken in great numbers. Thus they subsisted through the third summer, in the latter end of which two vessels arrived with sixty more passengers.‡ But the harvest was plentiful, and, after this time, the people had no general want of food, because they had learned to depend on their own exertions, rather than on foreign supplies.

The combination which they had made before their landing at Cape Cod, was the first foundation of their government; but as they were driven to this expedient by necessity, it was intended to subsist no longer than

* By their agreement with the adventurers in England, they were compelled to put the produce of their labors into a common stock. See page 17, ante.

† Prince, 133. Purchas, iv. 1866.

‡ "The best dish we could present them with, is a lobster or piece of fish, without bread or anything else but a cup of fair spring water." Bradford, in Prince, 140.

until they could obtain legal authority from their sovereign. As soon as they knew of the establishment of the Council of New England,* they applied for a patent, which was taken in the names of John Pierce and others, in trust for the colony.† When Pierce saw that the colonists were well seated, and that there was a prospect of success to their undertaking, he went, without their knowledge, but in their names, and solicited the Council for another patent of greater extent, intending to keep it to himself, and to allow them no more than he pleased, holding them as his tenants, to sue and be sued at his courts. In pursuance of this design, having obtained the patent, he bought a ship, which he named the Paragon, loaded her with goods, took on board upwards of sixty passengers, and sailed from London for the colony of New Plymouth. In the Downs, he was overtaken by a tempest, which so damaged the ship, that he was obliged to put her into dock, where she lay seven weeks, and her repairs cost him one hundred pounds. In December,

* Established by James the First, November 3, 1620, while the Pilgrims were on their passage; and styled "The Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ordering, and governing of New England in America." Hazard, i. 103—118.

† This patent, which Judge Davis supposes to have been sent over in the Fortune, in November, 1621, was some years since found among the old papers in the Land Office at Boston. It is dated 1st June, 1621, and bears the seals and signatures of the Duke of Lenox, the Marquis of Hamilton, the Earl of Warwick, and of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. There is another signature so obscurely written as to be illegible. It gave to the patentee and his associates one hundred acres of land each, and one hundred for each person settled in the proposed colony, to be taken in any place not inhabited by the English, and subject to a rent to the council of two shillings for every hundred acres; a free fishery also was given, freedom of trade with England and the Indians, and authority to defend them by force of arms against all intruders. It does not appear what use was made of this patent by the Plymouth planters; it was not long afterwards superseded by the second patent surreptitiously obtained by Pierce. Davis' Morton, 73, 363.

1622, he sailed a second time, having on board one hundred and nine persons; but a series of tempestuous weather, which continued fourteen days, disabled his ship, and forced him back to Portsmouth. These repeated disappointments proved so discouraging to Pierce, that he was easily prevailed upon by the company of adventurers to assign his patent to them for five hundred pounds. The passengers came over in other ships. Of Pierce, little is known, other than that he was one whose avarice and ambition made him false to others. An overruling Providence, however, which sooner or later stamps disaster upon every scheme of iniquity, overwhelmed this adventurer in calamities.

For several years after this time, the settlers at New Plymouth were subjected to new difficulties, which threatened the overthrow of the colony. The company in England with which they were connected, did not supply them in plenty. Losses had been sustained at sea; the returns were not adequate to their expectations; they became discouraged, threw many reflections on the planters, and finally refused them any farther supplies;* but still demanded the debt due from them, and would not permit them to connect themselves in trade with any other persons. The planters complained to the Council of New England, but they could obtain no redress. In 1626, they sent Isaac Allerton to England, Governor Bradford and others of the principal men executing to him a power of attorney, to bind them in any contract he might deem it proper to make with the adventurers, on their behalf. He succeeded in obtaining an agreement from the forty-two share-holders in England, to

* Bradford's Letter Book, I Mass. Hist. Coll., iii. 29, 36, 60.

relinquish all their rights in the colony for the sum of £1800 sterling. For the payment of this sum, eight of the principal persons in the colony, with four of their friends in London, became bound in the following year.* To indemnify them against pecuniary loss, the settlers in 1628, executed to the undertakers, a release of the entire trade of the colony for six years. "We thought it our safest and best course, (says Governor Bradford,) to come to some agreement with the people, to have the whole trade consigned to us for some years, and so in that time to take upon us to pay all the debts and set them free."†

These men were obliged to take up money at an exorbitant interest, and to go deeply into trade at Kennebeck, Penobscot, and Connecticut; by which means, and their own great industry and economy, they were in due time enabled to discharge the debt, and pay for the transportation of thirty-five families of their friends from Leyden, who arrived in 1629.‡

In 1629, another patent, of larger extent than that which had been issued to Pierce in behalf of the colony, was solicited by Isaac Allerton, and taken out in the name of "William Bradford, his heirs, associates, and assigns."§ This patent confirmed their title (as far as

* The names of the undertakers were William Bradford, Miles Standish, Isaac Allerton, Edward Winslow, William Brewster, John Howland, John Alden, and Thomas Prence, *of New Plymouth*, and James Shirley, John Beauchamp, Richard Andrews, and Timothy Hatherly, *of London*.

† Bradford's Letter Book, in I Mass. Hist. Coll., iii. 59.

‡ These thirty-five families, says Governor Bradford, "we were fain to keep eighteen months at our charge, ere they could reap any harvest to live upon; all which together fell heavy upon us." I Mass. Hist. Coll., iii. 58, 74.

§ Hazard, i. 298—303. Prince, 196. This patent was dated January 13th, 1629. Besides confirming their title to their lands, this charter conferred on them liberty to fish, to trade with the natives, to make laws not contrary to those of England, and to "seize and make prize of all who attempt to inhabit

the crown of England could confirm it) to a tract of land bounded on the east and south by the Atlantic Ocean, and by lines drawn west from the Rivulet of Conohasset, and north from the River of Narragansett, which lines meet in a point, comprehending all the country called Pokanoket. To this tract they supposed they had a prior title, from the depopulation of a great part of it by a pestilence, from the gift of Massasoit, his voluntary subjection to the crown of England, and his having taken protection of them. In a declaration, published by them in 1636, they asserted their "lawful right in respect of vacancy, donation, and purchase of the natives,"* which together with their patent from the crown, through the Council of New England, formed "the warrantable ground and foundation of their government, of making laws and disposing of lands."†

In the same patent, was granted a large tract bordering on the River Kennebeck, where they had carried on

or trade with the natives within the limits of their plantation, or attempt their detriment or annoyance." The original patent, signed by the Earl of Warwick, as President of the Council, is preserved in the office of the Recorder at Plymouth. It is written upon parchment, and has appended the Seal of the Plymouth Company.

* Hazard, i. 404.

† In 1639, after the termination of the Pequot war, Massasoit, who had then changed his name to Woosamequen, brought his son Mooanam to Plymouth, and desired that the league which he had formerly made might be renewed and made inviolable. The sachem and his son voluntarily promised, "for themselves, and their successors, that they would not needlessly nor unjustly raise any quarrels or do any wrong to other natives to provoke them to war against the colony; and that they would not give, sell, or convey any of their lands, territories, or possessions whatever, to any person or persons whomsoever, without the privity or consent of the government of Plymouth, other than to such as the said government should send or appoint. The whole court did then ratify and confirm the aforesaid league, and promise to the said Woosamequen, his son and successors, that they would defend them against all such as should unjustly rise up against them, to wrong or oppress them." Morton, 112, 113.

a traffic with the natives for furs, as they did also at Connecticut River, which was not equally beneficial, because they there had the Dutch for rivals.* The fur trade was found to be much more advantageous than the fishery. Sometimes they exchanged corn of their own growth for furs; but European coarse cloths, hardware, and ornaments, were good articles of trade, when they could command them.

The patent had been taken in the name of Mr. Bradford, in trust for the colony; and the event proved that their confidence was not misplaced. When the number of people was increased, and new townships were erected, the General Court, in 1640, requested that he would surrender the patent into their hands. To this he readily consented; and, by a written instrument, under his hand and seal, surrendered it to them, reserving for himself no more than his proportion, by previous agreement. This was done in open court, on the 2d March, 1640, and the patent was immediately replaced in his hands for safe keeping.†

While they were few in number, the whole body of associates or freemen assembled together for legislative, executive, and judicial business. In 1634, the governor

* The patent gave to the colonists at Plymouth, a tract of fifteen miles on each side of the Kennebeck. About the same time Mr. Shirley and others took out a patent for lands on the Penobscot, and sent out Edward Ashley, one of their number, to superintend their operations there. In this enterprise, those of Plymouth were induced, though reluctantly, to join, and a trading house was built. I Mass. Hist. Coll., iii. 70—74. Winthrop, i. 166. This establishment was soon after taken by the French, who retained it, in spite of all efforts to dislodge them, till 1654. The trade to the Kennebeck seems to have been quite profitable. "Our neighbors of Plymouth," says Governor Winthrop, (Journal, i. 138,) "had great trade this year (1634) at Kennebeck, so as Mr. Winslow carried with him to England about twenty hogsheads of beaver."

† Hazard, i. 468.

and assistants were constituted a Judicial Court, and afterwards the Supreme Judiciary of the Colony.* Petty offences, and actions of debt, trespass, and damage, not exceeding forty shillings, were tried by the selectmen of each town, with liberty of appeal to the next Court of Assistants. The first Assembly of Representatives was held in 1639, when four deputies were sent from Plymouth, and two from each of the other towns.

In 1649, Plymouth was restricted to the same number with the other towns. These deputies were chosen by the freemen; and none were admitted to the privilege of freemen but such as were twenty-one years of age, of sober and peaceable conversation, orthodox in the fundamentals of religion, and possessed of twenty pounds rateable estate.

By the former patent, the colony of Plymouth was empowered "to enact such laws as should most befit a state in its nonage, not rejecting or omitting to observe such of the laws of their native country as would conduce to their good."† In the second patent, the power of government was granted to William Bradford and his associates in the following terms.‡ "To frame and make orders, ordinances, and constitutions, as well for the better government of their affairs here [in England,] and the receiving or admitting any to his or their society, as also for the better government of his or their people at sea, in going thither or returning from thence; and the same to be put in execution by such officers and ministers as he or they shall authorize and depute; provided that the said laws be not repugnant to the laws of Eng-

* Plymouth Laws. † Preface to Plymouth Laws, by Secretary Morton.

‡ Hazard, i. 302.

land, or the frame of government by the said president and council hereafter to be established."

From the first planting of the colonies, a general government over the whole territory of New-England, had been a favourite object with the council which granted these several patents; but, after several attempts, it finally miscarried, to the no small joy of the planters, who were then at liberty to govern themselves.*

In June, 1635, the Council of Plymouth surrendered the Great Charter of New England to King Charles. The cry of monopoly had been raised in parliament against the council, and the high church party inflamed the growing prejudice, because the council had encouraged the settlement of those who had fled from persecution. This event created great apprehension in the colony, and we accordingly find, soon afterwards, that the people of New Plymouth met in a body, and drew up a Declaration of Rights, styled "The General Fundamentals," which was adopted on the 15th November, 1636. This Declaration was accompanied by a statement drawn up with signal ability, entitled "The Warrantable Grounds

* The first essay for the establishment of a general government was in 1623, when a ship commanded by Captain Francis West came to New Plymouth. West "had a commission to be Admiral of New England, to restrain interlopers, and such fishing ships as came to fish and trade without license"; but, finding the fishermen "stubborn fellows," he sailed away to Virginia. Prince, 137. These "stubborn fellows" complained to Parliament of this attempt to extort money from them, and finally procured an order that fishing should be free. Morton, 47. In September, 1623, a second attempt was made to establish a government over all the New England settlements. Capt. Robert Gorges, son of Sir Ferdinando, arrived with a commission to be "Governor-general of the country." Admiral West, Christopher Levit, and others, were of his Council. But, "finding the state of things not to answer to his quality and condition," he abandoned the enterprise, and early in 1624, returned to England. Morton, 52. Baylies, i. 125. Sir F. Gorges was appointed in 1637, governor-general of New England, but never entered upon the government. See Life of Gorges, in Belknap's Biog.

and Proceedings of the first Associates of New Plymouth, in their laying the first Foundation of this Government," which prefaces the printed Laws.

In the formation of the laws of New Plymouth, regard was had, "primarily and principally, to the ancient platform of God's law." For, though some parts of that system were peculiar to the circumstances of the sons of Jacob, yet, "the whole being grounded on principles of moral equity," it was the opinion of the first planters, not at Plymouth only, but in Massachusetts, New Haven, and Connecticut, that "all men, especially Christians, ought to have an eye to it in the framing of their political constitutions."* A secondary regard was had to the liberties granted to them by their sovereign, and the laws of England, which they supposed "any impartial person might discern, in the perusal of the book of the laws of the colony."

At first they had some doubt concerning their right to inflict capital punishment. A murder which happened in 1630, made it necessary to decide this question. It was decided by the divine law against shedding human blood, which was deemed indispensable. In 1636, their Code of Laws was revised, and capital crimes were enumerated and defined. In 1671, it was again revised, and the next year printed, with this title: "The Book of the General Laws of the Inhabitants of the Jurisdiction of New Plymouth;" a title very similar to the codes of Massachusetts and Connecticut, which were printed at the same time, by Samuel Green, at Cambridge.

The piety, wisdom, and integrity of Mr. Bradford were such prominent features in his character, that he

* Preface to Plymouth Laws.

was annually chosen governor as long as he lived, except during three years, when Mr. Winslow, and two years, when Mr. Prence, was chosen to that office; and even then Mr. Bradford was appointed the first or senior assistant, which gave him the rank of deputy-governor.

In the year 1624, the number of assistants was increased to five, and in 1633 to seven, the governor having a double vote. These augmentations were made at the earnest request of Governor Bradford, who also earnestly recommended a more frequent rotation in the office of governor. He repeatedly sought to be relieved from the office, but could obtain a release for no more than five in a period of thirty-five years, and never for more than two years in succession. His argument was, "that if it were any honor or benefit, others beside himself should partake of it; if it were a burden, others beside himself should help to bear it."* Notwithstanding the reasonableness and equity of his plea, the people had such a strong attachment to him, and confidence in him, that they could not be persuaded to leave him out of the government.

For the last twelve years of his life, Mr. Bradford was annually chosen without interruption, and served in the office of governor. His health continued good until the autumn of the year 1656, when it began to decline, and as the next spring advanced, he became weaker, but felt not any acute illness until the beginning of May.

On the 8th of that month, after great suffering at its close, he became so elevated with the idea of futurity, that

* Morton, p. 58. In 1632, a law was passed, imposing a penalty of £20, on any person who should refuse the office of governor, unless chosen two years in succession, and £10 upon any person who refused to serve as a magistrate or counsellor.

he exclaimed to his friends, in the following morning, "God has given me a pledge of my happiness in another world, and the first fruits of eternal glory!" The next day, being the ninth of May, 1657, he was removed from this world by death, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, to the great loss and grief of the people, not only of Plymouth, but the neighboring colonies, four of which he lived to see established, beside that of which he was one of the principal founders.*

In addition to what has been said of Governor Bradford's character, it may be observed that he was eminently a practical man, of a strong mind, a sound judgment, and a good memory. Though not favoured with a liberal education, he was much inclined to study and investigation. The French and Dutch languages were familiar to him, and he obtained a considerable knowledge of the Latin and Greek; but he more assiduously studied the Hebrew, "because," he said, "he would see with his own eyes the ancient oracles of God in their native beauty."†

He had read much of history and philosophy, but theology was his favorite study. He was able to manage the polemic part of it with much dexterity, and was particularly vigilant against the sectaries which infested the colonies, though by no means severe or intolerant, as long as they continued peaceable; wishing rather to foil them by argument, and guard the people against receiving their tenets, than to suppress them by violence, or cut them off by the sword of the magistracy. Mr. Hub-

* These four colonies were Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Haven and Rhode Island.

† Mather's Magnalia, b. ii. c. 1.

bard's character of him is, that he was "a person of great gravity and prudence, of sober principles, and, for one of that persuasion, (Brownists,) very pliable, gentle, and condescending."

Governor Bradford wrote "A History of Plymouth People and Colony," beginning with the first formation of the church in 1602, and ending in 1646. It was contained in a folio volume of 270 pages. Morton's Memorial is an abridgment of it. Prince and Hutchinson had the use of it, and the manuscript was carefully deposited, with Mr. Prince's valuable Collection of Papers, in the library of the Old South Church in Boston, which fell a sacrifice to the fury of the British army in the year 1775.* He also had a large book of copies of letters relative to the affairs of the colony, a fragment of which was, a few years ago, recovered by accident,† and published by the Historical Society of Massachusetts.‡ To this fragment is subjoined another, being a "Descriptive and Historical Account of New England," written in verse, which, if it be not graced with the charms of poetry, yet is a just and affecting narrative, intermixed with pious and useful reflections.

* "The most important part of this lost History, I have had the good fortune to recover. On a visit to Plymouth a few years since, I found in the Records of the First Church, a narrative, in the handwriting of Secretary Morton, which, on comparing it with the large extracts in Hutchinson and Prince, I recognized as the identical History of Governor Bradford; a fact put beyond all doubt by a marginal note of Morton, in which he says "*This was originally penned by Mr. William Bradford, governor of New Plymouth.*" This fact of the real authorship of the document seems to have escaped the observation of all who had preceded me in examining the records." Rev. A. Young, Pref. to Chronicles of the Pilgrims, published in 1841.

† This Letter Book was accidentally seen in a grocer's shop at Halifax, Nova Scotia, by James Clark, Esq., a corresponding member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and by him transmitted to Boston.

‡ I Mass. Hist. Coll., iii. 27—76.

In Morton's Memorial, 144, are preserved "Certain Verses, left by Governor Bradford, declaring the gracious dispensation of God's Providence towards him in the time of his Life, and his preparation and fittedness for Death." They may be of interest to the curious in such matters:

"From my years young in dayes of Youth,
God did make known to me his Truth,
And call'd me from my Native place
For to enjoy the Means of Grace.
In Wilderness he did me guide,
And in strange Lands for me provide.
In Fears and Wants, through Weal and Woe,
As Pilgrim pass'd I to and fro;
Oft left of them whom I did trust—
How vain it is to rest on Dust!
A Man of Sorrows I have been,
And many Changes I have seen.
Wars, Wants, Peace, Plenty, have I known;
And some advanc'd, others thrown down.
The humble, poor, cheerful, and glad,
Rich, discontent, sower and sad:
When Fears with Sorrows have been mixt,
Consolations came betwixt.
Faint not, poor Soul, in God still trust,
Fear not the things thou suffer must;
For whom he loves, he doth chastise,
And then all Tears wipes from their eyes.
Farewell, dear Children, whom I love,
Your better Father is above:
When I am gone, he can supply;
To him I leave you when I dye.
Fear him in Truth, walk in his Wayes,
And he will bless you all your dayes.
My days are spent, Old Age is come,
My Strength it fails, my Glass near run;
Now I will wait, when work is done,
Until my happy Change shall come,
When from my labors I shall rest
With Christ above, for to be blest."

Of a like strain are the lines referred to in the following extract from Gov. Bradford's will: "I commend unto your wisdom and discretion, some small bookes written by

my own hand, to be improved as you shall see meet. In special, I commend to you a little booke with a blacke cover, wherein there is A Word to Plymouth, A Word to Boston, and a Word to New England, with sundry useful verses."*

Besides these, he wrote, as Dr. Mather says, "some significant things, for the confutation of the errors of the time, by which it appears that he was a person of a good temper, and free from that rigid spirit of separation which broke the Separatists to pieces."

Young, in his Chronicles of the Pilgrims, supposes that the invaluable historical work, usually cited as Mourt's Relation, printed in 1622, and containing a minute diary of events from the arrival of the Mayflower at Cape Cod, Nov. 9, 1620, to the return of the Fortune, Dec. 11, 1621—was in fact the production of Bradford and Winslow, chiefly of the former. Young has also published in his Chronicles, copied from the Plymouth Church Records, into which it was transcribed by Secretary Morton, "A Dialogue, or the Sum of a Conference between some Young Men, born in New England, and sundry Ancient Men, that came out of Holland and Old England, anno domini, 1648." It is an interesting document, and is probably one of those "significant" papers above referred to by Cotton Mather.†

In his executive office, Governor Bradford was prudent, temperate, and firm. He would suffer no person to trample on the laws, or disturb the peace. During his administration, there were frequent accessions of

* These verses, published from the original MS., may be found in III Mass. Hist. Coll., vii. 37.

† See Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims, 7, 113, 115, 409.

new inhabitants, some of whom were at first refractory, but his wisdom and fortitude obliged them to pay a decent respect to the laws and customs of the country. One particular instance is mentioned. A company of young men, newly arrived, were very unwilling to comply with the governor's order for working on the public account. On a Christmas day, they excused themselves under the pretence, "that it was against their consciences to work." The governor gave them no other answer, than that he would let them alone till they should be better informed. In the course of the day, he found them at play in the street, and, commanding the instruments of their game to be taken from them, he told them that it was against his conscience to suffer them to play, while others were at work, and that, if they had any religious regard for the day, they should show it in the exercise of devotion at home. This gentle reproof had the desired effect, and prevented the necessity of a repetition.

The first offence punished in the colony, was that of John Billington, who was charged with contempt of the captain's lawful commands, while on board the Mayflower. He was tried by the whole company, and was sentenced to have his neck and heels tied together; but on humbling himself, and craving pardon, he was released. This same Billington, however, in 1630, waylaid and murdered one John Newcomen, for some affront, and was tried and executed in October of that year. Governor Bradford says—"We took all due means about his trial; he was found guilty, both by grand and petit jury; and we took advice of Mr. Winthrop and others, the ablest gentlemen in the Massachusetts Bay, who all con-

curred with us, that he ought to die, and the land be purged from blood."*

* A prior execution for felony, took place at Wessagusset, (Weymouth,) in 1622. This rival settlement, which was commenced at that place under the auspices of Thomas Weston, a London merchant, was composed in part of outcasts and profligates, who being soon reduced to a state of starvation, commenced thieving among the Indians. The natives complained to the governor of Plymouth, and at length became so exasperated by repeated outrages, that the authorities were obliged to interfere in earnest, to appease the Indians; and one of the most notorious offenders was arrested and hung. A waggish report became current soon after, that the real offender was spared, and that a poor decrepid old man, who could no longer be of service to the colony, was hung in his stead! "Upon this story," says Hubbard, "the merry gentleman that wrote the poem called *Hudibras*, did, in his poetical fancy, make so much sport."

"Though nice and dark the point appear,
(Quoth Ralph,) it may hold up, and clear.
That *Sinners* may supply the place
Of suffering *Saints*, is a plain *Case*.
Justice gives Sentence, many times,
On one Man for another's crimes.
Our Brethren of New-England use
Choice Malefactors to excuse,
And *hang* the Guiltless in their stead,
Of whom the *Churches* have less need:
As lately 't happened: In a town
There lived a *Cobbler*, and but one,
That out of Doctrine could cut, *Use*,
And mend Men's *Lives*, as well as Shoes.
This precious Brother having slain
In time of *Peace*, an Indian,
(Not out of Malice, but mere Zeal,
Because he was an infidel,)
The mighty *Tottipottymoy*
Sent to our *Elders* an *Envoy*,
Complaining sorely of the Breach
Of League, held forth by brother *Patch*,
Against the *Articles* in force,
Between both churches, his and ours;
For which he craved the *Saints* to render
Into his Hands, or hang th' Offender:
But they, maturely having weigh'd,
They had no more but him o' th' trade;
(A Man that served them in a double
Capacity, to *Teach* and Cobble,)
Resolv'd to spare him; yet to do
The *Indian Hoghan Moghan*, too,
Impartial Justice, in his stead, did
Hang an Old Weaver that was bedrid."

Vide Hudibras, Part II., canto 2.

The story is here most ridiculously caricatured, as a slur upon the churches of New England. Neal says, "that he [Weston] obtained a patent under *pretence* of propagating the discipline of the Church of England in America." Hist. N. E., ch. iii. p. 102. But it does not appear that the people of Weston's plantation had any church at all; they were a set of needy adventurers, intent only on gaining a subsistence.

Hubbard seriously undertakes to contradict the story, and yet does so with a qualification, that would not have deprived the poet of an illusion so congenial to his purpose; for he admits that "it is possible, that justice might be executed, not on him that most deserved it, but on him that could best be spared, or who was not likely to live long, if he had been let alone." Davis' Morton. This story was first put in circulation by Thomas Morton, author of the "New English Canaan;" but he mentions the fact only as a proposal, which was not agreed to, and adds, that the guilty man, in fact, was the one who was finally executed. See New English Canaan, p. 74, in Force's Historical Tracts, vol. 2.

The first duel and second offence that took place in the colony, was between two servants of Stephen Hopkins. They fought with sword and dagger, and were both slightly wounded.—They were arraigned for the offence, on the 18th June, 1621, before the governor and company for trial, and were sentenced to have their heads and feet tied together, and to remain in that position for twenty-four hours. After an hour's endurance of this novel punishment, these men of valour begged for a release, and the governor set them at liberty.

His conduct towards intruders and false friends was equally moderate, but firm and decisive. John Lyford had imposed himself upon the colony as a minister of the gospel, having been recommended by some of the adventurers in England. At first his behaviour was plausible, and he was treated with respect; but it was not long before he began, in concert with John Oldham, to organize a faction. Governor Bradford's suspicions of these men were first aroused by the marked servility of their conduct. He had admitted them to the councils of the colony, and treated them with high consideration, while they were plotting mischief, and concocting falsehoods against the government. Governor Bradford, narrowly watching their proceedings, at the very moment when they had got their letters on board a vessel just ready to sail, and, as they supposed, had successfully arranged the scheme which was to place them at the head of affairs in the colony—took the decisive step which exposed their perfidy. He followed the ship to sea in a boat, and by favor of the master, who was a friend of the colony, he intercepted their letters, and, on opening, found them filled with the most base and calumnious

charges against both church and state in the new colony. These men, unaware of the secret in possession of the governor, soon began to put on new airs. Lyford, in open defiance of the authorities, set up a separate meeting on the Sabbath, and undertook to administer the sacrament. Oldham became obstreperous—derided the existing magistrates—and when summoned to take his turn at the customary military watch, he insolently refused compliance, and, getting into some dispute with Capt. Standish, drew his knife upon him. For this outrage, Oldham was immediately seized and placed in confinement.

Governor Bradford now summoned a court of the whole body of freemen, to consider the conduct of these offenders. He charged Lyford and Oldham with plotting the overthrow of the colony, and with having sent home the most cruel and unmanly accusations against rulers and people. They boldly denied the charge, and demanded the proof. Governor Bradford then rose and addressed them, before the assembly, on the origin and objects of the pilgrims in coming to the New World—adverting with emphasis and feeling to the perfidy of those, who, having since arrived and shared the hospitality and privileges of the little community, were now engaged in plotting their destruction. Lyford persisted in denying the charge. On this, the governor, who could refrain no longer, produced the letters, which established the overwhelming truth of the accusations he had made. The offenders were forthwith tried, convicted, made a full confession of their misconduct, and were expelled the plantation. After much importunity, Lyford was allowed six months for probation; but his pretences

proved hypocritical, and he was ultimately obliged to depart. After several removals, he died in Virginia.*

Oldham having returned after banishment, his second expulsion was conducted in this singular manner: "A guard of musketeers was appointed, through which he was obliged to pass; every one was ordered to give him a blow on the hinder parts with the butt end of his musket; then he was conveyed to the water side, where a boat was ready to carry him away, with this farewell, *Go, and mend your manners.*" This discipline had a good effect on him; he made his submission, and was afterwards freely allowed to come and go on trading voyages.†

* This man came to New England in 1624. Bradford says he was "sent by a faction of the adventurers to hinder Mr. Robinson." Prince, 148. Mr. Cushman, in a letter dated at London, January 24th, speaks of him as "a preacher, though not the most eminent, for whose going Mr. Winslow and I gave way, to give content to some at London." Complaint having been made in England of the proceedings against Lyford, Mr. Winslow made such disclosures of his conduct while in Ireland, "for which he had been forced to leave that kingdom, as struck all his friends mute." Prince, 153. He was finally condemned by the adventurers as unfit for the ministry. He went from Plymouth to Nantasket, thence to Cape Ann, and afterwards to Virginia, where he died.

† Morton, 59. It cannot be doubted that the faults of Oldham were somewhat exaggerated. The accounts given by Bradford and others, shew that he had rendered himself very obnoxious. He is represented to have been a man of enterprise and courage, but of an ungovernable temper. Savage, in a note to Winthrop, i. 80, says he was probably "less disposed to overlook this world, in his regard for the next, than most of his neighbors." He went to Nantasket, where he remained until his sentence of banishment was in effect remitted. And we find that he was so far restored to the affections of the first colonists, as to be entrusted with their letters to England, in June, 1628, when Thomas Morton was sent home a prisoner. I Mass. Hist. Coll., iii. 63. After the settlement of Massachusetts, Oldham removed to Watertown, and was till his death held in high respect by a people whose standard of morals was graduated by a more rigid rule than that of their Plymouth neighbors, and who subjected the characters of men to severer tests than were practised in the elder colony. Oldham was the deputy from Watertown in 1632, in the first general court of Massachusetts, to which deputies from the towns were summoned. He was a daring trader amongst the Indians, and so great was the attachment of the Narragansetts to him, that they gave him an island in the bay, (now called

Governor Bradford was twice married. His first wife was Dorothy May, who came with him in the Mayflower, and on the 7th of December, 1620, accidentally fell from the vessel into the sea, and was drowned. By her Mr. Bradford had one son, John, who lived at Duxbury in 1662, and of whom there is only the traditionary account, that he perished at sea.

The maiden name of Governor Bradford's second wife, was Alice Carpenter, a lady of extraordinary capacity and worth. It is said that an early attachment existed between Mr. Bradford and this lady, and that their marriage was prevented by her parents, on account of his inferior circumstances and rank. Being now a widower, Governor Bradford, by letters to England, made overtures of marriage to Mrs. Southworth, who was then a widow. She accepted his proposal, and with a generous resolution, she embarked in 1623, to meet her intended partner,—knowing that he could not well leave his responsible station in the new settlement. Her two sons, Thomas and Constant Southworth, the younger of whom was only six years of age, came over with her, and she brought a handsome estate into the country. Her marriage with Governor Bradford took place on the 14th of August, 1623. She died in March, 1670, aged 80 years. Their children were,

1. William, born 17th June, 1624, who was representative in 1657, assistant in 1658, and deputy governor of Plymouth colony for many years. He was chief military commander, with the title of major, and was an

Prudence) to induce him to settle near them. Sometime after, while on a trading voyage to Manisses, (Block Island,) he was killed in a quarrel with the Indians, which act was one of the causes of the Pequot war. Baylies, i. 133.

active officer in Philip's war. He was one of the council of Andros, in 1687. He was thrice married. His first wife was Alice Richards, who died in 1671, at the age of 44, by whom he had four sons, John, William, Thomas, and Samuel. His second wife was a Wiswell, by whom he had one son, Joseph, who removed to Connecticut. His third wife was Mrs. Mary Holmes, widow of Rev. John Holmes, of Duxbury, by whom he had four sons, Israel, Ephraim, David, and Hezekiah. She died the year after Major Bradford. By his will, it appears that he left nine sons and six daughters—a noble legacy for a new territory.

2. Mercy, the only daughter of Governor Bradford, married Benjamin Vermaes, of whom I find no other notice than that he was admitted a freeman, 18th of May, 1642.

3. Joseph, who married a daughter of the Rev. Peter Hobart, of Hingham, lived near Jones' River in Plymouth, and died 10th July, 1715, in the 85th year of his age, leaving one son by the name of Elisha. A grand-daughter of his married a Mr. Waters, of Sharon, and one of her descendants, Asa Waters, of Stoughton, Massachusetts, possesses the Governor's family Bible, printed in 1592, which contains a written list of the family of Elisha Bradford, son of Joseph, and grandson of Governor Bradford.

Thomas Southworth, step-son of Governor Bradford, was chosen an assistant in 1652, was one of the commissioners of the United Colonies in 1659, 1662, and 1664. He died at Plymouth, 8 Nov. 1669, aged 53. He married his cousin Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. John Reyner, the minister of Plymouth.

Constant Southworth, the other step-son of Governor Bradford, was the elder of the two brothers, although the younger took precedence in public employment. He married a daughter of William Collier, of Plymouth, in 1637. He was a deputy from Duxbury, in 1649, and in several other years; treasurer of the colony from 1659 to 1678, and often one of the assistants. In the early part of Philip's war, he was commissary-general, and accompanied the army. The famous warrior Church was his son-in-law. He died at Duxbury, in 1678.

The name of Bradford, has long been distinguished in the annals of New England. Samuel Bradford, the third son of William, and grandson of Governor Bradford, settled at Duxbury. He had three sons, Perez, Gershom, and Gamaliel. Gamaliel was a colonel of militia, representative, a counsellor from 1763 to 1771, and for many years judge of the common pleas for the county of Plymouth. His second son, Gamaliel, was a captain in the French wars under Shirley and Pepperell, and a colonel in the continental army from 1776 to 1783. He was the father of the Hon. Alden Bradford, late Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and author of some highly valuable publications illustrating the history of New England. Alden Bradford, LL. D. was born at Duxbury, in 1765. He graduated at Harvard College, in 1786, and was Tutor in that institution three years. He then studied theology, and in 1793, was settled in the ministry at Wiscasset, Maine. In September, 1801, his health failing, he was compelled to resign his charge, and he returned to Massachusetts. He was soon after appointed Clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court, which office he held for ten years. He was

elected Secretary of the Commonwealth, in 1812, and continued in that office until 1824. He died in Boston, on the 26th October, 1843, aged 78.

John, the eldest son of the deputy governor, is frequently mentioned in the Plymouth records, as selectman and on various committees; and in 1692, he was deputy, or representative from Plymouth to the general court. He married Mercy Warren, daughter of Joseph Warren. Their children were John, Alice, Abigail, Mercy, Samuel, Priscilla, and William. He died December 8th, 1736, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. Mercy, his widow, died 1747, in her ninety-fourth year. Lieut. Samuel Bradford, son of the first mentioned John Bradford, married Sarah Gray, daughter of Edward Gray of Tiverton, Rhode Island, and grand-daughter of Edward Gray of Plymouth. Their issue were John, Gideon, William, who died young, Mary, Sarah, William, Mercy, who died young, Abigail, Phebe, and Samuel. The aforesaid Lieut. Samuel Bradford, lived and died in Plympton, 1740, aged fifty-six years. His widow married William Hunt, of Martha's Vineyard, and died in 1770. The Hon. William Bradford, late of Bristol, Rhode Island, was a son of the above Samuel Bradford. He was born at Plympton, Nov. 4th, 1729, and died 6th July, 1808. In the revolutionary contest, he took a decided part in favour of the rights of the colonies. In the cannonade of Bristol, on the evening of Oct. 7, 1775, by the British vessels of war, the Rose, Glasgow, and Swan, he went on board the Rose, and negotiated for the inhabitants. About this time, his own house was destroyed by the enemy. He was afterwards deputy governor of Rhode Island, speaker of the house of representa-

tives, and a senator in Congress. His eldest son, Major William Bradford, was aid to Gen. Charles Lee, of the revolutionary army. His residence was near the celebrated Mount Hope, and the story of King Philip, the aboriginal proprietor, was familiar to his mind. His descendants are numerous.

Dr. Dwight, after visiting the old cemetery upon Burial Hill in Plymouth, in 1800, and finding there no monument marking the resting-places of Governors Bradford and Carver, and no grave-stone of an earlier date than 1681, laments that the precise spot where either was buried cannot be ascertained. The grave of Carver remains without a monument; but over the spot where Bradford is supposed to have been buried, a suitable monument was erected in May, 1825, by some of his worthy descendants.

Among the puritan relics which have been preserved, and are now regarded as objects of great curiosity, are several antique arm chairs; one belonging to Governor Winslow, and preserved in the Hall of the Massachusetts Historical Society at Boston, a second belonging to Governor Carver, and a third belonging to Elder Brewster, preserved in Pilgrim Hall at Plymouth, and the fourth belonging to Governor Bradford. Of the three first, engravings are given by Young in the Chronicles of the Pilgrims. Governor Bradford's chair was used by the presiding officer of the Old Colony Club, established at Plymouth, in 1769. It reverted to the heirs of Dr. L. Le Baron, on the dissolution of the Club, and is now preserved by the family of N. Russell, Esq., of Plymouth.

III. EDWARD WINSLOW.

THIS eminently useful person was the eldest son of a gentleman of the same name, of Droitwich, in Worcestershire, England, where he was born on the 19th October, 1595.* Of his education and first appearance in life, we have no certain knowledge. He appears, however, to have been an educated and accomplished man. In the course of his travels on the continent of Europe, he went to Leyden, and there became acquainted with Mr. Robinson, and the church under his pastoral charge. To this church he joined himself as early as the year 1617; married about the same time, and settled in that city, where he remained until the church had decided upon a removal to America. He resolved to share their fortunes, and accordingly came hither with the first company of emigrants in 1620. His name is the third on the list of those who subscribed the Covenant or voluntary compact, before their disembarcation at Cape Cod. He was one of those who, in the little shallop or pinnace, made the adventurous and perilous examinations of the coast and bay of the Cape, and one of the first who came on shore, to seek out the most eligible place for founding a settlement in this then wild and unknown land. In all the initiatory labours for establishing their little colony, the nucleus of a great nation, he was ever active and influential. Possessing a sound and well disciplined

* Extract from the records of St. Peter's church at Droitwich: "1595, Oct. 20, baptized Edward, son of Edward Winslow, born the previous Friday"—which was the 19th. His mother's name was Magdalen, surname unknown, and she was married 3 Nov. 1594.—Young's Chron. 274.

mind, a pious heart, and a happy address, he was eminently useful, in mitigating the sufferings, and promoting the welfare of the pilgrims; who, either on account of the respectability of his family, or the excellent qualities of his mind and heart, appear to have regarded him with more than ordinary respect, and with a confidence which was certainly never misplaced.

When the great sachem of the Wampanoags, Massasoit, first made his appearance, and through a messenger invited an interview with the settlers, Mr. Winslow was deputed by Governor Carver to meet him; and he voluntarily placed himself as a hostage in the hands of the Indians, while their chief, Massasoit, held his conference with the Governor.*

When Mr. Winslow arrived, his family consisted of his wife Elizabeth, and three other persons. His wife died on the 24th of March, 1621,† and on the 12th of May following he married Susanna, the widow of William White, and mother of Peregrine, the first English child born in New England. This was the first marriage solemnized in the colony.‡

In July,§ 1621, Mr. Winslow went, in company with Stephen Hopkins, to visit the sachem Massasoit at Pokanoket. The design of this visit is related in Bradford's life.¶ The particular circumstances of the visit

* See an account of this first interview, and the treaty between the English and the Indians of New Plymouth, in the life of Carver, page 44, ante.

† Bradford, in Prince, 103.

‡ Bradford, in Prince, 105. See note p. 31, of this volume.

§ Morton says, "The *second* of *July* this year (1621,) they sent Mr. Edward Winslow and Mr. Stephen Hopkins unto the great sachem, Massasoit, with a gratuity, to congratulate with him," &c.—Memorial, p. 31.

¶ See Life of Bradford, p. 55, ante.

may be properly detailed here, in the very words of the original narrative, supposed to have been written by Winslow.

"We set forward the 10th of June,* about nine o'clock in the morning, our guide [Tisquantum] resolving that night to rest at Namaschet,† a town under Massasoyt, and conceived by us to be very near, because the inhabitants flocked so thick upon every slight occasion amongst us; but we found it to be some fifteen English miles. On the way we found some ten or twelve men, women, and children, which had pestered us till we were weary of them; perceiving that (as the manner of them all is) where victual is easiest to be got, there they live, especially in the summer; by reason whereof, our bay affording many lobsters, they resort every spring-tide thither, and now returned with us to Namaschet. Thither we came about three o'clock in the afternoon, the inhabitants entertaining us with joy, in the best manner they could, giving us a kind of bread, called by them Mazium, and the spawn of shads, which then they got in abundance, insomuch as they gave us spoons to eat them; with these they boiled musty acorns, but of the shads we eat heartily. After this they desired one of our men to shoot at a crow, complaining what damage they sustained in their corn by them; who shooting some four-score off, and killing, they much admired at it, as other shots on other occasions.

"After this, Tisquantum told us we should hardly in one day reach Packanokick,‡ moving us to go some

* Mr. Prince thinks this is a mistake, and that it ought to have been the 3d of July. Prince, 105.

† Part of Middleborough, Mass.

‡ The same with Pokanoket. Indians words are spelled differently by different writers. I here follow the author from whom I copy.

eight miles further, where we should find more store and better victuals than there. Being willing to hasten our journey, we went, and came thither at sunsetting, where we found many of the Namascheucks, (they so calling the men of Namaschet,) fishing upon a ware which they had made on a river* which belonged to them, where they caught abundance of bass. These welcomed us also, gave us of their fish, and we them of our victuals, not doubting but we should have enough wher-e'er we came. There we lodged in the open fields, for houses they had none, though they spent the most of the summer there. The head of this river is reported to be not far from the place of our abode; upon it are and have been many towns, it being a good length. The ground is very good on both sides, it being for the most part cleared. Thousands of men have lived there, which died in a great plague not long since; and pity it was and is to see so many goodly fields and so well seated without men to dress and manure the same.

"The next morning we brake our fast, took our leave and departed, being then accompanied with some six salvages. Having gone about six miles by the river's side, at a known shoal place, it being low water, they spake to us to put off our breeches, for we must wade through. Here let me not forget the valour and courage of some of the salvages on the opposite side of the river; for there were remaining alive only two men, both aged. These two, espying a company of men entering the river, ran very swiftly, and low in the grass, to meet us at the bank, where, with shrill voices and great courage, standing charged upon us with their bows, they demanded

* Taunton River.

what we were, supposing us to be enemies, and thinking to take advantage of us in the water; but, seeing we were friends, they welcomed us with such food as they had, and we bestowed a small bracelet of beads on them. Thus far we are sure the tide ebbs and flows.

"Having here again refreshed ourselves, we proceeded in our journey, the weather being very hot for travel, yet the country so well watered that a man could scarce be dry, but he should have a spring at hand to cool his thirst, besides small rivers in abundance. The salvages will not willingly drink but at a spring-head. When we came to any small brook where no bridge was, two of them desired to carry us through of their own accords; also, fearing we were or would be weary, offered to carry our pieces [guns]; also, if we would lay off any of our clothes, we should have them carried; and as the one of them had found more special kindness from one of the messengers, and the other salvage from the other, so they showed their thankfulness accordingly in affording us all help and furtherance in the journey.

"As we passed along, we observed that there were few places by the river but had been inhabited, by reason whereof much ground was clear, save of weeds, which grew higher than our heads. There is much good timber, both oak, walnut tree, fir, beech, and exceeding great chestnut-trees.

"After we came to a town of Massasoyt's, where we eat oysters and other fish. From thence we went to Packanokick, but Massasoyt was not at home. There we stayed, he being sent for. When news was brought of his coming, our guide, Tisquantum, requested that at our meeting we should discharge our pieces. But one of

us going about to charge his piece, the women and children, through fear, to see him take up his piece, ran away, and could not be pacified till he laid it down again, who afterward were better informed by our interpreter.

"Massasoyt being come, we discharged our pieces and saluted him, who, after their manner, kindly welcomed us, and took us into his house, and set us down by him, where, having delivered our message and presents, and having put the coat on his back and the chain about his neck, he was not a little proud to behold himself, and his men also to see their king, so bravely attired.

"For answer to our message, he told us we were welcome, and he would gladly continue that peace and friendship which was between him and us; and for his men, they should no more pester us as they had done; also, that he would send to Paomet, and would help us with corn for seed, according to our request.

"This being done, his men gathered near to him, to whom he turned himself and made a great speech; they sometimes interposing, and, as it were, confirming and applauding him in that he said. The meaning whereof was (as far as we could learn) thus: Was not he, Massasoyt, commander of the country about them? Was not such a town his, and the people of it? And should not they bring their skins unto us? To which they answered, they were his, and would be at peace with us, and bring their skins to us. After this manner, he named at least thirty places; and their answer was as aforesaid to every one; so that, as it was delightful, it was tedious unto us.

"This being ended, he lighted tobacco for us, and fell to discoursing of England and of the King's Majesty, mar-

velling that he would live without a wife. Also he talked of the Frenchmen, bidding us not to suffer them to come to Narroghiganset, for it was King James's country, and he also was King James's man. Late it grew, but victuals he offered none; for, indeed, he had not any, being he came so newly home. So we desired to go to rest. He laid us on the bed with himself and his wife; they at the one end, and we at the other; it being only planks, laid a foot from the ground, and a thin mat upon them. Two more of his chief men, for want of room, pressed by and upon us, so that we were worse weary of our lodging than of our journey.

"The next day, being Thursday, many of their sachims or petty governors came to see us, and many of their men also. There they went to their manner of games for skins and knives. There we challenged them to shoot with them for skins, but they durst not, only they desired to see one of us shoot at a mark; who, shooting with hail-shot, they wondered to see the mark so full of holes.

"About one o'clock Massasoyt brought two fishes that he had shot; they were like bream, but three times so big, and better meat. [Probably the fish called Tataug.] These being boiled, there were at least forty looked for share in them; the most eat of them. This meal only we had in two nights and a day; and had not one of us bought a partridge, we had taken our journey fasting. Very importunate he was to have us stay with him longer; but we desired to keep the Sabbath at home, and feared we should either be light-headed for want of sleep; for what with bad lodging, the savages' barbarous singing, (for they use to sing themselves asleep,)

lice, and fleas within doors, and mosquitoes without, we could hardly sleep all the time of our being there; we much fearing that, if we should stay any longer, we should not be able to recover home for want of strength.

"On Friday morning, before sunrising, we took our leave and departed, Massasoyt being both grieved and ashamed that he could no better entertain us; and retaining Tisquantum to send from place to place to procure truck for us, and appointed another [guide], Tokamahamon, in his place, whom we had found faithful before and after upon all occasions."

This narrative gives us a just idea of the hospitality, and also of the poverty of the Indians. They gladly entertain strangers, with the best they can afford; but it is familiar to them to endure long abstinence. Those who visit them must be content to fare as they do, or carry their own provisions and be willing to share it with them.

Mr. Winslow's next excursion was by sea to Monahigon (or, as the name is now written, Monhegon,) an island a few leagues east of the mouth of the Kennebeck river, to procure a supply of bread from the fishing vessels, which resorted to the eastern coast in the spring of 1622. He obtained a supply, which, though not large, was readily given to the suffering colony, and, being prudently managed in the distribution, amounted to one quarter of a pound a day for each person till the next harvest. By means of this excursion, the people of New Plymouth obtained a knowledge of the eastern coast, of which they afterwards availed themselves in the establishment of a beneficial traffic with the natives.*

* Prince, 119. Purchas, iv. 1836.

In the spring of the following year, (1623,) Mr. Winslow made a second visit to Massasoit, on account of his sickness,* the particular circumstances of which are thus given in his own words:†

"News came to Plymouth that Massassowat‡ was like to die, and that, at the same time, there was a Dutch ship driven so high on the shore, by stress of weather, right before his dwelling, that, till the tides increased, she could not be got off. Now it being a commendable manner of the Indians, when any, especially of note, are dangerously sick, for all that profess friendship to them to visit them in their extremity, 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 we had ever professed friendship, so we should now maintain the same by observing this their laudable custom; and the rather, because we desired to have some conference with the Dutch, not knowing when we should have so fit an opportunity.

"To that end, myself having formerly been there, and understanding in some measure the Dutch tongue, the governor [Bradford] again laid this service upon myself, and fitted me with some cordials to administer to him; having one Master John Hampden,§ a gentleman of London, who then wintered with us, and desired much to see the country, for my consort, and Hobbamock for our guide. So we set forward, and lodged the first night at Namasket, where we had friendly entertainment.

* This visit was in March. Prince, 129.

† From the copy of Winslow's "Good Newes from New England," reprinted in Young's Chronicles of the Pilgrims.

‡ Thus spelled in Winslow's narrative.

§ See note, page 64, ante.

"The next day, about one of the clock, we came to a ferry in Conbatant's* country, where, upon discharge of my piece, divers Indians came to us from a house not far off. They told us that Massassowat was dead and that day buried, and that the Dutch would be gone before we could get thither, having hove off their ship already. This news struck us blank, but especially Hobbamock, who desired we might return with all speed. I told him I would first think of it, considering now, that he being dead, Conbatant was the most like to succeed him, and that we were not above three miles from Mattapuyst,† his dwelling-place. Although he were but a hollow-hearted friend towards us, I thought no time so fit as this to enter into more friendly terms with him and the rest of the sachims thereabout; hoping, through the blessing of God, it would be a means in that unsettled state, to settle their affections towards us; and though it were somewhat dangerous, in respect of our personal safety, because myself and Hobbamock had been employed upon a service against him, which he might now fitly revenge; yet esteeming it the best means, leaving the event to God in his mercy, I resolved to put it in practice, if Master Hampden and Hobbamock durst attempt it with me, whom I found willing to that or any other course might tend to the general good. So we went towards Mattapuyst.

"In the way, Hobbamock, manifesting a troubled spirit, brake forth into these speeches. '*Neen womasu Sagimus*,' &c.: 'My loving sachem! many have I known,

* His name is spelled Corbitant, Caunbitant, Conbatant, and Conbutant. This ferry is probably the same which is now called Slade's Ferry, in Swansey.

† A neck of land in the township of Swansey, commonly pronounced Mattapoiset.

but never any like thee!' And turning to him, said, whilst I lived, I should never see his like amongst the Indians; saying he was no liar, he was not bloody and cruel like other Indians; in anger and passion he was soon reclaimed; easy to be reconciled towards such as had offended him; ruled by reason, in such measure as he would not scorn the advice of mean men; and that he governed his men better with few strokes than others did with many; truly loving where he loved; yea, he feared we had not a faithful friend left among the Indians, showing how he oftimes restrained their malice &c., continuing a long speech, with such signs of lamentation and unfeigned sorrow, as it would have made the hardest heart relent.

"At length we came to Mattapuyst, and went to the *Sachimo comaco*, for so they call the sachim's place, though they call an ordinary house *witeo;* but Conbatant, the sachim, was not at home, but at Puckanokick, which was some five or six miles off. The squa-sachim, for so they call the sachim's wife, gave us friendly entertainment. Here we inquired again concerning Massassowat; they thought him dead, but knew no certainty. Whereupon I hired one to go with all expedition to Puckanokick, that we might know the certainty thereof, and, withal, to acquaint Conbatant with our there being. About half an hour before sunsetting the messenger returned, and told us he was not yet dead, though there was no hope we should find him living. Upon this we were much revived, and set forward with all speed, though it was late within night we got thither. About two of the clock that afternoon, the Dutchman departed; so that in that respect our journey was frustrate.

"When we came thither, we found the house so full of men as we could scarce get in, though they used their best diligence to make way for us. There were they in the midst of their charms for him, making such a hellish noise, as it distempered us that were well, and therefore unlike to ease him that was sick. About him were six or eight women, who chafed his arms, legs, and thighs, to keep 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. Having understanding 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.) He desired to speak with me. When I came to him and they told him of it, he put forth his hand to me, which I took; then he said twice, though very inwardly, '*Keen Winsnow?*' 'art thou Winslow?' I answered '*ahhe*,' that is, 'yes.' Then he doubled these words, '*Matta neen wonckanet namen, Winsnow!*' that is to say, 'O Winslow, I shall never see thee again!' Then I called Hobbamock, and desired him to tell Massassowat that the governor, hearing of his sickness was sorry for the same; and though, by reason of many businesses, he could not come himself, yet he sent me, with such things for him as he thought most likely to do him good in this his extremity; and whereof, if he please to take, I would presently give him; which he desired; and, having a confection of many comfortable conserves, &c. on the point of my knife, I gave him some, which I could scarce get through his teeth. When it was dissolved in his mouth, he swallowed the juice of it, whereat those that were about him much rejoiced, saying he had not

swallowed any thing in two days before. Then I desired to see his mouth, which was exceedingly furred, and his tongue swelled in such a manner, as it was not possible for him to eat such meat as they had. Then I washed his mouth, and scraped his tongue, after which I gave him more of the confection, which he swallowed with more readiness. Then, he desiring to drink, I dissolved some of it in water, and gave him thereof. Within half an hour this wrought a great alteration in him, in the eyes of all that beheld him: Presently after his sight began to come to him. Then I gave him more, and told him of a mishap we had by the way, in breaking a bottle of drink which the governor 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 return of his messenger if he desired. This he took marvellous kindly, and appointed some who were ready to go by two of the clock in the morning, against which time I made ready a letter, declaring therein our good success, and desiring such things as were proper. He requested me that the day following I would take my piece and kill him some fowl, and make him some English pottage, such as he had eaten at Plymouth, which I promised; after his stomach coming to him, I must needs make him some without fowl before I went abroad. I caused a woman to bruise some corn and take the flower from it, and set over the grit or broken corn in a pipkin (for they have earthen pots of all sizes.) When the day broke, we went out, it being now March, to seek herbs, but could not find any but strawberry leaves, of which I gathered

a handful and put into the same, and, because I had nothing to relish it, I went forth again and pulled up a sassafras root, and sliced a piece thereof and boiled it, till it had a good relish. Of this broth I gave him a pint, which he drank and liked it very well; after this his sight mended, more and more, and he took some rest. That morning he caused me to spend in going from one to another amongst those that were sick in the town, requesting me to wash their mouths also and give to each of them some of the same I gave him, saying they were good folk. This pains I took with willingness, though it were much offensive to me.

"The messengers were now returned, but finding his stomach come to him, he would not have the chickens killed, but kept them for breed. Neither durst we give him any physic, because his body was so much altered, not doubting now of his recovery if he were careful. Upon his recovery, he brake forth into these speeches: 'Now I see the English are my friends, and love me; and whilst I live, I will never forget this kindness they have showed me.' At our coming away, he called Hobbamock to him, and privately revealed the plot of the Massacheuseucks against Master Weston's colony, and so against us. But he would neither join therein nor give way to any of his. With this he charged him to acquaint me by the way, that I might inform the governor. Being fitted for our return, we took leave of him, who returned many thanks to our governor, and also to ourselves, for our labour and love; the like did all that were about him. So we departed."

In the autumn of the same year, (1623,) Mr. Winslow went to England, in the ship Ann, which sailed on

the 10th September, as agent for the colony, to give an account of their proceedings, and of their condition and prospects, to the adventurers, and to procure such supplies as were necessary. While he was in England, he prepared for publication a narrative of the settlement and transactions of the colony at New Plymouth, under this title: "*Good Newes from New England: or 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 apparent deaths and dangers, &c. Written by E. W. who hath borne a part in the fore-named troubles, and there lived since their first Arrivall.*"

This narrative, which was first printed at London, in 1624, in 66 small quarto pages, embraces the history of the colony from the return of the ship Fortune, in December, 1621, to the 10th September, 1623, when the author sailed for England. The book, in an abridged and mutilated form, was re-printed, in 1625, by Purchas, in the fourth volume of his Pilgrims, and has been of great service to succeeding historians. This abridgment was again published in 1802, in I Mass. Hist. Coll., viii. 239—276, and the omitted passages were supplied twenty years afterwards, in II Mass. Hist. Coll., ix. Young, in his Chronicles, reprints the work, "for the first time entire and in a legible form, from the original London edition." Mr. Winslow was induced to publish this work, in order that the friends of the colony in England might have a continuation of the narrative from the point where Mourt's Relation ends, and also, to correct the misrepresentations which had grown out of the

breaking up and dispersion, a short time before, of Weston's colony at Wessagusset, composed in chief of idle and vicious persons, "who as they were a stain to Old England that bred them, in respect of their lives and manners amongst the Indians, so, it is to be feared, will be no less to New England, in their vile and clamorous reports, because she would not foster them in their desired idle courses." Appended to this work, is a "*Relation of such religious and civill Lawes and Customes, as are in practice amongst the Indians, adjoyning to them at this day. As also what Commodities are there to be raysed for the maintenance of that and other Plantations in the said Country.*" This memoir excited great attention at the time it was first published, and is even now, when the manners and customs of the aboriginals of New England are better understood, read with interest. In concluding, after speaking of the soil and productions of the country, he alludes to the extravagant hopes which too often influence the emigrant, and gives a salutary warning to all such as "with too great lightness undertake such courses; who peradventure strain themselves and their friends for their passage thither, and are no sooner there than seeing their foolish imaginations made void, are at their wit's end, and would give ten times so much for their return. And can any be so simple as to conceive that the fountains should stream forth wine or beer, or the woods and rivers be like butchers' shops, or fishmongers' stalls, where they might have things taken to their hands? If thou canst not live without such things, and hast no means to procure the one, and wilt not take pains for the other, nor hast ability to employ others for thee, rest where thou art; for as a proud heart, a

dainty tooth, a beggar's purse, and an idle hand, be here intolerable, so that person that hath these qualities there, is much more abominable."

In the following spring, (March, 1624,) Mr. Winslow returned in the ship Charity from England having been absent six months, bringing a good supply of clothing and other necessaries, and, what was of more value than any other supply, the first neat cattle ever brought into New England.* The colonists learned from Mr. Winslow, that a strong party had been raised up against them amongst the adventurers, who were extremely anxious to prevent Robinson and the remainder of his church from emigrating to America. He brought letters from Robinson and Cushman. A carpenter came over for the purpose of building two ketches, a lighter, and six or seven shallops, and a person also to make salt. The carpenter built his craft faithfully and speedily, but soon died. The other was ignorant, and did not bring his undertaking to any successful issue.†

During the summer of 1624, Mr. Winslow again went to England, where he had an opportunity of correcting a mistake which had been made in his former voyage. The adventurers had in the former vessel sent

* This fixes the date of the first importation of neat cattle, three heifers and a bull being brought over at this time. Bradford, in Prince, 146. The settlers were destitute of milk the first four years. The first notice of horses, is in 1644. Before their introduction, (says Thacher,) it was not uncommon for people to ride on bulls; and there is a tradition in the Old Colony, that when John Alden went to the Cape to be married to Priscilla Mullins, he covered his bull with a handsome piece of broadcloth, and rode on his back. On his return, he seated his wife on the bull, and led the uncouth animal by a rope fixed in the nose ring. This sample of primitive gallantry would ill compare with that of Abraham's servant, when, by proxy, he gallanted Rebekah on her journey, with a splendid retinue of damsels and servants seated on camels, Isaac going out to meet her. Gen. xxiv.

† Prince, 146, 148.

over John Lyford, a preacher, much against the wishes of some of their number, who suspected him of being unfit for the office. Mr. Winslow and others reluctantly consented to his coming. His worthless character was soon discovered, and Mr. Winslow now imparted his suspicions to the adventurers in London. A meeting was had, and Mr. Lyford's friends employed counsel to defend him; but upon the examination it appeared, that Lyford had been a minister in Ireland, where his conduct had been so unprincipled and base, that he was compelled to quit the Kingdom, and that the adventurers had been imposed upon by false testimony concerning his character. With this discovery, Mr. Winslow came back to New Plymouth in the spring of 1625, happening to arrive while the court was sitting on the affair of Oldham, who had returned after banishment. The true characters of these impostors being thus discovered, they were both expelled from the plantation.*

At the annual election in 1624, Governor Bradford having prevailed on the people of Plymouth, to increase the number of assistants to five, Mr. Winslow was first elected to this office, in which he was continued by successive appointments until 1633, when, by the same influence, he was chosen governor.†

At the close of the year 1624, the number of souls in the colony was one hundred and eighty, who were

* See account of the proceedings in relation to Oldham and Lyford, in pp. 85—87, of this volume.

† Governor Winthrop, in his Journal, under date of Jan. 1, 163⅔, says, "Mr. Edward Winslow was chosen governor of Plymouth, Mr. Bradford having been governor about ten [twelve] years, *and now by importunity got off*." Savage's Winthrop, 98. This remark sufficiently invalidates an insinuation of Hutchinson, that Winslow's "employment abroad prevented a *competition* between Bradford and him for the governor's place." Hutchinson's History of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, 457.

then all dwelling within the town. Thirty two dwelling houses had been erected. The town was impaled for half a mile in circumference. A well built fort was on the hill, surmounted by a watch tower. For the last three years the health of the colony had been remarkable, and not one of the first planters had died. At Cape Anne, a plantation had been commenced by people from Dorchester in England, which they held of the Plymouth people, and a fishing stage had been erected there.*

The harvest of 1625, was plenteous, insomuch that the planters were overstocked, and wished to dispose of some portion of it to the Indians. They had no other vessels than two shallops built by the carpenter sent out to them in the preceding year, on one of which they laid a deck, and sent her, laden with corn, to the Kennebeck. They disposed of the corn to advantage, and returned with seven hundred pounds of beaver, beside other furs, having also opened a profitable trade for future occasions. "This voyage (says Gov. Bradford) was made by Mr. Winslow and some old standards, for seamen we have none."

The plantation at Monhiggon being broken up in 1626, and the commodities belonging to it being offered for sale, Mr. Winslow accompanied Governor Bradford to that place, on behalf of the company, where they united with Mr. Thompson of Pascataqua in purchasing the goods. They also purchased a quantity of French goods, being part of the cargo of a ship cast away at Sagadehock.†

Mr. Winslow appears to have had the principal oversight of the commercial operations of the infant colony.

* Prince, 151. † Prince, 161.

He was well qualified to conduct the many difficult and sometimes perilous enterprises, which it became necessary to take, for the benefit of the colony. He frequently went to the Penobscot, Kennebeck, and Connecticut rivers, on trading expeditions, and rendered himself useful and agreeable to the settlers on those rivers.

Governor Winthrop notices the following narrow escape of Governor Winslow while on one of these expeditions to the settlement on the Kennebeck, in the year 1642: "The Indians at Kennebeck hearing of the general conspiracy against the English, determined to begin there, and one of them knowing that Mr. Edward Winslow did use to walk within the palisadoes, prepared his piece to shoot him, but as he was about it, Mr. Winslow not seeing him nor suspecting anything, but thinking he had walked enough, went suddenly into the house, and so God preserved him."*

Upon coming to the chief magistracy in 1633, Governor Winslow found that disputes had commenced with the Dutch of New Netherlands, respecting the trade upon Connecticut river. A friendly correspondence had been established in 1627, between the Dutch authorities and those of New Plymouth, and during their intercourse, the Dutch had given information of a fine river, extending far into the country, to which they had given the name of Fresh river, but which the natives called *Quonektacut*. They extolled the lands bordering the stream, and the river as convenient for trade, and urgently pressed the people of Plymouth to open a trade with the natives. But their advice was neglected at the time. Soon after, some of the Indians living upon the river,

* Savage's Winthrop, ii., 69.

who had been driven from their homes by the Pequots, came to Plymouth, and entreated the English to establish a trading house on the river, in the hope that through their assistance they might ultimately be restored to their possessions. Mr. Winslow had himself been to the Connecticut, or Fresh River, and found the representations of the Dutch and Indians to be true. But the people of Plymouth still declined to venture upon the establishment of a trading house. The Indians renewing their requests both to the governments of Plymouth and Massachusetts, Governor Winslow and Mr. Bradford proceeded to Boston, and proposed to Governor Winthrop and his council to join with Plymouth in a trade to Connecticut for hemp and beaver, and in the erection of a house for the purposes of commerce. It being reported that the Dutch were about to build on Connecticut river, Winslow and Bradford represented it as necessary to prevent them from taking possession of that fine country; but Winthrop objected to the making of a plantation there, because there were 3000 or 4000 warlike Indians on the river; because the bar at the mouth was such, that small pinnaces only could enter it at high water; and because, seven months in the year, no vessel could go in, on account of the ice and the violence of the stream. This proposal being declined, the people of Plymouth determined to undertake the enterprise at their own risk. The materials for a house, entirely prepared, were put on board a vessel, and committed to a chosen company, which sailed for Connecticut. The Dutch of New Netherlands hearing of the design, had just taken a station on that river, at the place where Hartford now stands; made a light fort, and planted two

pieces of cannon. On the approach of the Plymouth adventurers, the Dutch forbade them to proceed up the river, ordered them to strike their colours, and threatened to fire on them. But the commander of the enterprise, disregarding the prohibition and the menaces, went resolutely forward, and, landing on the west side of the river, set up his house at some distance above the Dutch fort, and soon after fortified it with palisadoes. This was the first house erected in Connecticut. The place where this house was erected was a little below the mouth of Little River, in Windsor. It was called by the natives *Natawanute*. The sachems, who were the original owners of the soil, having been driven from this part of the country by the Pequots, William Holmes, who conducted the enterprise from Plymouth, took them with him to their homes, and restored them to their rights. Of these sachems the Plymouth people purchased the land, where they erected their house. The conquering Indians were offended at the restoration of the original proprietors of the country; and the proximity of two such neighbors, as the irritated Dutch, and the ferocious Pequots, rendered it difficult and hazardous for the English to retain their new purchase.*

Mr. Winslow, in 1634, on returning from a trading expedition to the Dutch at New York, left his vessel in Narragansett Bay, and thence went by land to Plymouth. He called on his old friend Massasoit, who promised to accompany him home. Before he set off, the sportive sachem despatched a messenger before them to Plymouth, to tell the inhabitants that Winslow was dead.

* Morton, 89; Savage's Winthrop, i. 105; Trumbull, i. 29, 30; I Mass. Hist. Coll., v. 167.

This report filled the whole colony with grief and lamentation. The sorrow and mourning of the people, however, were of but short duration; for the next day Massasoit (or, as he was now called, Ousamequen,) appeared, conducting the lamented Winslow into the town. On being enquired of, why he sent such a message, he answered by saying, that he might be the more welcome when he came home.*

In 1635, Mr. Winslow undertook another agency in England, for the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts, partly on occasion of the intrusions which had been made on the territory of New England, by the French on the east, and by the Dutch on the west, and partly to answer complaints which had been made to the government against the Massachusetts colony, by Thomas Morton, who had been twice expelled for his misbehaviour, and was labouring in England with great zeal against the colonies.

A special commission had been issued in 1634, to Archbishop Laud and eleven others, with the most extraordinary powers.† It menaced the complete subversion of the colonies, and the most absolute tyranny both in civil and ecclesiastical affairs. The favorite scheme of a general governor for all the colonies was again revived, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges was the person selected. Morton, whose efforts had been unceasing to effect this result, in a letter to one of his friends, dated May 1, 1634, exultingly writes: "When I was first sent to England, to make complaint,—I effected the business but superficially. I have this time taken deliberation, and brought the matter

* Savage's Winthrop, i. 138.

† Hazard, i. 344—347. See also I Mass. Hist. Coll., iv. 119.

to a better pass: and it is thus brought about that the King hath taken the matter into his own hands, appointed a Committee of the Board, and given order for a General Governor for the whole territory to be sent over." But this boast of the inveterate enemy of New England was never realised. Owing to the troubles in Scotland and Ireland, and the subsequent decline of the influence of Laud and others of the council, the whole project failed, the apprehensions of the people of New Plymouth and Massachusetts were allayed, and both Winthrop and Morton have recorded the event as a special interposition of Providence.

Governor Winslow found his situation at this time very critical, and his treatment was severe. He presented a memorial in writing to the commissioners, in which he set forth the encroachments of the French and Dutch, and prayed for "a special warrant to the English colonies to defend themselves against all foreign enemies."* Governor Winthrop censured this petition as ill-advised, "for such precedents might endanger our liberty, that they should do nothing hereafter but by commission out of England."†

The petition, however, was favorably received by some of the board.‡ Winslow was heard several times in support of it, and pointed out a way in which the object might have been attained without any charge to the crown, by furnishing some of the chief men of the colonies with authority, which they would exercise at their own expense, and without any public disturbances. This

* See Appendix No. I. Hutchinson's Hist. Prov. Massachusetts Bay.

† Savage's Winthrop, i. 172.

‡ Morton, 94.

proposal crossed the design of Gorges and Mason, whose aim was to establish a general government; and the archbishop, who was engaged in their interest, put a check to Winslow's proposals, by questioning him upon Morton's accusations respecting his own personal conduct in America.

The grave offences alledged against him were, that he, not being in holy orders, but a mere layman, had taught publicly in the church, and had officiated in the celebration of marriages. To the former charge, Winslow answered, "that sometimes, when the church was destitute of a minister, he had exercised his gift for the edification of the brethren." To the latter he replied, "that, though he had officiated as a magistrate in the solemnizing of marriage, yet he regarded it only as a civil contract;* that the people of New Plymouth had for a long time been destitute of a minister, and were compelled by necessity to have recourse to the magistrate in that solemnity; that this was not to them a novelty, having been accustomed to it in Holland, where he himself had been married by a Dutch magistrate in the State House." On this honest confession, the archbishop pronounced him guilty of the crime of separation from the National Church, and prevailed upon the board to consent to his imprisonment. He was thereupon committed to the Fleet prison, where he remained for seventeen weeks in confinement. But after that time, on petitioning the board, he obtained a release.

* Ministers were never licensed to solemnize marriages in New Plymouth; and in Massachusetts, previous to the union in 1692, the magistrates retained this office in their own hands with peculiar jealousy. "We are not willing (says Winthrop) to bring in the English custom of ministers performing the solemnity of marriage."—Sav. Winthrop, ii. 313.

On his return to New Plymouth, the colony again declared their confidence and respect by choosing him to the office of governor for the succeeding year, (1636.) This was an important period in the history of the colony. The surrender of the Patent by the council of Plymouth, the arbitrary, though fruitless commission to Laud and others, and the treatment which Governor Winslow had himself experienced in England, all served to convince the settlers of the necessity of adopting and declaring the fundamental laws of the colony. Hitherto no laws defining the powers of the government had been adopted, and the governor and assistants maintained their authority rather by common consent, than any delegated power. The laws of England were considered in force, unless changed by colonial statutes; but there were no lawyers in the colony, and but few persons who had any practical knowledge of the science of law. The clergy only understood its elementary principles, and they were more disposed to follow the laws of Moses, than the laws of England.

The period had now arrived, when all perceived the necessity of defining the limits of the powers and the duties of the magistrates, of establishing fundamental and organic laws, civil and criminal, and of placing the government on a stable foundation. This was done, by the court of associates, in November, 1636, after which the affairs of the colony appear to have been regularly and faithfully administered upon the basis of a written code of laws.

The Plymouth colonists in religious matters were more tolerant than their neighbours of Massachusetts. When Roger Williams, the apostle of liberty in New

England, had been driven from Massachusetts for his opinions, and was reduced to circumstances of extreme indigence, Governor Winslow extended to him the hand of charity, and afforded relief by advice and money. "It pleased the Father of Mercies," said Mr. Williams, "to touch many hearts with relentings, among whom that great and pious soul, Mr. Winslow, melted, and he kindly furnished me at Providence, and put a piece of gold into the hands of my wife for our supply."

The year 1642, is memorable in the history of the New England colonies. Since the establishment of New Plymouth, the colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Haven and Rhode Island had sprung into existence, and while the concerns of each were well and safely managed by their local councils and assemblies, all felt the necessity of some general authority to protect the common interests of the whole. Governor Winslow seems to have looked to the establishment of such a power, when, in 1635, he petitioned the royal commissioners in London for a special warrant to the colonies to defend themselves against their enemies. Certain it is, that the subject was discussed, from time to time, until the want of concert on the breaking out of the Pequot war, satisfied the people of the importance and necessity of some general union for mutual defence against the Indians. In 1643, Governor Winslow went to Boston, as one of the commissioners from Plymouth, where articles of Confederation were drawn up and signed on the 19th of May, by the commissioners of all the colonies present, excepting those from Plymouth, who, for want of power from their general court, deferred signing until the next meeting; and then, (Sept. 7,) they also signed them.

Governor Winslow continued to act as one of the Commissioners until he left the colony in 1646.

The Commissioners declared, that, as in nation and religion, so in other respects they be and continue as one, and henceforth be called and known by the name of THE UNITED COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND.

The features of this confederacy, the prototype of the American Union, are thus described in Pitkin's Civil and Political History of the United States:

"By the articles of confederation, as they were called, these colonies entered into a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity, for offence and defence, mutual advice and succor, upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberties of the Gospel, and for their own mutual safety and welfare. Each colony was to retain its own peculiar jurisdiction and government, and no other plantation or colony was to be received as a confederate, nor any two of the confederates to be united into one jurisdiction, without the consent of the rest. The affairs of the united colonies were to be managed by a legislature to consist of two persons, styled commissioners, chosen from each colony. These commissioners had power to hear, examine, weigh, and determine all affairs of war or peace, leagues, aids, charges, and number of men for war,—division of spoils, and whatsoever is gotten by conquest—receiving of more confederates for plantations into combination with any of the confederates; and all things of a like nature, which are the proper concomitants and consequences of such a confederation for amity, offence, and defence; not intermeddling with the government of any of the jurisdictions, which, by the third article, is

reserved entirely to themselves. The commissioners were to meet annually, in each colony, in succession, and when met, to choose a president, and the determination of any six to be binding on all.

"The expenses of all just wars to be borne by each colony, in proportion to its number of male inhabitants, of whatever quality or condition, between the ages of sixteen and sixty.

"In case any colony should be suddenly invaded, on motion and request of three magistrates of such colony, the other confederates were immediately to send aid to the colony invaded in men, Massachusetts one hundred, and the other colonies forty-five each, or for a less number, in the same proportion. The commissioners, however, were very properly directed, afterwards, to take into consideration the cause of such war or invasion, and if it should appear that the fault was in the colony invaded, such colony was not only to make satisfaction to the invaders, but to bear all the expenses of the war.

"The commissioners were also authorised to frame and establish agreements and orders in general cases of a civil nature, wherein all the plantations were interested, for preserving peace among themselves, and preventing as much as may be all occasions of war, or difference with others, as about the free and speedy passage of justice, in every jurisdiction, to all the confederates equally as to their own, receiving those that remove from one plantation to another, without due certificates.

"It was also very wisely provided in the articles, that runaway servants, and fugitives from justice, should be returned to the colonies where they belonged, or from which they had fled.

"If any of the confederates should violate any of the articles, or, in any way injure any one of the other colonies, such breach of agreement or injury, was to be considered and ordered by the commissioners of the other colonies."*

This confederacy, which was declared to be perpetual, continued without any essential alteration, until the New England colonies were deprived of their charters by the arbitrary proceedings of James II. In the year 1648, some of the inhabitants of Rhode Island requested to be admitted into the confederacy, but they were informed that the Island was within the patent granted to New Plymouth, and therefore their request was denied. The plantations at Providence were also denied admission, and those beyond the Pascataqua were not admitted, because "they ran a different course" from the Puritans.

Mr. Winslow was for the last time chosen to the chief magistracy in 1644, having since he last filled that office, been first on the list of magistrates. He was soon after engaged in the public service abroad, and never returned to New England.

In 1646, the colony of Massachusetts Bay prevailed upon Governor Winslow to proceed to England in their behalf, to answer complaints which had been preferred by Samuel Gorton and others, charging the Massachusetts authorities with religious intolerance and persecution.† Governor Winthrop remarks, that Mr. Winslow was "a fit man to be employed in our affairs in

* Pitkin's History of the U. S., i. 50, 51. The Articles of Union are in Winthrop, Hubbard, Neal, &c.

† Hutchinson's Hist. of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 145—149.

England, both in regard to his abilities of presence, speech, courage and understanding, as also being well known to the commissioners."* He set sail about the middle of October, 1646.

Gorton was an enthusiast of more than common ability, who gave the colonists much trouble. He came to Boston in 1636; went thence to New Plymouth, where he caused some uneasiness; from whence he went to Newport, and there behaved so that they inflicted corporal punishment upon him. He very soon got into difficulty with the authorities of Massachusetts, was arrested and imprisoned, was afterwards liberated, and in 1644, proceeded to England. On arriving there, he published an account of the proceedings against himself and others in New England, under the title of "*Simplicities Defence against Seven-Headed Policy. Or, Innocency Vindicated, being unjustly accused, and sorely Censured, by that Seven-headed Church-Government united in New England,*" &c. Printed in London, in 1646, in 111 small quarto pages.†

Governor Winslow, on reaching London, found it incumbent upon him to answer the publication of Gor-

* Winthrop, ii. 283, (Savage's edit.)

† Gorton's book is reprinted entire, from the original edition, in Force's Collection of Tracts, Vol. IV, No. 6; together with the *entire* Letter of Gorton to Secretary Morton, written in June, 1669, vindicating himself from the charges contained in the Memorial—a portion of which letter was published by Hutchinson in the Appendix to his History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. There is no doubt that the zealot, Gorton, was cruelly persecuted for his singular theological opinions, expressed with a freedom that sometimes degenerated into insolence. He was arrested by order of court, and in 1643, condemned to be "confined at Charlestown, and there set on work, and to wear such bolts or irons as may hinder his escape," with the further condition, that if he maintain "any of his abominable heresies," he should be, on conviction, put to death. Seven of his associates were also confined in separate towns. Savage's Winthrop, ii. 147.

ton, and he accordingly published a reply, covering 103 small quarto pages, entitled "*Hypocrisie Unmasked: By a true Relation of the Proceedings of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts against Samuel Gorton, a notorious disturber of the Peace,*" &c. Appended to this work, which has never been reprinted in America, and of which Young supposes, that no copy exists in this country, is a chapter entitled, "*A Briefe Narration of the true grounds or cause of the first Planting of New England,*" &c. This portion of the book is reprinted by Young, as "Chap. xxv," of his Chronicles. The same book was afterwards published in London, in 1649, with the following title: "*The danger of tolerating Levellers, in a Civil State; or a Historical Narration of the dangerous practises and opinions wherewith Samuel Gorton and his levelling accomplices so much disturbed and molested the several plantations in New England: By* EDWARD WINSLOW, *of Plymouth, in New England.*"

Besides the complaints of Gorton and his company, Governor Winslow was especially instructed to answer the charges of a want of religious freedom in Massachusetts, and denial of civil privileges to such as were not church-members, preferred against that colony, by Robert Child,* William Vassall, and others. In answer to the charge, that the Massachusetts government was intolerant and arbitrary, he was specially instructed to

* Robert Child was a physician, and had taken his degree at the University of Padua, in Italy. He came to this country partly with the view of exploring the mines; purchased the patent of Richard Vines of Saco, in 1645; was unsuccessful in his mining speculations; afterwards became embroiled in political controversy, in Massachusetts, and was fined and imprisoned for sedition. He went to England in 1647, and never returned. Major John Child, who accompanied Vassall to England, was his brother. Winthrop says, "he was major of a regiment in Kent." See page 126.

say, that "we have four or five hundred express laws, as near the laws of England as may be; and where we have no law, we judge by the word of God as near as we can." And in reference to the well known objections in Massachusetts to the scheme of a general government for New England, he was instructed to assert for that colony their absolute power of government, as given to them by their charter.*

Governor Winslow had several hearings before the commissioners for the affairs of New England, among whom were the Earl of Warwick and Sir Henry Vane, both zealous Puritans, and friendly to New England, by whose influence, doubtless, the colony escaped censure.

The times had greatly changed, and the Puritans being in power in England, Mr. Winslow had great advantage in this business, from the credit and esteem which he enjoyed with that party. We have no account of the particulars of this agency, but only in general, that "by his prudent management he prevented any damage, and cleared the colony from any blame or dishonour."

But Massachusetts was not alone in her dread of the advance of sectarism. Rhode Island had been excluded from the league on account of her toleration of what was deemed to be heresy, and a better understanding of the true principles of liberty was at the same time struggling manfully for a foothold in New Plymouth. Governor Winslow, in a letter to Governor Winthrop, dated "24 (9th) 1645," laments in the following strain the prevalence of a spirit of toleration in New Plymouth, which had already gained over a majority of the deputies, and

* Savage's Winthrop, ii. 300.

three of the assistants: "The sum of it was, (says he,) to allow and maintain full and free tolerance of religion to all men that would preserve the civil peace, and submit unto government; and there was no limitation or exception against Turk, Jew, Papist, Arian, Socinian, Nicolaitan, Familist, or any other, &c. But our Governor and several of us having expressed the sad consequences would follow, especially myself and Mr. Prence, yet notwithstanding it was required, according to order, to be voted. But the Governor would not suffer it to come to the vote, as being that indeed would eat out the power of godliness, &c. By this you may see that all the troubles of N. E. are not at the Massachusetts."*

William Vassall, mentioned above, was of Scituate; a man somewhat in advance of the age in which he lived, in his views of civil and religious liberty.† He was one of the agents sent to England in 1646, with complaints against the Massachusetts colony. Soon after his arrival there, a pamphlet, purporting to have been written by Major John Child, and no doubt prepared with the concurrence if not assistance of Vassall, was published, under the quaint title of "*New England's Jonas cast up at London*," &c.—a small quarto, of 22 pages, printed in London, in 1647. In a postscript to this pamphlet,

* Hutchinson's Coll. relative to the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 154.

† William Vassall was one of the first assistants of Massachusetts, chosen in England in 1629, and came over in 1630, in the fleet with Winthrop. He soon after returned to England; but came back in 1635, and settled in Scituate in the colony of New Plymouth, where he remained until about 1650, when, having laid the foundation of several large estates in the West Indies, he removed to Barbadoes, and died there in 1655. Hutchinson says he was a man of pleasant and affable manners, but always in opposition to government both in Massachusetts and Plymouth.

Major Child attacks the book published by Winslow against Gorton, ("Hypocrisie Unmasked,") and characterises him as "a principal opposer of the laws of England in New England."*

Winthrop characterises Vassall as "a man never at rest but when he was in the fire of contention." Mr. Winslow, who held the pen of an able controversialist, was of course not long in preparing a keen and pungent answer, vindicating the colony, and repelling the accusations of his assailant; and, as if the remark of Governor Winthrop respecting Vassall had suggested it, he gives his pamphlet the title of "*New England's Salamander, discovered by an irreligious and scornful Pam-*

* The title to Major Child's pamphlet, was probably suggested by the following circumstances. The Rev. Mr. Cotton, at his Thursday lecture in Boston before the sailing of the ship, in which Major Child and Mr. Vassall had taken passage to London, preached from Cant. ii. 15: "Take us the foxes, the little foxes, that spoil the vines," &c.; and in his uses took occasion to say, that he advised the shipmaster, that if storms did arise, to search if they had not in any chest or trunk any *Jonas* on board, which if you find, I do not advise you to throw the *persons* overboard, but the *writings*. Storms did arise: and some of the passengers remembering Mr. Cotton's sermon, a woman from among them came from between decks about midnight, to Mr. William Vassall, who lay in the great cabin, (but for the present was in the steerage doorway looking abroad,) and earnestly desired him, if there were any Jonas in the ship it might be thrown overboard. He asked her why she came to him? and she said, because it was thought he had some writings against the people of God. But he answered her that he had nothing except a petition to Parliament that they might enjoy the liberty of English subjects, and that could be no Jonas. After this she went into the great cabin to Mr. Thomas Fowle, in a like distracted manner, who told her he had nothing but a copy of the petition, which himself and others had presented to the Court at Boston; but that if she and others thought that to be the cause of the storm, she and they might do what they would with it. So she took and carried it between decks, to them from whom she came, and they agreed to throw it overboard; but they had many great storms after that. After their arrival at London, the report of an astonishing miracle was spread abroad, viz: the saving of the ship and passengers by throwing the petition to Parliament overboard; whereas "it was only the copy of a petition to their own Court at Boston; and the petition to Parliament was still in the ship, together with another copy of that which was thrown overboard, and were as well saved as their lives and other goods, and are here to be seen and made use of in convenient time." [See tract (imperfect) in II Mass. Hist. Coll. iv. 107.]

phlet, called New England's Jonas cast up at London, &c., owned by Major John Childe, but not probable to be written by him," &c. London, 1647, 29 pp. sm. 4to.*

The civilization of the Indians, and their conversion to the Christian religion, were objects which the people of the colonies never lost sight of; and in this great and good work, Mr. Winslow was, from principle, very zealously engaged. While in England, he employed his interest with the members of Parliament, and other gentlemen of quality and fortune, to erect a corporation there for the prosecution of the design. For this purpose an act of Parliament was passed, incorporating a society in England "for propagating the Gospel in New England."* The commissioners of the United Colonies were constituted a board of correspondents, and distributors of the money, which was supplied in England by charitable donations from all the cities, towns, and parishes, in the kingdom.† By the influence and exertions of both these respectable bodies, missions were supported among the Indians of New England; the Bible and other books of piety were translated into the Indian tongue, and printed for their use; and great pains were taken by several worthy ministers and other gentlemen to instruct the Indians, and reduce them to a

* See tract in III Mass. Hist. Coll. ii. 110.

* Hazard, ii. 146. The charter of this Society bears date July 27, 1649. In aid of the formation of the Society, a tract was published by Governor Winslow, in London, in that year, entitled "The Glorious Progress of the Gospel amongst the Indians in New England," &c. It was dedicated by Winslow to the Parliament, and contained some introductory remarks from his pen. The rest of the pamphlet consisted of three letters from Eliot, and one from Mayhew, with an appendix by J. D. [John Downam or John Drury.] This tract is reprinted in III Mass. Hist. Coll., iv. 69.

† Hazard's Collection, i. 636.

civilized state. Under the auspices of this Society, the celebrated John Eliot undertook his apostolic and successful labors among the Indians of Massachusetts, aided in the great work by the two Mayhews, the younger Cotton, and others. Of this corporation, which he had done much to establish, Mr. Winslow continued during life to be an active and successful member in the promotion of its interests in England.

The various employments of Governor Winslow in England, on behalf of the colonies, and his own high character, had given him a standing such as no other New England man enjoyed at this time. His abilities were acknowledged by the party then paramount in England, and he found so much employment there and elsewhere, that he never returned to New Plymouth. Judge Davis, in a note to Morton, (p. 261,) says: Mr. Winslow was one of the commissioners appointed to determine the value of the English ships seized and destroyed by the King of Denmark, and for which restitution was to be made, according to the treaty of peace made with the Protector, April 5, 1654. The commissioners were required to meet at Goldsmith's Hall, in London, in the month of June; and, in case they should not agree by a certain day in August, were to be shut up in a chamber, without fire, candles, meat, or drink, or any other refreshment, until they should agree. Of course, an order so peremptory and so characteristic of the times as this, would be likely to be effectual, and accordingly we do not find that the commissioners had any difficulty in coming to an agreement.

When Oliver Cromwell (1655) planned an expedition against the Spaniards in the West Indies, and sent

Admiral Penn and General Venables to execute it, he appointed three commissioners to superintend and direct their operations, of which number Winslow was the chief; the other two being Richard Holdrip and Edward Blagge.* Their object was to attack St. Domingo, the only place of strength which the Spaniards at that time had in Hispaniola. It has been remarked, that Cromwell well understood the character of Mr. Winslow, when he placed him at the head of this commission; for both commanders and many of the officers employed in the expedition, were strongly suspected of cherishing a loyal attachment to the House of Stuart, and of nourishing a secret dislike to the Protector. He therefore placed in this responsible situation, one whom he could trust.†

The commanders disagreed in their tempers and views, and the control of the commissioners was of no avail. The troops, ill-appointed and badly provided, were landed at too great a distance from the city, and lost their way in the woods. Worn out with hunger and thirst, heat and fatigue, they were routed by an inconsiderable number of Spaniards; six hundred were slain, and the remnant took refuge on board their vessels.

To compensate as far as possible for this unfortunate event, the fleet sailed for Jamaica, which surrendered without any resistance. But Mr. Winslow, who par-

* Hume, chap. lxi. Two interesting letters of Winslow, written from Barbadoes, March 16 and 30, 1654-5, are preserved in Thurloe's State Papers, iii. 249, 325. In the first, his opinion of oaths is thus expressed: "Our want of commissioners is very great..... I beseech you, in case any be sent, let us have men of such principles as will neither scruple to give or take an oath. For my part, I look upon an oath as an ordinance of God, and as an essential part of government, the very bond of society, yea, so necessary, as without it, the magistrate will not be able to determine between man and man."

† Baylies, ii. 20.

took of the chagrin of the defeat, did not live to enjoy the pleasures of victory. In the passage between Hispaniola and Jamaica, the heat of the climate threw him into a fever, which, operating with the dejection of his mind, put an end to his life, on the eighth of May, 1655, in the sixty-first year of his age. His body was committed to the deep, with the honors of war, forty-two guns being fired by the fleet on that occasion.

The following well meant but inelegant verses, were written by one of the passengers on board the ship in which he died:

> "The Eighth of May, West from 'Spaniola shore,
> God took from us our Grand Commissioner,
> Winslow by Name; a man in Chiefest Trust,
> Whose Life was sweet, and Conversation just;
> Whose Parts and wisdom most men did excel;
> An honor to his place, as all can tell."*

Before his departure from New England, Governor Winslow had made a settlement on a valuable tract of land in Marshfield, to which he gave the name of Careswell, probably from an ancient castle of that name, nine miles from Stafford, in Staffordshire, a family seat of the Vanes, ancestors of the Earls of Darlington and Westmoreland.†

Governor Winslow was twice married. His first wife, Elizabeth, as has already been stated, died in March, 1621. His son, Edward, who came over with him, is supposed to have died about the same time. By his second wife, Susanna, who was the widow of William

* Morton's Memorial, 143.

† In Speed's Great Britain, (b. i. ch. 35,) *Carswall* is named as one of the thirteen ancient castles in Staffordshire; and Bowen (Univ. Geog., i. 225,) places *Careswell* among the chief seats of the nobility of the county. The Marshfield estate, which for many years remained in the Winslow family, has recently passed into the possession of the Hon. DANIEL WEBSTER.

White, and to whom he was married in May, 1621, he had a daughter Susanna, and probably others. His only son by this marriage, Josiah Winslow, became a distinguished man in the colony; was a magistrate, governor, and commander in chief of the forces of all the colonies of New England, in the war of 1675 with the Indians. He died in 1680, at the age of 51.*

Edward Winslow was the eldest of a family of five sons and three daughters, the children of Edward and Magdalen Winslow, of Droitwitch, in England. Edward was born 19 Oct. 1595, John in April, 1597, Elynor in April, 1598, Kenelm 29 April, 1599, Gilbert in Oct., 1600, Elizabeth in March, 1601, Magdalen 26 Dec. 1604, and Josiah in Feb. 1605.

John, the eldest brother of Edward, came over in 1621, in the ship Fortune, and was married at New Plymouth, sometime prior to 1627, to Mary Chilton, daughter of James Chilton, one of the first emigrants in the Mayflower. The tradition in the family, confirmed by a writing left at her death by Mrs. Ann Taylor, in 1773, the last grand-child of John Winslow, is, that Mary Chilton "was the first female who set her foot on the American shore." This may refer either to the landing at Cape Cod, where, as is mentioned by Belknap, "the women went ashore to wash their clothes;" or, to the landing at Plymouth. The descendants of John Alden claim for him the honor of having been the first to leap upon Plymouth Rock; but the tradition is best received, which accords that feat to the adventurous maiden. John Winslow resided in Plymouth till about 1656. His children were mostly, if not all, born there. His oc-

* See Memoir of Josiah Winslow.

cupation was that of a merchant; and he held different municipal offices in Plymouth. In 1661, with Antipas Boies, Edward Tyng, and Thomas Brattle, he purchased the colony lands on the Kennebeck river, for £400 sterling, and they were afterwards well known as the "Plymouth Company in Maine." His place of residence was in the north part of ancient Plymouth, called "Plain Dealing." This estate was sold to his son-in-law, Edward Gray, about the time of his removal to Boston, and was, by the latter, disposed of to the Plymouth colony in 1662, who purchased it as a residence for Governor Prence. John Winslow died in Boston in 1674, aged 78 years; his wife, Mary Winslow, died in Boston in 1678. Their children were, six sons—John; Isaac, who married a Parnell; Benjamin; Edward; Joseph; and Samuel, who died at Boston in 1680; and five daughters—Sarah, whose first husband was Miles Standish, Jr., second, Tobias Payne, ancestor of the Paines of Boston, and third, a Mr. Middlecot; Susanna, who married Robert Latham; Mercy, who married Arthur Harris; Ann, who married a Le Blond, of Boston; and Mary, who married Edward Gray, of Plymouth, died in 1663, leaving two or three daughters and one son. One of these daughters married Nathaniel Southworth in 1671. Mr. Southworth bought the estate of "Plain Dealing" in 1677, but in after years removed to Middleborough, and there died, leaving three sons and several daughters.

It is said that John Winslow, eldest son of John, brought the Prince of Orange's declaration from Nevis to New England, in Feb. 1689, for which he was imprisoned by Sir Edmund Andros. From the eldest son

John, (through John, son of the latter,) it is supposed that the family of the late General John Winslow, of Boston, is descended.*

Edward, the fourth son, it is thought, had a first wife in Plymouth before he left that place. His second wife was Elizabeth Hutchinson, daughter of Anne Hutchinson, celebrated in the history of Massachusetts for her religious zeal, persecution, banishment, and tragical death in 1643, (being slain by the Indians on Long-Island with her family of sixteen persons, except one daughter.) Edward Winslow died in Boston in 1682, aged 48 years; his wife Elizabeth, in 1728, aged 89. The deaths of the other children of John Winslow, except Samuel, who died in 1680, are not known. The children of Edward and Elizabeth were, Edward and four daughters, of whom Susanna married an Alden, supposed to be a son of John Alden, commander of the Province

* Brig. Gen. John Winslow was born in Boston, 29 Sept. 1753, and bred a merchant. At the age of twenty-two, he entered the Revolutionary Army, as Deputy Paymaster General, with the rank of Lieutenant, in the Northern Department. He joined the army at Quebec, under Gen. Montgomery, and was in the battle. June 8th, 1777, he received a commission as Captain of Artillery and was placed under the command of Maj. Ebenezer Stevens, late a Major General in New York. He was in the battle which resulted in the capture of Burgoyne, and one of those who took the account of the stores, &c., found in his camp; and also had the charge of many prisoners. He was afterwards stationed at West Point, and White Plains. When the American Army was retreating, under Gen. Wooster, from Quebec, and the enemy close upon their heels, he saved the *public chest*, and lost his own baggage, and wardrobe, as valuable as those of any officer in the line. He was thus left destitute of clothing, not having sufficient to change his linen for thirty-five days. He received, on the settlement of his accounts as Paymaster—the footing of which was $865,700—a certificate from the Paymaster General, wherein his conduct was highly approved; and, it was said, he was almost the only Paymaster who had faithfully accounted for the public money. He was at the battle of Ticonderoga, and when the army, under Gen. St. Clair, retreated from that place, he again saved the books and property entrusted to his care, and lost most of his own. He obtained an honorable discharge, in Nov. 1778; was afterwards a brigadier general of militia and held various civil trusts. He died 29 Nov. 1819.

Sloop, who, being accused of witchcraft during the witch mania of 1692, suffered imprisonment fifteen weeks in Boston. Another daughter, Mrs. Ann Taylor, died in Milton, in 1773, aged 94—and was the last surviving grand-child of John Winslow and Mary Chilton.

Edward, son of Edward, and grandson of John, was born in 1669; married Hannah Moodey, daughter of Rev. Joshua Moodey, minister of the first church in Boston, a zealous opponent of the witch mania, and who suffered for it by being obliged to leave his church. Edward Winslow had a family of nine sons and two daughters. His eldest son Joshua, and youngest, Isaac, were two of the principal merchants in Boston, from 1730 to 1768. One of his sons, John, also lived in Boston till 1775, and removed to Dunstable, where he died in 1778, aged 88.

Two of his sons, William and Samuel, were in the commissariat department at the siege of Louisburg in 1745, and both died there. The youngest daughter of Edward Winslow, by a second wife, Elizabeth, married Richard Clark, an eminent merchant of Boston; and a daughter of the latter married John S. Copley, the celebrated painter. Their descendants are in England, Canada, and Boston. Edward Winslow was a goldsmith; he was a Colonel of the Boston Regiment, and first sheriff of the County of Suffolk; from about 1722 to 1742, his residence was in State street, the estate since the site of the Tremont Bank. He died in Boston in 1753, aged 84.

Joshua Winslow, great grandson of John Winslow and Mary Chilton, married Elizabeth Savage, and had a family of sixteen children. He died in October, 1767.

Isaac Winslow, brother of the aforesaid, married Lucy Waldo, daughter of Brigadier General Samuel Waldo; his second wife was Jemima Dubuc. He had by the first wife eleven children, and two by the last. He was a loyalist, having been appointed a mandamus counsellor in 1774. He died in New York, in 1777.—His descendants are principally in Boston, but many are also in England.

Edward, the eldest son of Joshua, and great-great-grandson of John Winslow and Mary Chilton, became a clergyman of the Episcopal church, after some opposition from his friends, (having by them been destined for the Congregational ministry, and to escape from whose control he betook himself for a while to commerce,) and succeeded Dr. Samuel Johnson at Stratford, Ct. From 1764 to 1777, he was Rector of Quincy; but as, on the Revolution opening, he could neither consent to omit, nor yet safely read, the prayers for the King, he resigned, and removed to New York city. Here he died suddenly, while ascending the steps of his house, on his return from a funeral, Oct. 31, 1780, aged 59, and was buried under the altar of St. George's church. From him are descended those of that name in North Carolina. Joshua, a younger brother, was a merchant, married a daughter of Commodore Loring, and died in Boston in 1775. His descendants are all in England.

Margaret married Colonel Benjamin Pollard, Sheriff of Suffolk, and many of their descendants are now living in Boston. Isaac, the youngest, born in 1743, was educated for a profession, but abandoned this and became a merchant. His first wife was a daughter of the Rev.

John Sparhawk, of Salem, ancestor of the Sparhawks of New Hampshire; his second wife was Mary Davis, daughter of Benjamin Davis, of Boston, by whom he had six sons and two daughters. He died in Boston in 1793. His descendants are in Massachusetts, New York, and South Carolina.*

Kenelm Winslow, the second brother of Governor Winslow, was at Plymouth before 1633. He married Helen, daughter of John Adams, of Plymouth, in 1634; he had lands in Yarmouth, in 1640, died whilst on a visit at Salem, and was buried Sept. 13, 1672, at the age of 73.† From him are descended the families settled in Yarmouth, and in Maine. Oliver Winslow, who settled at Scituate, in 1730, was of the third generation from Kenelm Winslow, and had a son Oliver, who was killed in the French war of 1758, a son who settled at Nobleborough, Maine, and a son Nathaniel, who inherited the bold spirit of his distinguished ancestors. He entered the revolutionary army in 1776, rose to the rank of major, and distinguished himself in the southern expeditions.‡

Gilbert Winslow, third brother of the governor, came over in the Mayflower; went to Pascataqua, after the settlement was commenced there; and the tradition is, that he went from thence to England, and never returned. It does not appear that he left any family in New Hampshire. The only taxable person bearing the name of Winslow, resident in that province in 1732, was Samuel Winslow of Kingston, probably a son of Samuel

* Thacher's Hist. Plymouth, 94.

† Marshfield Records.

‡ Deane's Scituate, 390

Winslow, who was killed by the Indians at that place in 1710.

Josiah, the youngest brother of the first Governor Winslow, resided in Scituate in 1637, and was afterwards of Marshfield. He died in 1674, aged 69.

Of the sisters of Governor Winslow, Elizabeth died in January, 1604, and neither of them ever came to New England.*

A fine portrait of Governor Edward Winslow is in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, where other family pictures have been deposited by one of his descendants. The picture of Governor Winslow was painted in London, in 1651, when he was in the 57th year of his age.

The device on the seal used by Governor Winslow, represents a pelican feeding its young. As an emblem of paternal affection, it is placed in connection with the names of some of the most distinguished of the pilgrims, whose regard for posterity prompted to their great enterprise, and influenced them to a firm endurance of many hardships, dangers and sorrows.†

* For additional genealogical notes, see Memoir of Josiah Winslow, in the subsequent pages of this volume.

† Davis' note to Morton, 468.

IV. THOMAS PRENCE.

THE fourth governor of the colony of New Plymouth, was THOMAS PRENCE, who was a native of Lechlade, a small parish in Gloucestershire, England, on the north side of the river Thames, where his father and grandfather resided. He was born in the year 1600. His father was of the proscribed sect of the puritans, or separatists from the Church of England, and to avoid the persecution which every where followed the non-conformists, in his native land, he is supposed to have gone with the early emigrants to Leyden. We have no accounts of the family after reaching that city, or of the education, or early pursuits of Mr. Prence. But from the fact that he brought a respectable patrimony to America, we are led to infer that his family were in easy circumstances, and that they were voluntary exiles, on account of a faith which was dear to them, rather than needy adventurers, seeking to mend their fortunes in a strange land.

Mr. Prence came to America in 1621, in the ship Fortune, which arrived at New Plymouth in November, being at that time in the twenty-second year of his age. In the same ship, beside others of note in their day, came Robert Cushman, the distinguished and always efficient friend of the colony; John Winslow, the elder brother of Governor Winslow; and William Hilton, who afterwards commenced the settlement of New Hampshire, and who wrote by the return of the Fortune a glowing account of New Plymouth, in which he says, exultingly, "We are all freeholders; the rent-day doth

not trouble us; and all those good blessings we have, of which and what we list in their seasons for taking."* In a short time after his arrival, Mr. Prence was chosen one of the assistants, and became an active and ultimately an influential man in the affairs of the colony.

Public office in the days of the pilgrims, was little sought after. It presented, neither a prize to tempt the cupidity of the unworthy, nor a source of corruption from any patronage attached to it. The unworthy were thus kept from seeking it, and the people were unwilling to trust any but the wisest and best men. Governor Bradford, who had served the colony from 1621 to 1632, esteemed it a mark of the popular favor to be relieved in the following year, and when Winslow, who succeeded him, declined a re-election in 1634, he again urged the choice of another than himself. But who should be the man? CARVER, and BRADFORD, and WINSLOW, had successively filled the office. The next upon the list of the first-comers by the Mayflower, was the venerable WILLIAM BREWSTER; but he was the ruling elder of the church, and civil and ecclesiastical offices were among the puritans deemed incompatible. ISAAC ALLERTON, who by his character and standing was well fitted for the chief magistracy, had left the colony. The excellent SAMUEL FULLER, their first physician, with twenty-three more of the forty-one who signed the Compact of 1620, had fallen before the pestilence; and of those who remained, STEPHEN HOPKINS, MILES STANDISH, and JOHN ALDEN, were the most prominent individuals. Hopkins was then one of the principal

* See Hilton's Letter, in Smith's "New England's Trials," No. 2, Vol. II, Force's Collection of Tracts.

magistrates; and Alden seems, like him, to have been content with the burthens of the same office, which he shared for more than forty years, outliving all the other signers of the compact. Captain STANDISH, the hero of the settlement, was beginning to feel the infirmities of age, and possessed a temper too natural to his profession to fit him for the duties of the chief magistracy.

The Fortune had brought a new accession of estimable men to the colony, who were received with welcome, and the standing and qualifications of Mr. Prence, caused him to be selected from among their number, as the successor of Governor Winslow, in 1634.

Previous to this time, settlements had been formed at Duxbury, to which the families of Alden, Standish, and Collier, had removed; and before the year 1635, Mr. Prence appears to have removed to the same place. The regulation existing at this time required that the Governor should reside in Plymouth, and the people, when the next election took place, returned to their old favorite, Governor Bradford. Mr. Prence was however at the same time chosen assistant, and served as such during twenty years, when not filling other and more important offices.

The colony of New Plymouth at this time possessed trading establishments upon the Connecticut and Kennebeck, which were sources of profit, but they not unfrequently caused embarrassment and collision. A short time after Governor Prence entered upon his office, he was annoyed by intelligence of violent proceedings at both these points. A man of the name of Stone, a West Indian of St. Christopher's, by intoxicating the Governor of the Dutch fort on Connecticut river, obtained his

leave to take a Plymouth bark, which was lying there at anchor. The master and most of the men being on shore, he succeeded, and after weighing her anchor set sail for Virginia, but some Dutch sailors, who had received kind treatment at Plymouth, discovering his design, pursued him with two vessels, and soon after recaptured the bark.

Stone afterwards going to Massachusetts, was served with a process, and for the purpose of a compromise, he went to Plymouth. In a dispute with the governor, he was so transported with rage that he attempted to stab him, but was prevented by the vigilance of the governor's attendants.

An act of violence was also perpetrated at Kennebeck, within the limits of the Plymouth patent. A pinnace belonging to Lord Say and Sele, and commanded by one Hocking, sailed from Pascataqua into the Kennebeck, and he attempted to pass up the river for the purpose of trading with the natives. Two of the magistrates of Plymouth being there, forbade him; he persisted, and declaring that "he would go up and trade with the natives in despite of them, and lye there as long as he pleased," went on.

The Plymouth men pursued him in a boat, and after entreating him to depart, and receiving nothing but "ill words" and positive refusals, finding his pinnace at anchor, two of them went in a canoe, cut one of the cables, and attempted to cut the other; Hocking threatened to shoot them; they defied him, and persisted; he fired, and killed one. The pinnace having come up, with five or six men on board, they fired on Hocking and killed him.

At the general court at Boston, (May 15, 1634,) upon complaint of a kinsman of Hocking, John Alden, one of the Plymouth magistrates, who was present at this transaction, but at that time in Boston, was arrested and held to bail, "and withal (says Governor Winthrop) we wrote to Plymouth to certify them what we had done, and to know whether they would do justice in the cause, (as belonging to their jurisdiction,) and to have a speedy answer," &c.

This was a high handed transaction on the part of the authorities of Massachusetts, and naturally caused much excitement among the people of Plymouth. Governors Bradford and Winslow, Mr. Collier, and the pastor of the church, were obliged to go to Boston and hold conferences with the authorities there, before the difficulty could be adjusted. Governors Winthrop and Dudley appear to have interested themselves in the exculpation of Plymouth, and the indignity offered to this colony by the illegal arrest of one of her magistrates, was overlooked, and soon forgotten. The power of the younger colony, which was destined ultimately to swallow up the older, was already beginning to be felt.

Prior to the year 1634, although the governor and assistants were the only magistrates in the colony, it does not appear that they possessed the power of a judicial court. They had no jurisdiction in civil actions, and in criminal offences, they could only 'bind over' the accused to appear at the general court. In 1633, a few laws, such only as appeared to be of the most urgent necessity, were established. But as the settlements expanded, it soon became obvious, that a code of laws must be adopt-

ed; and the year 1636, may be considered the date of the establishment of a body of organic laws in New Plymouth.

On the 15th of November, at a court of Associates, the following declaration was ordered:

"We, the associates of New Plymouth, coming hither as free-born subjects of the State of England, and endowed with all and singular the privileges belonging to such, being assembled, do ordain that no act, imposition, law, or ordinance, be made or imposed upon us, at the present, or to come, but such as shall be made and imposed by consent of the body of the associates, or their representatives legally assembled, which is according to the liberties of the state of England."

Whether the laws of England which preceded this order were renounced, is equivocal; but the authority of English laws, "at present, or to come," was by this declaration renounced by the whole body of the associates, and Parliament was denied the right of legislating for New Plymouth. This order, (says Baylies,) is the first American Declaration of Rights, if not of Independence, and the laws which followed, became necessary for the protection of the people and the preservation of the government.*

The time of the annual election was fixed for the first Tuesday of June, when a governor and seven assistants should be chosen, "to rule and govern the plantation within the limits of this corporation," and the election was confined to those who had been admitted as freemen. The qualifications required to constitute a freeman, were, to be twenty-one years of age, of sober

* Baylies' Hist. New Plymouth, i. 229.

and peaceable conversation, orthodox in the fundamentals of religion, and to possess a rateable estate of the value of twenty pounds. All these were pre-requisites, before any person could be admitted to the oath prescribed to be taken by freemen.

The duties and powers of the governor, were defined by law; but the office seems to have given to the incumbent little more than the privilege of acting as chairman of the court of assistants, or of the general court—the honorary station of being the official head of political society. He was destitute of the power of appointing any of the officers of the government, or even of nominating them; and of course he had no patronage, or any mode of securing influence, excepting what arose from the weight of his personal character. He could call the assistants together, for the purpose of advising with them in council, and in voting his voice was double; but the assistants could refer all matters to the general court, which the governor was obliged to summon if they required it, and his duty in that court was confined to the statement of the questions upon which they were to act. The power of arrest was given to him, but no further than to restrain the offender, until his offence could be investigated, either by the court of assistants, or the general court. The power of examining suspicious persons, and of intercepting letters, was given, probably in consequence of the memorable attempt of Lyford and others to subvert the government of the colony in 1624.* It can scarcely be conceived, at this day, how a government could be administered with such limited authority in the executive.

* See page 85, of this volume.

The personal influence of the governor must have supplied the want of legal power.

The want of power in the governor, was not supplied by the greater powers of the assistants. They were to advise the governor, and were restrained from 'betraying council.' They presided in the examination of offenders in public court, 'and had a voice in censuring.' One of them, by the consent of the others, on the nomination of the governor, could discharge the executive duties in his absence, and their power of arrest was similar to that of the governor.

Within this narrow circle was confined the authority of the assistants. In a factious society, this power would have been constantly defied and contemned; but the colonists were a sober, moral, and religious, in fact, a well regulated family, loving and obeying their magistrates, with an affection and reverence like that which children render to their parents; and the influence of the clergy was a powerful support to this paternal government, which depended so little on physical strength, and so much on the moral force of opinion.*

Prior to the year 1636, there appears to have been no secretary to the colony, and the records were kept by the governor. The code adopted at that period was preceded by the declaration, before referred to,† styled "General Fundamentals" in the records. A certificate signed in Dec. 1775, by John Cotton, the recorder at Plymouth, referring to this declaration, says—"The above act stands in front of three manuscript law books, in 1636, 1658, and 1660, and of two printed ones, in 1671

* See Baylies, i. 229—235.

† See pages 76 and 118, of this volume.

and 1685. In the year 1636, Plymouth colony first formed or perfected their body or code of laws, they being before governed by transient regulations or occasional laws."* To the manuscript book of 1636, other laws were added from time to time; and when any of the former were altered or repealed, this was done by the simple process of making interlineations or erasures, instead of passing additional acts! In 1658, the laws were revised, and entered in another book, and they were published, not by printing, but by the preparation of copies in manuscript by the secretary, equal in number to the number of towns in the colony. Into this book the laws passed afterwards were copied, until 1664, when there appears to have been another revision, and a third book of laws was made, similar to the former. This contains all the laws passed from that time till 1682. The laws, which thus existed in three separate manuscript volumes, have been bound in one, and are preserved. When the first printed edition was ordered in 1671, another revision was made, but the manuscript of this no longer exists.†

In 1637, Governor Prence was particularly active in raising a corps of volunteers to assist Connecticut and Massachusetts in the expedition against the Pequot Indians, which resulted in the utter overthrow and extermination of that tribe. The names of thirty-nine men, who offered to go on that service, are on record, and the document has the following caption: "The names of the soldiers that willingly offer to go upon the service

* Baldwin's sermon at Plymouth, Dec. 22, 1775. Hazard's Coll. of Pamphlets, in Force's Library, Washington, D. C.

† III Mass. Hist. Coll., ii. 265.

with Mr. Prence and the Lieutenant, voluntaries."* The Pequots were a warlike tribe, not inferior in courage to any in the New World. They inhabited the territory now occupied by the towns of New-London, Groton and Stonington, in Connecticut. Foreseeing the ultimate extinction of their race, from the advance of the English, this tribe, heretofore hostile to the Narragansetts, now proposed to join them in an effort to exterminate the whites. Fortunately for the colonists, the Narragansetts refused the alliance, and the Pequots, more exasperated than discouraged by their refusal, commenced hostilities alone. They surprised stragglers, and scalped them, and plundered and burnt the neighboring settlements—until the infant colonies, particularly Connecticut and Massachusetts, by a vigorous effort, succeeded in overpowering and destroying the tribe. The troops raised in Plymouth, fifty-six in number, were placed under the immediate command of Capt. Standish, but the war was over before they reached the scene of action. The Pequot nation had ceased to exist.

In 1638, Mr. Prence was again elected to the office of governor. It appears that he accepted the office with considerable reluctance, and made it a condition that he should not be compelled to remove from Duxbury. During his administration, in that year, a severe and exem-

* By "the Lieutenant," William Holmes is intended, afterwards promoted to the rank of major, who became a freeman of the colony in 1633, and was appointed in 1635, with Capt. Standish, to teach the Train bands of Plymouth and Duxbury. Major Holmes lived at Scituate, and died in 1649, without a family. He was the leader of the Plymouth party, who, in defiance of the Dutch authorities of New Amsterdam, took possession of the territory on Connecticut river, and erected the first house in Connecticut, at Windsor, in October, 1633. See page 113, of this volume; compare also Holmes, i. 228, and Trumbull, i. 35.

plary act of justice was exhibited, in the condemnation of three colonists, for robbing and mortally wounding an Indian.

It appears that four young men of Plymouth, who were servants, absconding from their masters, attacked a solitary Indian at Pawtucket, near Providence, but within the limits of New Plymouth, and after inflicting upon him a mortal wound, robbed him of a quantity of wampum, and fled to Providence. Complaint was made to Roger Williams, by the Indians, who were greatly alarmed, and he called upon the authorities to have "justice done." Roger Williams was particularly anxious that the natives should behold in the prompt and signal punishment of these offenders, an example of the justice of the English, and Gov. Winthrop of Massachusetts, whose advice had been solicited, considered it a matter in which the whole country was interested. Governor Prence and the authorities of New Plymouth promptly instituted the necessary investigation. One of the criminals fled to Pascataqua, where he was protected, and finally escaped out of the country. The others were tried, condemned, and executed, in presence of many of the natives, who had assembled at New Plymouth. This execution has been cited as an undeniable proof of the stern sense of duty which was cherished by the Pilgrims. To put three Englishmen to death for the murder of an Indian, without compulsion, or without any apprehension of consequences, (for it does not appear that any application was made on the part of the Indians for the punishment of the murderers,) denotes a rigor in the administration of justice, unusual in new settlements, especially in controversies with the natives. It stands in our annals with-

out a parallel instance; the truth of the fact is vouched by all our early historians, and it was probably not without its reward; for the Indians, convinced of the justice of the English, abstained from all attempts to avenge their personal wrongs, by their own acts, for many years.

In 1643, we find Mr. Prence actively engaged in promoting a new settlement at Nauset, or Eastham. Eight towns had been settled within the limits of the colony during the first twenty years, but Nauset, now thought to be a very favorable spot, had been overlooked. The people of Plymouth became alarmed at these frequent removals from among them. Many persons had already left the town, and now, when others of the most respectable among them desired to remove, it became a serious question with the church, whether it were not better for the whole body to remove at once to another place, than thus to be weakened and insensibly dissolved. Meeting after meeting was held, and, after much controversy, it was finally agreed by the whole body that they would remove together, on condition that they could find a place sufficient for their accommodation.

A committee, at the head of which was Mr. Prence, was now sent to Nauset, to make examination. Their report was against the feasibility of removing to that place. They purchased, however, the contiguous lands, belonging to the natives; and the Plymouth people finally gave up the project of removing the seat of government, and consented that those who desired to begin a plantation at Nauset, should be permitted to do so. Mr. Prence and his associates now obtained a grant of lands at Nauset, and went resolutely forward with their new planta-

tion. These persons were among the most respectable inhabitants of Plymouth. The church regretted their departure, viewing herself as a mother grown old and forsaken by her children, if not in their affections, yet in their company and personal assistance.* But however the emigration might have been lamented at that time, it was productive of good to the colony; and eventually led to the settlement of all the lower part of the county of Barnstable; in consequence of which the Indians there, who from their numbers were a formidable body, were overawed and their good will obtained, and they were prevented from joining in hostilities against the English, in the wars which afterward occurred.

In 1654, Mr. Prence, then one of the board of assistants, went to the settlement which had been formed on the Kennebeck patent, and, under authority of parliament, pursuant to directions of the court at New Plymouth, organized a government, Thomas Southworth, son-in-law of Governor Bradford, being appointed agent or governor. He summoned a meeting of the inhabitants at Merry-Meeting Bay, and some sixteen persons attended and subscribed the oath of fidelity to the government of New Plymouth.† Seven years afterwards, the colony disposed of this patent to a private company for four hundred pounds sterling.‡

* "And thus was this poor Church left like an ancient mother, grown old and forsaken of her children, though not in their affections, yet in regard of their bodily presence and personal helpfulness, her ancient members being most of them worn away by death, and those of latter times being like children translated into other families, and she like a widow left alone to trust in God. Thus she that had made many rich became herself poor."—Plymouth Church Records, i. 45.

† Hazard's Coll. i. 583—586.

‡ See p. 133, of this volume.

On the death of Governor Bradford, in 1657, Mr. Prence was chosen his successor. There seemed to be an obvious propriety in this selection. Mr. Prence had held that office as early as 1634, and once afterwards, and had been constantly in public employment. No one stood before him in the public estimation, excepting perhaps, Bradford and Edward Winslow, and with them he certainly appears to have shared the confidence of the people, and the highest offices of the government. As both these respectable men were now deceased, there could have been but little hesitation in giving him the station of which he was not deemed unworthy, when they were living. He was accordingly annually chosen to the chief magistracy, from this time forward, for sixteen years, until his death, which occurred in 1673.

The law, as has already been stated, required the governor to reside at Plymouth; but there was a special dispensation made in favor of Governor Prence until the year 1665. In October of that year, "the country saw reason to desire and request his removal into the town, for the more convenient administration of justice." Gov. Prence now removed to Plymouth, and took possession of a place, provided for him by the government, which he occupied until his death. It was nearly two miles from the centre of the town, on the road leading towards Boston—and was called *Plain-Dealing*, the former residence of John Winslow, and afterwards of Edward Gray, of whom it had been purchased by the colony. The governor's salary was at the same time established at fifty pounds per annum, and it was stipulated that he should receive that sum annually as long as he continued to be governor of the colony.

Governor Prence was not altogether happy in his administration of the government. The severe proceedings against sectaries, especially against the Quakers, which were favored by him, and in which his conduct was intolerant, and in some instances overbearing, created dissatisfaction even amongst those who were hostile to the introduction of new sects. Governor Prence himself, in temper and spirit, more closely resembled the stern puritans who settled upon the Bay of Massachusetts, than his predecessors in the government of Plymouth. He saw with dread and misgiving the increasing indifference of the people to the support of the clergy. He knew that before the death of Governor Bradford, that venerable man had spoken of it with apprehension. He had endeavored, with Winslow, ten years before, to check the growing influence of the new sects among the deputies, and the people. Men began to doubt the benefit of stated preaching, and chose to exercise their own spiritual gifts; and so inadequate was the support given to the clergy, that many left the colony. Gorton's extravagances had excited disgust; and now when the Quakers, whose tenets and practices bore some resemblance to his, began to appear, a large majority of the people were ready to adopt the severe policy pursued in Massachusetts, which was now advocated by Governor Prence.

There were still influential men in the colony who were open friends of toleration, and had the nerve to oppose the popular current. James Cudworth and Thomas Hatherly, two of the assistants, whose views were in advance of the age, objected to the persecution of the Quakers. They were at once proscribed and omitted

from the magistracy; and in 1659, when the people of Scituate returned General Cudworth as a deputy to the general court, such was the bigotry of the majority, that they unceremoniously denied him a seat.*

In a letter, written in 1658, General Cudworth thus describes the state of public feeling at that time existing in the colony: "The state and condition of things amongst us is sad, and so like to continue. The anti-christian, persecuting spirit is very active, and that in the powers of this world. He that will not lash, punish and persecute men that differ in matters of religion, must not sit on the bench, nor sustain any office in the commonwealth. Last election, Mr. Hatherly and myself were left off the bench, and myself discharged of my Captainship, because I had entertained some of the Quakers at my house, thereby that I might be better acquainted with their principles. I thought it better to

* Gen. Cudworth, who was one of the most estimable men in the colony, came from England in 1632, settled at Scituate, where he was chosen a deputy in 1649, and for several succeeding years. In 1656, he was chosen assistant, in which office he continued until displaced as above stated. On the election of Governor Josiah Winslow, in 1673, he endeavored and with success, to make honorable amends for the abuse and neglect which Cudworth had suffered from his predecessor, Gov. Prence. In the colony records, July 1673, is an entry, that "Capt. Cudworth, by a full and clear vote, is accepted and re-established, in the association and body of this Commonwealth." He was chosen an assistant again from 1674, to 1680, inclusively. In 1675, he was chosen "General and Commander in Chief of all the forces that are or may be sent forth against the enemy," and he continued in that place until Philip's war was ended. In 1681, he was appointed an agent for the colony to England. He was also Deputy Governor the same year. On his arrival in London in the autumn of 1682, he unfortunately took the small pox, of which he died.

Mr. Hatherly was originally from Devonshire, afterwards a merchant of London, and came to Plymouth in the ship Anne in 1623. He became a great landholder, was one of the founders of Scituate, and was among the most enterprising men of the Colony. He was an assistant thirteen years, treasurer of the colony, and one of the commissioners of the United Colonies. He died in 1666, without issue.

do so, than with the blind world to censure, condemn, rail at, and revile them, when they neither saw their persons, nor knew any of their principles. But the Quakers and myself cannot close, in divers things, and so I signified to the Court; but told them withal, that as I was no Quaker, so I would be no persecutor."

The Quakers, who had endured persecution in England, appeared in this country in 1656, and immediately attracted the notice of the authorities. The leaders of the sect in New Plymouth were Humphrey Norton and John Rouse. They were turbulent men, violent in all their proceedings, and in a very short time provoked a persecution, which might not have followed, had their conduct been as wise and discreet as that of Penn and his followers in Pennsylvania. Severe laws were enacted against them, and enforced with the rigor characteristic of the times.

In October, 1657, Norton was summoned before the court of magistrates, and being convicted of "divers horrid errors," was ordered to depart from the jurisdiction, and he was conducted by a marshal to the boundary of Rhode Island. But the spirit of these enthusiasts was not thus to be subdued. Norton returned not long afterwards, and was imprisoned. When arraigned before the governor, and charged with his offences against the laws, he said to the governor, "Thomas, thou liest! thou art a malicious man!" His companion Rouse being equally turbulent, they were both sentenced to be whipped. The punishment was inflicted, when, after another short imprisonment, they left the colony. Others of the sect were banished, but no one suffered death, as in the neighboring colony of Massachusetts.

Norton had offered a written paper to the governor, which he refused to receive. Smarting under a sense of the severity and cruelty with which he had been treated, he addressed letters to Governor Prence and to Mr. Alden, who was one of the assistants, in which he vented his resentment, in strains approaching to eloquence, and claimed to be a prophet, a delusion which he probably cherished in all sincerity. A portion of the letter to the governor, here follows:

"Thomas Prence, thou who hast bent thy heart to work wickedness, and with thy tongue hast set forth deceit; thou imaginest mischief upon thy bed, and hatchest thy hatred in thy secret chamber; the strength of darkness is over thee, and a malicious mouth hast thou opened against God and his anointed, and with thy tongue and lips hast thou uttered perverse things; thou hast slandered the innocent by railing, lying, and false accusations, and with thy barbarous heart hast thou caused their blood to be shed. Thou hast through these things broken and transgressed the laws and ways of God, and equity is not before thy eyes; the curse causeless cannot come upon thee, nor the vengeance of God unjustly cannot fetch thee up; thou makest thyself merry with thy secret malice, and when thou actest or executest it, it is in derision and scorn. The deadly drink of the cup of indignation thou cannot escape, and the grief and cause of travail will not be greater than thine. Since first I saw thee, and before, thy false and lying tongue hath been forged against me. I shall not write nor speak this without ground, as thou hast done by me, but plainly shall present thy doings before thy face; as firstly, thy former warrant was forged upon a filthy lie, and

therein thou titlest me an extravagant person; thy second had helping hand in causing me to be recorded for several errors, and like a shameless man would neither acknowledge nor deny; thy third, that John Rouse and I were inordinate fellows, and never in the least made it appear wherein; thy fourth that I intended within two days after the time thou spake it, to make a preachment, as thou in thy derision called it thereaways; thy fifth, thy promise that I should have the law, and afterwards went about to deny it, so as from thee I never had it yet; thy sixth, popish and jesuitical names, withal thy lying slanders and false aspersions cast upon us from thy clamorous tongue; thy seventh, acting contrary to law, equity and justice, and judgment, according to the evil of thine own heart,—all these art thou guilty of, besides the denying of my paper, which was presented to thee, containing part of my grounds of my coming; thy eighth, thy striving to dash my words back upon me, and to hinder me to speak in the people's hearing, striving what thou could to stain the truth of God with thy envious tongue, all which things are charged upon thy head, and as a peal of hail stones will pelt upon thy heart; thou hast perverted justice and true judgment, and hast defrauded the poor and needy; thou hast caused to defraud the righteous owner of his goods, and art heaping it up as upon a hill, wherewith thou wilt purchase to thyself and others a field of blood, wherein to bury your dead. John Alden is to thee like unto a packhorse, whereupon thou layest thy beastly bag; cursed are all they that have a hand therein; the cry of vengeance will pursue thee day and night, for other men's goods, hard speeches, unrighteous actions, which thou hast done and spoken against others

and us, without and contrary to the righteous law; so shall rest upon thee as frontlets upon thy head, and as we have suffered without law, so shalt thou perish without law, if thou repent not. The days of thy wailing will be like unto that of a woman that murthers the fruit of her womb; the anguish and pain that will enter thy reins will be like gnawing worms lodging betwixt thy heart and liver. When these things come upon thee, and thy back bowed down with pain, in that day and hour thou shalt know to thy grief that prophets of the Lord God we are, and the God of vengeance is our God.

"HUMPHREY NORTON."

Language of extreme bitterness like this, however it may have been provoked by persecution, was not likely to soften the hearts of those in power; and during the year 1658, several disfranchising laws were passed against the Quakers. "No Quaker, Ranter, or any such corrupt person," was permitted to be a freeman of the corporation. All such as were opposers to the good and wholesome laws of the colony, or manifest opposers of the true worship of God, or such as refused to do the country service, being called thereunto, on conviction, were denied the privileges of freemen. Any freemen of the corporation being Quakers, or such as were manifest encouragers of them, and so judged by the court; and such as spoke contemptuously of the court and the laws; and such as were adjudged by the court, "grossly scandalous, as lyers, drunkards, and swearers," &c. were to lose the freedom of the corporation. All such as refused to take the oath of fidelity, as Quakers, and their abettors, were denied a vote in the choice of public officers, and were restricted from holding offices of trust.

The court also passed another law, with this pregnant preamble: "Whereas sundry persons, both Quakers and others, wander up and down in this jurisdiction, and follow no lawful calling, to earn their bread, and also do use all endeavours to subvert the civil state, and pull down all churches and ordinances of God, to thrust us out of the ways of God, notwithstanding all former laws provided for the contrary:"

The court therefore directed, that a work-house or house of correction should be erected, "for the restraint of all such vagabonds as wander up and down without any lawful calling, and also all idle persons, or rebellious children, or servants that are stubborn and will not work, to earn their own bread, and yet have not wherewith to maintain themselves," &c.

Much censure has been thrown upon the government of Plymouth, for the severity of these laws, and the cruelty of the punishments which were inflicted on the Quakers. They were severe beyond what the necessity of the case required, and were enforced with rigor. But the task of palliation, in this case, is not very difficult, however difficult it might be to find grounds for a full justification. The circumstances of the times, and the spirit of the age, should be considered in pronouncing judgment upon these dark passages in the history of New Plymouth.

The Quakers who first appeared in the colony, were not inhabitants of the country. They came from abroad, originally from England, but immediately from Barbadoes. Although they professed to inculcate the principles of peace and benevolence, they waged a most furious war against a religion, which was much endeared to the

people whom they were endeavoring to proselyte; for which that people had suffered much, and who were ready to suffer much more, if necessary, to attest their strong conviction of its truth. Their laws, their government, their forms of worship, all which they had been taught to venerate, and were accustomed to love, were denounced in harsh and vulgar terms, by utter strangers. Their magistrates were openly insulted, and their ministers were reviled, in language of insolent abuse. It is not surprising, therefore, that they should have attempted to check what appeared to them to be blasphemy and impiety. Although these new expounders of the scriptures styled themselves the Prophets of God, yet it was not an unnatural nor strange result in that day, that they should have been regarded by those among whom they came, as men "possessed with demons."

It is very probable, that the deportment of Governor Prence towards Norton, was domineering and arrogant; for he was a man who detested schismatics of every shade, and had no particular sympathy for those who affected to despise and deride all "human learning." Yet one far more indulgent than he was, placed in the same situation, would have been himself possessed of uncommon self-command, if he could have tolerated personal insult, and tamely suffered himself to be charged with falsehood and malice, while in the very exercise of his high authority on the judgment seat, and presiding in court. Even in our own times, under a much more tolerant system, and with a mitigated penal code, "contempt of court," is deemed a high offence, and is punished accordingly. Still it is better that the hands of power should fall gently on all enthusiasts in morals or

religion, and on any who make pretence—even if it be nothing but pretence—of acting under the strong impulses of religious feeling. The Pope of Rome, when he dismissed the too zealous Quaker without injury, who even within the walls of the Vatican denounced him as the "Man of Sin," and as "the Antichrist," acted wisely, by choosing to consider this effusion of zeal, as an outpouring of insanity; and, intolerant as he was to religious heresy, he could be charged with no want of indulgence to human infirmity.

It has been observed, that the tolerant spirit which ruled in the councils of Rhode Island, gave offence to the other colonies. It was, beyond a doubt, the main cause of her exclusion from the league of 1643. After the Quakers had begun to flee to that colony, as a "city of refuge," the commissioners of the United Colonies requested the government of Rhode Island to prohibit the Quakers coming into that colony, and to expel those who were already there. Governor Prence, at that time a commissioner, joined in this arrogant request, the only commissioner who refused his assent being General Cudworth of Scituate. The answer of the government of Rhode Island, is in admirable spirit. "As concerning these Quakers, (say they,) which are now among us, we have no law among us whereby to punish any for only declaring by words, &c., their minds and understandings concerning the things and ways of God, as to salvation and an eternal condition. And we moreover find, that in those places where these people in this colony are most of all suffered to declare themselves freely, and are only opposed by arguments in discourse, there they least of all desire to come."

In 1658, the exasperation had increased to such a degree, that the commissioners recommended to the colonies the punishment of death against all of that "cursed set of heretics," who should be found in the country after sentence of banishment. A panic seized the good people of the colony, and further oppressive laws were enacted against the Quakers; but fortunately the mandamus of Charles II., in 1661, finally put an end to their persecutions in New England. The most obnoxious laws against them were soon afterwards repealed.

Public prejudice during all this time had prevailed to such a degree in New Plymouth as to exclude from her councils some of the best citizens in the colony, who had been honest and bold enough to encounter it; but upon the accession of the second Governor Winslow, these men were promptly restored to public trusts, and regained the general confidence. The Quakers themselves, hitherto so turbulent, when left unmolested by penal regulations, settled down into a quiet, orderly life, and became the most peaceful, industrious and moral of all religious sects.

Beside the difficulties already stated, which Governor Prence had to encounter, he also met with serious embarrassments from the hostile feeling, which was increasing among the Indians. The demise of the great and good sachem Massasoit; the accession of his son Alexander, and his early death, under circumstances causing great excitement and apprehension; the movements of the warlike and resolute Philip, and the decisive measures, which it became necessary to take with the Squaw Sachem of Pocasset, and the heads of other Indian tribes, more or less under the influence of Philip, required the

most constant vigilance and attention, on the part of the government.

After the death of Massasoit, his two sons, Wamsutta and Metacomet, appeared before the court at Plymouth, and requested that English names might be given them. Governor Prence gave to Wamsutta the name of Alexander, and to Metacomet, that of Philip. In 1662, Governor Prence received information, by letters, from Boston, that Alexander was contriving mischief against the English, and that he had solicited the Narragansetts to engage in his hostile enterprises, denominated, by the writers of that period, "a designated rebellion." Capt. Willett, who lived near Mount Hope, was appointed to confer with Alexander, and to request his attendance at the next court at Plymouth, to explain his proceedings. From his conversation with Capt. Willett, his appearance at court was expected. He did not attend, however, but still continuing his intercourse with the Narragansetts, the government of Plymouth directed Major Josiah Winslow, to bring him before them by force. Major Winslow immediately proceeded, with ten men, to execute his instructions. On his way from Marshfield to Mount Hope, he unexpectedly found Alexander at his hunting house, about half way between Plymouth and Bridgewater. He had with him a number of his men, (Hubbard says, eighty,) well armed. Major Winslow, it appears, came upon the party by surprise, and having secured their arms, which were without doors, entered the wigwam, and communicated his instructions. "The proud Sachem," says Dr. I. Mather, "fell into a raging passion, at this surprise, saying that the Governor had no reason to credit rumors, or to send for him in such a

way, nor would he go to Plymouth but when he saw cause." By the advice of his interpreter, a brother of John Sausaman, he was prevailed upon to submit. It was a warm summer day, and the Major kindly offered his prisoner the use of a horse; but his squaw and several other Indian women, being of the party, who could not be furnished with horses, Alexander politely declined the offer, observing, that he could go on foot as well as they, only entreating that they might march with a slow pace, to accommodate the women. In this request he was indulged; and Major Winslow treated his royal prisoner with every attention, consistent with the object he was required to accomplish. It was necessary to wait, until Governor Prence could be informed of the circumstances, and should arrive at Plymouth, from Eastham, where he then resided. The prisoner in the mean time was taken to the Major's house, at Marshfield, and was there courteously entertained. But the high spirit of the savage king could not brook the affront. "Vexing and fretting in his spirit," says Dr. Mather, "that such a check was given him, he suddenly fell sick of a fever." Every proper humane attention appears to have been afforded him in his sickness. He was nursed as a choice friend, and Dr. Fuller, a neighboring physician, prescribed for his relief.

His disease continuing, the Indians, in his train, entreated that he might be dismissed; and their request was finally granted, upon his engagement to appear at the next court; but he soon after died, Hubbard says, "before he got half way home."

There can be no doubt that the surprisal of Alexander, followed as it was by his sudden death, greatly

incensed the Indians; and an examination of all the facts disclosed in the case, will justify the received opinion, that, from the hour of Alexander's death, the hearts of his warriors were steeled against the English. The account of the transaction which we have here given, is almost in the words of Mather and Hubbard, who wrote at the same time. It presents the conduct of the Plymouth authorities in an unenviable light; for at the time there seems to have been no evidence whatever of the hostile designs attributed to the successor of the great sachem of the Wampanoags, who had been so true a friend to the English. The seizure of Alexander was therefore an outrage, that might well wound the spirit of the savage king, and animate his successor with the purposes of revenge. Judge Davis, in his edition of Morton, presents a different view of the case, and one which would go to relieve the government of Plymouth from the harsh judgment to which previous accounts had given rise. It is contained in a letter from the Rev. John Cotton of Plymouth, to Dr. Increase Mather, without date, but probably written in 1677, and refers to the account which had been drawn up by the authorities of Plymouth, styled "*Narrative de Alexandro.*"*

The letter begins, "Major Bradford [who was with Mr. Winslow when Alexander was surprised] confidently assures me, that in the *Narrative de Alexandro*, there are many mistakes, and, fearing lest you should, through information, print some mistakes on that subject, from his mouth I this write. Reports being here that Alexander was plotting, or privy to plots, against the English, authority sent to him to come down. He

* This Narrative, in manuscript, is in the library of the Mass. Hist. Society.

came not. Whereupon Major Winslow was sent to fetch him. Major Bradford with some others, went with him. At Munponset River, a place not many miles hence, they found Alexander with about eight men and sundry squaws. He was there about getting canoes. He and his men were at breakfast under their shelter, their guns being without. They saw the English coming, but continued eating; and Mr. Winslow telling their business, Alexander, freely and readily, without the least hesitancy, consented to go, giving his reason why he came not to the court before, viz: because he waited for Capt. Willett's return from the Dutch, being desirous to speak with him first.* They brought him to Mr. Collier's that day, and Governor Prence living remote at Eastham, those few magistrates who were at hand issued the matter peaceably, and immediately dismissed Alexander to return home, which he did part of the way; but, in two or three days after, he returned and went to Major Winslow's house, intending thence to travel into the bay and so home; but, at the major's house, he was taken very sick, and was, by water, conveyed to Mr. Bradford's, and thence carried upon the shoulders of his men to Tetehquet River, and thence in canoes home, and, about two or three days after, died."†

* Capt. Thomas Willett, who is here referred to, was one of the Leyden Pilgrims; came over in 1629; was an assistant from 1651 to 1665, when he removed to New York, and became the first English mayor of that city. Owning lands in the Narragansett country, he afterwards settled near Mount Hope, where he had much intercourse and influence with the Indians. He died at Barrington, R. I., 4 Aug. 1674, aged 64. Francis Willett, distinguished in Rhode Island, was his grandson, and Colonel Marinus Willett, of New York, a distinguished officer of the revolutionary war, and mayor of the city, was his descendant.

† Davis' Morton, Appendix A. A. p. 425. See also Drake's Book of the Indians, b iii. c. 1.

After the death of Alexander, Philip his successor appeared at Plymouth, and renewed his professions of peace. But the great chieftain, foreseeing the inevitable fate of his race, unless the march of the white population could be arrested, was secretly nourishing his schemes of vengeance, which precipitated the terrible war of 1675. A conviction on the part of Governor Prence, that such was in fact the deliberate purpose of the wily Philip, caused him to adopt the rigorous measures which have been noticed, and for which his wisdom and humanity have sometimes been called in question. In his belief, however, they were necessary to guard the colony from sudden war; and we know that the terrible struggle did not ensue until after his death.

The visit from the Royal Commissioners, Nicolls, Carr, and others, in 1665, was also productive of much uneasiness in the colony, and not a little embarrassment to the authorities. New Plymouth was at this time the weakest of all the colonies; but she nevertheless contrived to hold on to her independence. The Commissioners promised them a charter, if they would set an example of compliance, by allowing the King to select their governors; but the general court, after due deliberation, "with many thanks to the Commissioners, and great protestations of loyalty to the King, chose to be as they were."

Governor Prence extended to these Commissioners a most cordial reception, as the authorized agents of the King, and so managed, by a little skillful courtesy, as to avoid giving them the offence which the proceedings in Massachusetts had occasioned. In the reports of the Commissioners, New Plymouth was consequently com-

plimented for her loyalty, and was, not long after, promised the especial favour of the King.*

It appears from the report of the Commissioners to the King, that but "one plaint" was made to them at Plymouth, and that was, that "the governor would not let a man enjoy a farm of four miles square, which he had bought of an Indian." The fact, that no complaint should have been preferred, except this one against the governor, for exercising his power to prevent a wrong, discovers a degree of public confidence in the local government of this little jurisdiction, which has rarely been equalled. To understand the grounds of the interference of Governor Prence, in this case, it should be remembered, that in the treaty made with Massasoit in 1621, and renewed with that sachem and his son Alexander, in 1639, the government of New Plymouth took the precaution to prevent the Indians from disposing of their lands to individuals. They foresaw that the practice, if

* The King was so well pleased with the loyal tone of the people of New Plymouth, at this period, that he addressed them a letter couched in the following gracious terms: "CHARLES R. Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. Having received so full and satisfactory an account from our commissioners, both of the good reception you have given them, and also of your dutifulness and obedience to us: We cannot but let you know how much we are pleased therewith; judging that respect of yours towards our officers, to be the true and natural fruit which demonstrates what fidelity and affection towards us is rooted in your hearts. And although your carriage doth of itself, most justly deserve our praise and approbation, yet it seems to be set off with the more lustre, by the contrary deportment of the colony of Massachusetts, as if, by their refractoriness, they had designed to recommend and heighten the merit of your compliance with our directions, for the peaceable and good government of our subjects in those parts. You may therefore assure yourselves, that we shall never be unmindful of this your loyal and dutiful behavior, but shall, upon all occasions, take notice of it to your advantage; promising you our constant protection and royal favor, in all that may concern your safety, peace and welfare. And so we bid you farewell. Given at our court at Whitehall, the 10th day of April, 1666, in the 18th year of our reign. By his Majesty's command. *Will. Morrice.*"

allowed, would be attended with the most pernicious consequences; that it would lay the foundations for endless lawsuits, and the Indians themselves would be eventually stripped of all their lands, by the deceptions and intrigues of individuals. They therefore determined to consider all sales by the Indians to individuals, without the assent of the government, as invalid, and the chiefs, father and son, agreed to the stipulation that none such should be made. The wisdom of this policy can scarcely be doubted.

Amidst various perplexities, during the long administration of Governor Prence, the government at New Plymouth appears on the whole to have pursued a firm and steady course, in the promotion of the substantial interests of the people; and if we except a lamentable departure from a just and prudent toleration on religious topics, during the sixteen successive years of his magistracy, it is believed, that little will be found to reprehend, and much to approve. The bigotry which stained some portions of his career, was common to the age. His integrity was never questioned, save by the enthusiasts whom he looked upon as scoffers, and whose claim to liberty of conscience, appeared to him but a claim to reject the law of the gospel altogether. When Roger Williams, in 1670, bold in his defence of the great principles of religious freedom, proposed to Gov. Prence, to "dispute these and other points of difference," before the public, at Boston, Hartford, and Plymouth,*—Governor Prence replied, declining the proposition, but in terms which proved that no opposition would be offered to him, and no restraint imposed upon any persons who might

* See I Mass. Hist. Coll. i. 275, letter of Roger Williams.

desire to hear him. He denies that the Plymouth government had any design to oppress a neighboring colony, or to deprive them of "that which is by some cried up above all you call New England's gods, viz. liberty for every one to worship God as he lists, or liketh best; and why not *what God* he liketh best also?" He declines a public discussion with Roger Williams, "not because we have not some, through the grace of God, both able and willing to maintain what truth we profess against gainsayers; but who would expect to be any whit perfected or completed in matters appertaining to God's worship, by such as close not with any public worship upon earth, that is known? Not I. Such worship," continues Governor Prence, "and a Samaritan religion, are much alike to me."*

The administration of Governor Prence is rendered illustrious, by his zealous efforts to introduce a regular system of free schools into the colony. It has been intimated that a keen sense of his own deficiency in education, compared with the ability and learning of his immediate predecessors, first led him to espouse the cause of free schools. If such was the fact, it is still more to his credit; as a sense of personal deficiency oftener produces exactly the contrary result—a desire to pull down, rather than to build up, the institutions of learning. It is certain that he met with earnest, and for a time successful opposition, and that at first he succeeded only so far as to effect the establishment of a free school at Plymouth, which was supported by the profits of the fishery at Cape Cod. Previous to his death, however, he had the satisfaction to behold the system which he had so

* See I Mass. Hist. Coll. vi. 203, reply of Gov. Prence.

earnestly advocated, and which was destined to work out incalculable benefits to posterity, in successful operation in most of the towns of the colony, and sustained, as he knew it must be, to be extensively beneficial, at the public expense. In the inventory of the library of Governor Prence, after his decease, 44 school books are mentioned. "This shews, he was a scholar," says the late John Cotton, Esq., in a manuscript quoted by Judge Davis. The inference, however, is somewhat questionable, when other indications are considered. But though he was not a scholar, he was impressed with the importance of learning in the community, and indulged a generous zeal in promoting literary acquisitions, which he did not himself possess. The school books, in his possession were probably intended for distribution in the schools, which he had succeeded in having established at the public expense.*

Governor Prence was often employed in other public services of importance. He was a member of the council of war, and treasurer of the colony; was for twelve years one of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, and in 1672, was chosen the first president of the Board of Commissioners, under the new articles of Confederation, adopted in September of that year.†

The integrity of Governor Prence was proverbial among the people. As a magistrate, it is observed of him, that he so scrupulously rejected every thing which

* Davis' Morton, 423.

† See account of the first union of the Colonies, page 120. The confederation of the four colonies in 1643, was re-organized in 1672, in consequence of the union of the New Haven colony with Connecticut, in 1665, and other changes in the relative condition of the colonies. The power of the Commissioners was now somewhat restricted, and instead of being executive, it was made in most cases merely advisory.—Baylies, ii. 191.

had even the appearance of a bribe, that if any person, who had a cause in court, sent a present of any kind to his family during his absence, he immediately on being informed of it, returned the value in money—sometimes signifying to the party concerned that such a course of conduct was more likely to operate to his injury than to advance his cause.

His industry, energy, and sound judgment, rendered him a very useful instrument in conducting the affairs of the rising colony, and would have made him a very respectable public character in a far more considerable community.

During his administration, there were two revisals of the laws of the colony: one in 1658, the other in 1671. The last digest is said to have been the work of his hands.*

Among the good deeds of Governor Prence, we should not omit to mention his exertions for a fixed and

* The revision made in 1671, was printed in 1672, by Samuel Green, at Cambridge, in a folio of 50 pages. Thomas' Hist. Print. i. 260. Baylies says "that not a single copy of the printed laws is now extant." Hist. New Plymouth, ii. 73. He is however in error, as a copy of the edition of 1671, is in the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society. These laws were re-printed for the Colony in 1685, by Green, at Boston, in a folio of 90 pages, with the following title: "The Book of the General Laws of the Inhabitants of the Jurisdiction of New-Plymouth, collected out of the records of the General Court, and lately revised: and with some Emendations and Additions Established and Disposed into such Order as they may readily Conduce to General Use and Benefit. And by the Order and Authority of the General Court of New-Plymouth, held at Plymouth, June 2d, Anno Dom. 1685. Reprinted and Published. Nathaniel Clerk, Secrt. *Be subject to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's sake.* I Pet. 2. 13. Boston in New England: Printed by Samuel Green, 1685." A fine copy of this edition of the Laws of New Plymouth, is preserved in the library of Hon. Peter Force, of Washington City; appended to which are thirteen pages of manuscript, containing copies of sundry Orders made by Governor Andros and his Council, in 1687, respecting the courts of law, jurisdiction of justices of the peace, &c. apparently copied from the original record, and certified by what appears to be the genuine signature of "*John West, D. Secretary.*"

competent support of an able and learned ministry. In many of the scattered settlements, a disposition prevailed to neglect this important branch of public instruction, and to employ incompetent lay exhorters—practices which he uniformly discountenanced.

The Plymouth Church records, in noticing the character of Governor Prence, depart from their usual course, by an indication of his personal appearance, from which it may be supposed that it was peculiarly dignified and striking: "He was excellently qualifyed for the office of governour. He had a countenance full of majesty, and therein, as well as otherwise, a terror to evil doers."

Governor Prence died at his residence in Eastham, 29 March, 1673,* in the 73d year of his age. His remains were brought to Plymouth, and, on the 8th of April following, honorably interred among the fathers on Burial Hill.

Governor Prence was twice married. His only son Thomas, went to England young, married there, and soon after died, leaving an only daughter, whose name was Susanna. The governor was anxious that she should come to America, but this was prevented by the fondness of her mother. His eldest daughter Rebecca, was married to Edmund Freeman, Jr. of Sandwich. These were the children of Patience Brewster, a daughter of

* "Thomas Prence, Esq. Governor of the Jurisdiction of New Plymouth, died 29th March, 1673, and was interred the 8th of April following, after hee had served God in the office of Governor 16 yeares, or neare thereunto. He finished his course in the 73 yeare of his life; hee was a worthy gentleman, very pious, and very able for his office, and faithful in the discharge thereof, studious of peace, a well-wisher to all that feared God, and a terror to the wicked; his death was much lamented, and his body honorably buried at Plymouth the day and yeare above mentioned." Plymouth Colony Records.

the venerable William Brewster, to whom Governor Prence was married in 1624. By his second wife, Mary, who was the daughter of William Collier, one of the assistants, formerly a London merchant, and to whom he was married in 1635, he was the father of seven daughters, viz: Mary, married to John Tracy of Duxbury; Elizabeth, to Arthur Howland of Duxbury; Judith, to Isaac Barker of Duxbury; Hannah, to Nathaniel Mayo, of Eastham; Jane, to Mark Snow of Eastham; Sarah, to Jeremiah Howes of Yarmouth; Mercy, to John Freeman of Eastham.

The Governor uniformly wrote his name *Prence*, as given in this memoir. The common orthography is supposed to be in conformity to the pronunciation, and according to the mode of spelling adopted by the families of Prince, who settled at Nantasket and Hull. Governor Prence having left no male descendants, those of the name in Boston, and other parts of the country, are not of his family; many of them are known to be descended from John Prince of Hull, son of Rev. John Prince, of East Shefford, in Berkshire, England, who came to this country in 1633, settled first at Watertown or Cambridge, was admitted freeman in 1635, removed to Hull, and died there in 1676. Rev. Mr. Prince, the chronologist, a grandson of John Prince, remarks, that Governor Prence highly valued him, and claimed a remote relationship.

V. JOSIAS WINSLOW.

Josias Winslow, the fifth governor of the colony of New Plymouth, was the son of Edward Winslow, of whose life and public services some account has been given in the preceding pages. He was born at Marshfield, in the year 1629.* In his early education he enjoyed neither the discipline nor advantages of a school or college, as there was no school in the colony at that period; but he had the benefit of his father's immediate care and instruction, as well as of the counsels and assistance of the excellent Mr. Brewster and of Governor Bradford; and his public career served to shew that he had profited by their examples of steady virtue, energetic spirit, and disinterested public action. He was the first native of the country who held the office of governor, and has been pronounced "the most accomplished man of his day in New England."

Mr. Winslow was introduced into public life at a very early age. In 1642, probably as soon as he was eligible to that post, he was chosen one of the deputies to the general court from the settlement at Marshfield, and was elected to the same trust in several subsequent years. In 1657, soon after the death of his father, he was appointed one of the assistants, and was annually re-elected until chosen governor. Two years afterwards, in 1659, he was appointed to a still more responsible station, in the

* Some writers give the English termination to the christian name of Mr. Winslow, *Josiah;* but in this memoir, the name is given as I find it uniformly written by himself, in all the manuscripts which I have seen, containing his signature.

existing condition of the colony, that of major, or chief military commander of the colony—a post hitherto held by the warlike Miles Standish.

In the early periods of the colonial government, the highest military office was that of captain; but in 1653, the military force was placed under the command of a major, who was appointed by the council of war, consisting of eleven men, to whom in that year had been transferred the whole power of military legislation for the colony, and the appointment of all military officers. The major was the chief officer over all the forces of the colony, subject only to the instructions of the council of war.

During the memorable Indian war of 1675, Governor Winslow had the command of the forces of the confederated colonies, as general-in-chief. He was first chosen one of the commissioners from Plymouth colony under the confederation, in 1658, and was re-elected to the same office annually for thirteen successive years.

A brief survey of the principles and objects of this celebrated confederation of the New England colonies—the germ of our present happy union of independent States—has been given in the memoir of the first Governor Winslow.*

In all the deliberations of the Commissioners, after he became a member of that body, Mr. Winslow bore a conspicuous part, and exercised a salutary influence. It was an age of severe religious discipline. The toleration of any sect but one's own, was almost universally considered at that time as absolutely heretical, and subversive of all religious faith and discipline, and dangerous

* See pp. 120—122, of this volume.

to the community.* The persecuted had in turn become the persecutors. The laws against the anabaptists, and more especially those against the Quakers, not then so orderly a people as at present, were severe in the extreme, and were executed to the very letter: fully demonstrating the truth of the remark of Montesquieu, that "every religion which is persecuted, becomes itself persecuting; for as soon as by some accidental turn it arises from persecution, it attacks the religion that persecuted it."

It should be mentioned as a circumstance honorable to the character of Governor Winslow, that he opposed the rigorous measures adopted in New Plymouth against the Quakers. When the Commissioners of the United Colonies, in 1658, exasperated by the obstinacy and violence of the new sect, issued to the several colonies the recommendation that they should be put to death, "unless they publicly renounced their cursed errors"—he had the moral courage to oppose this horrible edict, and he opposed it in every form. It is not often that public men have the nerve to stand up in opposition to the great body of the people whom they serve; less often are they found to possess the strength of character

* The early writers of New England are seldom found to touch upon this subject, otherwise than in terms of bitterness. Ward, in "The Simple Cobler of Agawam," says—"That state that will give Liberty of Conscience in matters of Religion, must give Liberty of Conscience and Conversation in their Moral Laws, or else the Fiddle will be out of Tune, and some of the strings crack. * * * It is said, That Men ought to have Liberty of their Conscience, and that it is Persecution to debar them of it: I can rather stand amazed than reply to this: it is an astonishment to think that the brains of men should be parboyl'd in such impious ignorance: Let all the wits under the Heavens lay their heads together and find an assertion worse than this, (one excepted,) I will petition to be chosen the universal Ideot of the World."—See "The Simple Cobler," in Force's Tracts, Vol. III, No. 8.

and capacity necessary to enable them to stem the torrent of a general public delusion. This independence of the popular sentiment, under the preceding administration of Governor Prence, had caused General Cudworth, Isaac Robinson, and other excellent men to be proscribed, and driven from public employment; but Mr. Winslow's popularity was such, that he was enabled to sustain himself in the attitude he had assumed. He was in advance of the times; and the people soon began to see it; so that in the end, when the popular delusion had passed away, he was the more admired, and his influence became the stronger, for his firmness in maintaining his opinions.

Governor Prence died in the spring of 1673, and at the next general court, which was held in June, Mr. Winslow was chosen his successor. He had now an opportunity to make a further exhibition of his tolerant principles. We accordingly find that he immediately determined upon the restoration of a most valuable citizen, then in retirement, to his rights as a freeman, in order that he might avail himself of the benefit of his abilities and integrity in the public service. This person was General James Cudworth, an assistant from Scituate, in 1657, who had been left out of office, and disfranchised, under the administration of Governor Prence, in consequence of his opposition to the harsh proceedings against the Quakers.* Other persons, also proscribed for their opposition to the persecution of that sect, were soon after restored to their rights as freemen by Governor Winslow. One of these was Isaac Robinson, son of the venerable puritan founder, John Robin-

* See pp. 154, of this volume.

son, who seems to have inherited the liberal and tolerant spirit of his father.

For some years previous to 1675, the people of the colony had lived in general harmony with their Indian neighbors. The treaty of 1621 with Massasoit had been scrupulously observed, and while he lived, the Indians were faithful to his promises. After his death, his son and successor, Alexander, who was understood to be conspiring with the Narragansetts against the English, was summoned before the governor and council at Plymouth, to answer to the charge. Hesitating about a compliance with this abrupt summons, he was surprised by a party under the command of Major Winslow, and finally persuaded by one of his own counsellors to go to the house of the governor at Plymouth. His indignation was so great at his surprisal, that it threw him into a fever. He had leave to depart, on leaving his son as a hostage, but he died before reaching home.*

Metacomet, of Pokanoket, better known as King Philip, succeeded his brother Alexander. He affected to renew the treaty of peace, but he was at the same time secretly meditating the overthrow of the English. Far more intelligent than most of his race, he beheld with dismay the tokens which announced the falling fortunes of his country. He saw his people wasting away, and that they must ultimately become extinct. He had also family wrongs to redress, and personal enmities to avenge. He had been subjected to ignominious treaties. The expressions of reverence and respect which he had

* See particulars in relation to the surprisal and death of the sachem Alexander, pp. 163—166, ante. Compare also accounts in Drake's Book of the Indians, b. iii. and authorities there cited.

uttered for the British monarch, had been construed into submission, and an acknowledgment of fealty. When summoned on some occasion to renew his treaty with the English, he replied, "Your Governor is but a subject of King Charles of England. I shall not treat with a subject. I shall treat of peace only with the King, my brother. When he comes, I am ready!" Such was the lofty spirit of the last monarch of the Wampanoags. But he could not maintain it, nor withstand the rapidly advancing power of the whites. They repeatedly summoned him to appear before the English courts at Plymouth and at Boston, sometimes upon frivolous charges, and he was compelled to answer the summons. He was charged with perfidy, for breaking promises made while under restraint, and with impiety, for adhering to the religion of his ancestors, in compliance with the injunctions of his father.* And he was finally required to deliver into the hands of his enemies, all his weapons of defence. Such were his supposed wrongs. His vengeance could be glutted only by the blood of his enemies. His scheme to accomplish that vengeance, was one of the most extraordinary ever conceived by the mind of a savage. He visited all the tribes dwelling within the limits of New England, for the purpose of organizing a combination to exterminate the whites. The plot seems to have been well and carefully laid, and was ripening apace. Of this confederacy he was to be the chief. Though the sachem of a petty tribe, he soon raised himself to a prouder eminence than was ever before attained by the red man of North America. The Narragansetts had engaged to join him with their whole strength, so that he could

* Hutchinson's History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 276.

bring into service between three and four thousand warriors. The spring of 1676, was the period fixed for commencing this great enterprise. The attack was to have been simultaneous from the Cocheco to the Narragansett. But the plot was prematurely developed, and Philip was forced to commence the struggle before he was prepared, and under many disadvantages.

The war commenced in June, 1675, in the following manner. John Sausaman, a praying, or Christian Indian, friendly to the English, gave them notice of the hostile intentions of Philip and his allies. The information he gave, cost him his life. He was met soon afterwards by three or four of Philip's Indians, on a frozen pond, when they knocked him down, and put him under the ice, leaving his gun and hat upon the ice, to make the English believe that he accidentally fell in and was drowned. When the body was found, the wounds upon his head, and the testimony of an Indian, who, from a hill overlooking the spot, saw the murder committed, were sufficient proofs against the murderers. They were thereupon arrested, tried at Plymouth in June, 1675, condemned, and executed. Governor Winslow, in a letter to the governor of Massachusetts, dated 4 July, 1675, says, "I do solemnly profess we know not anything from us that might put Philip upon these motions, nor have we heard that he pretends to have suffered any wrong from us, save only that we had killed some Indians, and intended to send for himself, for the murder of John Sausaman. The last that was executed this week, confessed that he saw the other two do the murder. Neither had we any thoughts to command him in about it." Among the Indians, a murderer was left to the revenge

of relatives and friends of the victim; but the renegade and traitor, was to be slain by any of the tribe who should be able to reach him. Philip regarded Sausaman as a traitor. Enraged to see the immediate actors brought to punishment by the English laws, and expecting that it would be his own turn next, being conscious that the murderers were employed by him, he took no pains to exculpate himself; but gathered what strangers he could, and together with his own men, marched them up and down the country in arms.

Governor Winslow ordered a military watch to be kept up in every town, but took no other notice of the conduct of the Indians, hoping that when Philip saw that measures were used for apprehending him, the threatened storm would blow over, as it had done several times before. But the Indians coming in to him from several quarters, gave him fresh courage, and he behaved with insolence, first threatening the English at Swansey, then killing some of their cattle, and at length rifling their houses. An Englishman, at Swansey, was at length so provoked, that he fired upon an Indian, and wounded him.

This was an act that Philip desired, as among his people there was a superstitious belief, that the party which first shed blood in the struggle, would finally be conquered. He now commenced an active war; and believing, that nothing short of the destruction of the English would secure the Indians from total ruin, he exerted his utmost energies in prosecuting a war of extermination. Murder, fire and desolation marked his course. There was scarcely an English family that did not suffer in the loss of relatives, or the destruction of

property. The approach of the enemy was noiseless, like "the pestilence that walketh in darkness;" and a dwelling wrapt in flames, or a family barbarously murdered and scalped, were often the first intimations of their appearance.*

Under the new articles of confederation, the regular triennial meeting of the Commissioners of the United Colonies was holden at Boston, in September of this year, (1675.) Governor Winslow and Thomas Hinckley, the two Commissioners from Plymouth, presented to that body "A brief narrative of the beginning and progress of the present trouble between us and the Indians, taking its rise in the colony of New Plymouth, A. D., 1675." This paper, probably drawn up by Governor Winslow, recited the circumstances which went to shew the undoubted hostile intent of Philip, from 1671 to the massacre at Swansey, on the 25th of June, 1675. The United Colonies at once declared the war to be a common cause, and ordered the raising of a thousand men.

At the close of the year, the colonies became aware of the necessity of prosecuting an active campaign in the midst of winter. It was no longer doubted that the Narragansett Indians were in secret alliance with Philip. A declaration of war against the Narragansetts was accordingly published in November, by the Commissioners of the United Colonies. Governor Winslow, one of their body, was appointed commander-in-chief of all the the forces. He was well qualified for this important trust, by bravery and ability, tempered with prudence and discretion.

* Willard, in Farmer and Moore's Hist. Coll. iii. 106.

It has been said that Governor Winslow was an object of the mortal hatred of the Wampanoags, on account of his agency in the capture of Alexander. Philip made no secret of his purpose to avenge the affront; and the governor found it necessary to put his house in a complete state of defence. He deemed it prudent, also, while the war lasted, to place his family out of the reach of the tomahawk, and he accordingly sent his wife and children to Salem.*

The Commissioners, deeming it of the highest importance to anticipate their enemies, and frustrate their plans, ordered that the army under General Winslow, should prepare for active service by the 10th December. Instructions were drawn up in form for the conduct of the campaign, addressed to General Winslow; a portion of which, was as follows:—

"You are, at the time appointed, to march with all convenient speed, with the forces under your command, to the Narriganset country, or to the place where the head quarters or chief rendezvous of the enemy is known to be. And having acquainted your officers and soldiers of your commission and power, you shall require their obedience thereunto; and see that they be governed ac-

* "My person, I hear, has been much threatened. I have about twenty men at my house; have sent away my wife and children to Salem, that I may be less encumbered; have flankered my house, and resolve to maintain it, as long as a man will stand by me." *Gov. Winslow to Gov. Leverett, 4th July*, 1675.

The following order, transcribed from the Old Colony Records, may serve to show the extent of the dangers, which at this time menaced the existence of the colony: "*Ordered by the Court*, that during the time of public danger, that every one that comes to the meeting on the Lord's day, bring his arms with him, and furnished with at least five charges of powder and shot, until further order shall be given, under penalty of 2*s.* for every such default." At the same time an order was passed, prohibiting the waste of ammunition by firing at any thing, "except at an Indian, or a wolf," under a further penalty of 5*s.* for every offence.

cording to rules military, that all profaneness and disorder in your camp and quarters be avoided as much as in you lieth, and that you impartially punish the breaking forth thereof in any.

"You are to see that the worship of God be kept up, and duly attended in the army, by daily prayer and invocation of His name, and preaching of His word as you have opportunity, and the Sabbath be not profaned, but that, as much as in you lies, and the emergency of your service will admit, you take care it be duly sanctified, and your ministers respect it.

"And that you endeavour as silently and suddenly to surprise the enemy as you can, and if possible draw or force them to an engagement, and therein to do valiantly for the honour of God and of our nation, and the interest of the country; and that you encourage valour in any, and severely punish cowardice."*

The army under the command of Winslow consisted of from fifteen hundred to two thousand men, including volunteers and Indians, and a troop of horse, under command of Captain Thomas Prentice. The Massachusetts forces were divided into six companies, commanded by Captains Mosely, Gardiner, Davenport, Oliver and Johnson, under Major Appleton. Those of Connecticut were commanded by Major Treat, who had under him Captains Seily, Mason, Gallop, Watts, and Marshall. The Plymouth forces were commanded by Major William Bradford, son of Governor Bradford, and Captain John Gorham. It was unfortunate that Captain Church, in consequence of some previous misunderstanding with

* The Instructions to General Winslow, are published in III Mass. Hist. Coll., i. 66.

the government, was prevented having a command on this occasion; but, at the particular desire of the commander-in-chief, he took part in the campaign as a volunteer. The Narragansett country, in which were to be the war operations, was almost an entire wilderness. Philip's fort was located in South Kingston, Rhode Island, in an immense swamp, in the centre of which was a piece of high ground, comprising about five or six acres. The fortification was formed by high pallisades, encircling the whole of the elevated land. The pallisades were encompassed by a thick and almost impenetrable hedge of fallen trees, with their branches pointing outward, of almost a rod in width. At one corner there was an opening, where a large fallen tree was placed, rising four or five feet from the ground, but this entrance was defended by a sort of block-house, and by flankers at the sides. The common entrance into this fort, was by passing along the body of a tree, which had been thrown over a body of deep water between the fort and the main land, which could be done only in single file. Within this strong enclosure, the Indians had erected about five hundred wigwams of superior construction, intended for the winter quarters of their whole people, men, women and children. Here they had deposited a large quantity of provisions, and baskets and tubs of corn were so piled one upon another, as to afford additional defence against the English bullets. It is estimated that not less than three thousand people had collected here, as their safe retreats. The warriors were armed with bows and arrows, muskets and tomahawks.

On the 18th December, 1675, General Winslow's army marched to attack Philip and his Narragansett al-

lies, in their strong fort; the weather was cold and stormy, and the snow more than ankle deep on the ground. The houses on their route, in which they expected to quarter that night, had been burnt down by the Indians, before their arrival, and they were destitute of shelter during the night. At the dawn of the following day, they resumed their march of fifteen miles, and at one o'clock, reached the margin of the swamp, where, having no shelter from the inclemency of the weather, and being short of provisions, they resolved to make an immediate attack. Not an Englishman was acquainted with the situation of the Indian fort; but it was fortunate for them, that, a few days before, some thirty-five of Philip's men had been made prisoners by Captain Mosely, among whom was one named *Peter*, who turned traitor to his countrymen, and undertook to guide the army through the intricate paths of the forest to the seat of his Sachem. The assault was now commenced; the Indians at the margin of the swamp were driven to their strong hold, and the troops, without any regular order, rushed impetuously up to the barriers of the fort; the officers and men were intermixed, but they faced death with boldness and courage. The gallant Captains, Johnson and Davenport, with a number of their men, were soon seen to fall, and as one after another was swept off at the narrow passage, by the enemy's fire, others supplied the places of the slain. Overwhelmed by the deadly fire of the Indians, there was a momentary recoil, and the troops throwing themselves down with their faces to the ground, the bullets passed over them. Two other companies advancing, were also compelled to retreat; but, animated by the exhortations and exertions of General Winslow

and Major Appleton, the soldiers were rallied, and again resumed the conflict. A few officers and men had now forced their way into the fort, and here commenced a personal combat, hand to hand. At this moment, a voice was heard, *"they run! they run!"* This operated like enchantment upon the English, and a general rush through the barriers ensued; the Indians were driven from their posts at every point, and from wigwam to wigwam in great confusion. An immense slaughter took place; neither men, women nor children were spared; all were hewn down, and the ground was literally encumbered with heaps of the slain. In the midst of this awful fight, fire was communicated to their wigwams, when the howlings and yells of the savages were mingled with the roar of musketry, the raging of the consuming fire, and the screams of the women and children; altogether forming a scene inconceivably appalling to humanity.

The battle continued for three hours with unexampled ferocity and obstinacy; quarters were neither asked nor received, but carnage and death were on every side. The whole army, officers and men, fought with undaunted courage; the captains led their men to the conflict, and continued at their head till they received the fatal bullet. Captain Church, always brave, and never inactive, by permission led the second party that entered the fort, and while within, he was struck at the same instant with three bullets from a party of the enemy. He received a severe wound in his thigh, and another slight wound, but the third bullet struck against a thick pair of woollen mittens, which was doubled in his pocket, which saved him from a fatal wound. For some time after the

fort was in possession of the English, the combatants in various parts of the swamp, continued the work of slaughter.

The English being masters of the fort, it became a question whether to hold possession of it for the present, or to abandon it immediately. General Winslow and Captain Church were decidedly in favor of holding possession. As the darkness of night was approaching, the troops might find shelter in the wigwams that were not burnt, and avail themselves of the Indians' provisions, which they greatly needed. But this measure was violently and very improperly opposed by one of the Captains and a surgeon, probably from the apprehension that the Indians might rally their forces, and drive them from the fort in their turn. The surgeon asserted that unless the wounded were removed that night, it could not be effected the next day, when their wounds would be inflamed and painful; and turning to Captain Church, whose blood was then flowing from his wounds, impudently said to him, 'that if he gave such advice, he should bleed to death like a dog, before he would endeavor to staunch his wound.' It was now decided to quit the ground, which was done with some precipitation, leaving eight of their dead in the fort. It was indeed a cruel dilemma, after fighting three hours, to be compelled to march fifteen miles through the snow, and in a most boisterous night, before they could halt, and the wounded could be dressed; and it is not strange that many of the wounded died before they could reach their destined quarters. Drake has well said, that the sufferings of the English after this fight, are almost without a parallel in history. The horrors of Moscow will not longer be re-

membered. The myriads of modern Europe assembled there, bear but a small proportion to the number of their countrymen, compared with that of the army of New England and theirs, in the fight at Narragansett.*

Thus ended this memorable engagement, and the victory on the side of the English was purchased at the high price of eighty men killed, and one hundred and fifty wounded. Six brave captains were killed, viz: Davenport, Gardiner, Johnson, Gallop, Seily, and Marshall. Lieutenant Upham was mortally wounded, and Captain John Gorham, of Barnstable, died of a fever on the expedition. The number of Indians slain is uncertain; but Hubbard says it was confessed by *Potock*, a great counsellor amongst them, who was taken and executed, that seven hundred fighting men were slain, and three hundred wounded, the most of whom died. The number of old men, women and children, who were burnt in their wigwams, and who died from hunger and cold, must have been immense.

Such was the result of the great Narragansett-Swamp Fight. The suddenness of the retreat rendered the honors of the victory equivocal, but the consequences of victory followed; the Narragansetts never recovered from the effects of this terrible disaster. If treachery was actually designed, the crime was sufficiently expiated by this horrible infliction.

When General Winslow arrived at his quarters at Wickford, four hundred of his soldiers, besides the wounded, were rendered unfit for duty, and many of

* Book of the Indians, b. iii. c. 2. See accounts of the Narragansett war, as given by Church, Hubbard, Mather, Hutchinson, Trumbull, Baylies, &c. Drake's invaluable book embodies all that is necessary to be known of the Indians of New England.

them were frost-bitten. The snow that fell during the night rendered travelling almost impracticable.

After some ineffectual attempts to renew the peace, General Winslow, in January, 1676, marched for the swamp, where the diminished forces of the Narragansetts were posted. As the English approached, the Indians fled, and when overtaken, dispersed singly into the swamps, where it became a vain effort to pursue them. The war however was prosecuted with unabated vigor, in the following year, until the death of Philip, in August, 1676, put a period to the contest. The Indians in all the surrounding country, after the fall of their great leader, generally submitted to the English, or fled and became incorporated with distant tribes.

In this distressing war, more than six hundred of the colonists were slain, twelve or thirteen towns were laid waste, and about six hundred buildings, chiefly dwellings, were destroyed by the Indians. The colonists consoled themselves with the reflection, that they had not made a war of aggression, and that it was on their part unprovoked. In a letter dated 1 May, 1676, Governor Winslow remarked: "I think I can clearly say, that, before these present troubles broke out, the English did not possess one foot of land in this colony which was not fairly obtained, by honest purchase from the Indian proprietors."

The fall of Philip was then considered as the extinction of a virulent and implacable enemy. It is now viewed as the fall of a great warrior, a penetrating statesman, and a mighty prince. It then excited universal joy and congratulation, as a prelude to the close of a merciless war. It now awakens sober reflections, on the in-

stability of empire, the peculiar destiny of the aboriginal race, and the inscrutable decrees of Heaven. The patriotism of the man was then overlooked, in the cruelty of the savage; and little allowance was made for the natural jealousy of the sovereign, on account of the barbarities of the warrior. Philip, in the progress of the English settlements, foresaw the loss of his territory, and the extinction of his tribe; and made one mighty effort to prevent these calamities. He fell, and his fall contributed to the rise of the United States.*

The enterprising spirit of Governor Winslow was too great for his feeble frame, and at the beginning of February, 1676, he was compelled to retire from a command, which required a considerable degree of physical hardihood no less than military skill. The commissioners of the United Colonies voted him a gratuity of one hundred pounds, and a grant was also made to him by the Plymouth Colony, in testimonial of the high sense entertained by the people of his eminent services in the preceding campaign.

After the Indian war had terminated, the attention of the government was directed to the great object of obtaining from the King, the long promised charter for the colony. Connecticut had received her charter, and the royal favor had been promised in express terms to the people of Plymouth. Governor Winslow, well aware of the perverse policy prevailing in the mother country, and of the efforts making by Massachusetts to obtain a grant of the lands of Mount Hope, conquered from the Indians, deemed it expedient to enlist the aid of Edmund Randolph, sometimes called the "evil genius

* Ramsay's Univ. Hist., i. 286.

of New England," who had just been appointed to the collectorship of Boston, and possessed some influence at court. Mount Hope was claimed by Rhode Island, and also by John Crown, a favorite at court, who urged his suit upon the ground of losses sustained by his father in the surrender of Nova Scotia to the French, by the treaty of Breda.

The necessity of sending an agent to London now became apparent, and Governor Winslow was solicited to undertake the mission. Randolph, in a letter to him, dated 29 Jan. 1680, says—"The inclosed, from Crown, came to my hands at Piscataqua: by that you will easily see a necessity of speeding for court. I did not forget to signify your grateful receipt of his Majesty's letters; and being indisposed, you desired that nothing might be done about Mount Hope, till somebody did appear from your colony. Sir, be assured Mr. Crown will be doing, and his interest at court is not small; and considering the necessity there is of renewing your charter, you can never do your colony greater service, than to appear yourself at Whitehall, where you will very well stem his designs. I know not yet but I may wait upon you to England, intending to be where I may be most serviceable to his majesty's affairs, and assistant to the people of this country."*

Governor Winslow's declining health, however, put it out of his power to gratify the wishes of the people. It might have been fortunate for the colony, had it been otherwise; as the reputation which Governor Winslow enjoyed at home and in England, aided by his own address and accomplishments as a statesman and

* I Mass. Hist. Coll., vi. 92.

gentleman, might have secured a charter, and perhaps prolonged the separate existence of the Old Colony.

If it can be said that any one is fortunate, it may be truly said of the second Governor Winslow. His whole life was passed during the existence of the colony of which he was a native. He knew no other country. He died while it was independent, and before the extinction of its independence was anticipated or seriously apprehended.

The early colonists, when they looked into their situation, must always have felt a deep apprehension of possible evils—a sense of insecurity; an anticipation of the desolation and bloodshed of an Indian war. At the time of his death, the question was settled; the aboriginals were conquered; and such as remained in the vicinity of the English, were beginning to be objects of commiseration, rather than of terror.

In the accomplishment of this great work, Governor Winslow had been a principal and triumphant actor. In his native colony, he had stood upon the uppermost heights of society. Civic honors awaited him in his earliest youth; he reached every elevation which could be obtained, and there was nothing left for ambition to covet, because all had been gained. The governor acquired the highest military rank, and had been engaged in active and successful warfare, with the highest command then known in New England. He presided over the legislative, executive, and judicial departments of the government.

Governor Winslow lived on his ample paternal domain, and his hospitality was not only generous, but (according to the notions of the age) magnificent. In

addition to his military and civic distinctions, he had acquired that of being the most accomplished gentleman, and the most delightful companion in the colony; and the attractions of the festive and social board at Careswell, were not a little heightened by the charms of his beautiful wife.

Mild and tolerant himself, he witnessed with regret the movements of that fierce spirit which would not tolerate the liberality, and was blind to the wisdom of Cudworth, Robinson, and others; and he had the address to restore them to the confidence of the people, at a period when the curse of the age, the spirit of religious bigotry, was maddened by opposition, and armed with conscious power.

Persevering, frank, bold, and resolute, he encountered the hazards of popular displeasure, with the same fearlessness that he did the ambushes and bullets of the savages—and he was successful.

Such was the heart, and such the spirit which animated the feeble frame of Josias Winslow. His health, never good, was much impaired by fatigues and exposure in the Narragansett campaign; after the war was over it rapidly declined, and he sunk into his grave at the age of fifty-one, in the fullness of his honors, and with his mental faculties unsubdued by disease, and unimpaired by age. This bright picture of his character has its shades; his courage bordered on rashness, and his easy temper sometimes exposed him to the machinations of the unworthy.*

Governor Winslow died on the 18th December, 1680, in the fifty second year of his age. The expenses of his

* Baylies' History of New Plymouth, Part IV. 8—10. Thacher, 139.

funeral were directed to be paid from the public treasury, "in testimony of the colony's endeared love and affection to him."*

Governor Winslow married Penelope, daughter of Herbert Pelham, Esq. of Boston, an assistant in the government of Massachusetts, a gentleman of ancient family, connected with the ducal house of New Castle. Mr. Pelham took an early interest in the settlement of New England, and came to Boston in 1645. He was an assistant in Massachusetts, from 1646 to 1649, when he

* Tradition furnishes the following anecdote: At the funeral of Governor Winslow, Rev. Mr. Witherell, of Scituate, prayed "that the Governor's son might be made half equal to his father." The Rev. Dr. Gad Hitchcock, on the same occasion, observed, "that the prayer was so very reasonable, that it might be hoped that God would grant it, but he did not."

An elegy on the death of Governor Winslow, written by Elder William Witherell, of Scituate, when eighty years old, has been preserved. The following extracts mark the character of the poem, the whole of which may be found in Deane's History of Scituate, 395.

"How many dangers hath this gentleman,
In's life escaped, both by sea and land!
Fort fights, Shoals, Quicksands, Quagmires, Boggs and Sloughs,
Enough to plunge an hundred strong teamed Ploughs,
Yet he brake through; but now we see him have
Mir'd and stuck fast in a dry upland grave.
The Pitcher that went oft whole to the well,
Comes home at last, crack'd like a broken shell.
Our Court of Justice sits in widowhood;
The Judge arrested—Baile will do no good.
Judges are stayes of States, when such stayes fall,
It bodes the weak'ning of the Judgment Hall. *Isaiah iii. 2.*

Somewhat above thrice compleat seven years since,
Plymouth hath lost blest Bradford, Winslow, Prince,
Three skilful Pilots through this Wilderness,
To conduct Pilgrims; all three called t'undress
Upon the top of Pisgah; while we here *Deu. xxxiv. 4, 5, 6.*
Left Pilotless, do without compass steer.

Thrice honored Rulers, Elders, People all,
Come and lament this stately Cedar's fall,
Cut down at's height, full noontide blest with shine
Of Royal favour, and (no doubt) Divine;
Freighted with tunns of honour. Every man
At's best estate is altogether vain. *Psalm xxxix. 5.*"

Judge Davis, in a note to Morton, remarks, that "this performance cannot but be regarded with tenderness, when we look at the signature, "Mœstus posuit, William Witherell, Octogenarius."

returned to England. He was of the same family with Thomas, Lord Pelham, who on the death of John Hollis, Duke of New Castle, 15 July, 1711, succeeded that nobleman in his titles and estates. Penelope Pelham, a sister of Herbert Pelham, was the wife of Governor Bellingham of Massachusetts. In the will of Herbert Pelham, dated at London, January 1, 1673, proved March 13, 1677, he is called of Ferrers, in Bewers Hamlet, in the county of Essex. His lands in Cambridge, Watertown, Sudbury, and elsewhere in New England, were given to his son Edward Pelham; and his personal property, in this country, to that son and his daughter Penelope Winslow, who survived her husband.*

Isaac Winslow, the only son of Governor Winslow, born in 1671, was eminently distinguished, having sustained the chief places of power and honor in the colony, as chief military commander under the governor, and for several years Chief Justice of the Inferior Court of Common Pleas, Judge of Probate of Wills, and one of his Majesty's Council for the Province of Massachusetts Bay, for more than twenty years, and for several years President of that body. This gentleman possessed a truly noble spirit, was much given to hospitality, and univer-

* She died, in 1703, aged 73. A late tourist into the Old Colony, describes his visit to the seat of Mr. Winslow's family, in Marshfield, and to other memorable places, in that vicinity, in a manner that is creditable to his taste and feeling. Speaking of the family portraits, that of Josias Winslow, he says, is "evidently by the hand of a master, and his beautiful bride makes one of the group. She appears about twenty, and her costume is more modern than that given to other females of that period, of greater age. Her head-dress is of great simplicity. The hair parted on the top, and falling in ringlets on each side of her temples and neck; the countenance bespeaks gentleness and intelligence." [Alden Bradford, in Boston Commercial Gazette, 9th November, 1826.] The Winslow portraits are now in the cabinet of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

sally beloved. He died at his seat in Marshfield, December, 1738, in the 68th year of his age.

His eldest son, a young gentleman of great promise, by the name of Josiah, engaged in military service, received a captain's commission, and was killed in battle, with thirteen of his company, after a most gallant resistance against a superior force of French and Indians, in the war of 1724.

General John Winslow, the eldest of the surviving sons of Isaac, was a distinguished and successful commander. In 1740, he commanded a company in the expedition against Cuba, and afterwards rose to the rank of Major General in the British service.

In 1755, an expedition against Nova Scotia was undertaken by the British Government. The boundaries were unsettled—the English claiming to the St. Lawrence, the French restricting them to the peninsula of Acadia. The French were in the occupancy of the disputed territory, and had erected forts to defend it. To dispossess them, was the object of the expedition, which was placed under the command of Colonel Monckton. The troops, which were mostly drawn from Massachusetts, were placed under the immediate command of Lieutenant Colonel John Winslow, through whose personal influence and exertions nearly two thousand men had been raised for the expedition. He conducted the campaign with great skill. The two French forts were captured, with scarcely any loss on the part of the conquerors, and the whole Province completely reduced, chiefly through the enterprise and good conduct of Colonel Winslow. To him was also entrusted the difficult and ungrateful task of removing the French neutrals, who were all expelled

from Nova Scotia. Previous to commencing the campaign of 1756, against Crown Point, General Abercrombie sent for General Winslow, and to him was to have been entrusted an attack on Ticonderoga, which was suspended by orders from Lord Loudon, in consequence of the disaster at Oswego. In 1756, he commanded at Fort William Henry, on Lake George. He was also a counsellor of the Province. He died at Marshfield in 1774, at the age of 73.*

General John Winslow left two sons, Pelham and Isaac. Pelham was an attorney at law and a leading citizen in Plymouth, but being a loyalist, became obnoxious to popular resentment, and found it necessary to resort for safety to the British camp. He joined the British army soon after the battle of Lexington, received a major's commission, was soon after appointed a commissary, and after continuing some years with the troops in New York, died at Flushing, Long Island, in 1783. His widow, originally Joanna White of Marshfield, returned to and died at Plymouth, May 1, 1829, aged 84.

Isaac was of the medical profession, and resided on the paternal estate at Marshfield, where he died in 1819, aged 81 years. He married the daughter of Dr. Stockbridge of Scituate. His only son John, an eminent law-

* Gen. Winslow was remarkable for his skill in horsemanship. He imported a valuable horse from England, and it was among his greatest delights to be mounted on his favorite animal. On a certain occasion, a number of gentlemen of Plymouth formed a party with Gen. Winslow, for a pleasure excursion to Saquish, in Plymouth harbor, and to return to dine in town. While there, Winslow fell asleep; the other gentlemen silently withdrew, and pursued their journey. When he awoke and found himself deserted, he mounted, and daringly plunged his steed into the channel, swam him across, more than half a mile, from whence he rode into town, making the whole distance but six miles, while his companions were riding fourteen miles. On their arrival, they were astonished to find the General seated in the tavern, prepared to greet them with a bowl of punch. Thacher, 142.

yer, died at Natches, Mississippi, in 1820, where he had removed on account of his health.

Edward, the younger brother of General John Winslow, was an accomplished scholar, and a gentleman of fine taste. He resided in Plymouth, and together with his son, filled the offices of clerk of the court, Register of Probate and collector of the port. Being a professed royalist, he removed to Halifax with his family, soon after the commencement of hostilities, where he died, June 8, 1784, aged 72 years. The ceremonies at his funeral were in a style to confer the highest honor and respect on his memory. In consequence of his removal, his estate in his native town was confiscated, but every branch of his family was by the British Government amply provided for during the remainder of their lives. His son, Edward Winslow, Jr., was also an intelligent and accomplished gentleman; he graduated at Harvard College in 1765. He was one of the founders and most active members of the Old Colony Club, and his address on the 22d of December, 1770, was the first ever delivered on the Pilgrim anniversary. Being friendly to the royal cause, he joined the British at Boston before the war commenced, and was afterwards appointed a Colonel in their service. He subsequently filled the offices of King's Counsellor, and Justice of the Supreme Court in New Brunswick, and died at Frederickton, in May, 1815, aged 70.*

* There are yet in existence some relics belonging to the Winslow family. A sitting chair which was screwed to the floor of the cabin of the Mayflower; for the convenience of a lady: it is known to have been in the possession of Penelope Winslow, who married James Warren. This chair is now in possession of a direct descendant from Peregrine White. A watch purse, composed of small beads, which was made by Penelope Pelham, while on her voyage to America. A curious ring, which contains the hair of governor Winslow; and a pearl spoon. Thacher, 144.

VI. THOMAS HINCKLEY.

THE family of HINCKLEY was originally from the county of Kent, in England. At a small parish in that county, called Egerton, John Lothrop, the pastor of the church, had embraced the faith of the puritans, and in 1623, renounced his orders in the church of England, and removed to London. He was followed by some of his parishioners, amongst whom was Samuel Hinckley, the father of Governor Hinckley. Mr. Lothrop, in 1624, became the second pastor of the first congregational church gathered in London, on the plan of that of Mr. Robinson, at Leyden. The church held their meetings privately, and escaped the vigilance of their persecutors for some time; but at length, in April, 1632, they were discovered by the pursuivant of the Archbishop, holding a meeting for religious worship at a house in Blackfriars. Forty-two of them were apprehended, and eighteen only escaped. Mr. Lothrop, with twenty-four others of his congregation, were imprisoned for about two years, when all but himself were released upon bail. Archbishop Laud obstinately refusing to pay any attention to his requests, Mr. Lothrop petitioned King Charles I., and was set at liberty, in April, 1634, on the condition offered, which he readily embraced, of departing from the kingdom. He now embarked for Boston, with about thirty of his church and people, where he arrived September 18, 1634, in the ship Griffin. On the 27th of the same month, he proceeded, with his friends, to Scituate, where a considerable settlement had already

been made by "the men of Kent," who gladly received Mr. Lothrop as a former acquaintance.*

Mr. Hinckley was one of those who accompanied Mr. Lothrop to Boston, and settled at Scituate. He was admitted a freeman in 1637, and in 1639 removed to Barnstable. Some of the first settlers of Scituate and Barnstable, were men of education and easy fortune, who had left homes altogether enviable, save in the single circumstance of the abridgment of their religious liberty. The "men of Kent," are duly celebrated in English history, as men of gallantry, loyalty and courtly manners. Vassall, Hatherly, Cudworth, Tilden, Hinckley, and others had been accustomed to the elegances of life in England. They were men eminently qualified for transacting not only the municipal concerns of their settlements, but for taking an active and leading part in the government of the colony.

THOMAS HINCKLEY was born in 1621, and came to New England soon after his father had made a settlement at Barnstable. The mere recital of the various public duties he was called upon to perform, some of which were the most arduous and responsible, as well as the highest in the government, is sufficient to shew that he was a man of more than ordinary ability and influence.

* Mr. Lothrop was educated at Oxford, as appears from Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses. Morton says, "he was a man of a humble spirit, lively in dispensation of the word of God, studious of peace, willing to spend and be spent for the cause and church of Christ." He was twice married. Four sons came with him from England: Thomas, who settled at Eastham, where his son Thomas was born in 1640, then at Barnstable; Samuel, at Norwich, or New London, Conn.; Joseph, at Barnstable; and Benjamin at Charlestown, Mass. Barnabas, and John, were born in this country, and settled at Barnstable. The Rev. Mr. Lothrop died in Barnstable, 8 Nov., 1653. His descendants are numerous. Mr. John Lothrop, of Boston, who wrote the memoir of the minister of Barnstable, published in II Mass. Hist. Coll., i. 163, was a descendant.

In 1645, he was first elected a deputy from Barnstable, and he was again elected in 1648, and at several subsequent periods. In 1658, when Mr. Cudworth, and Mr. Hatherly, two of the most excellent men in the colony, were proscribed and driven from office, on account of their opposition to the rash measures against the Quakers, Mr. Hinckley, falling into the popular current, was chosen one of the assistants, and continued in that office by successive re-elections until the year 1681. At the election in 1680, Mr. Hinckley was specially designated as deputy governor, in consequence of the ill health of governor Winslow, whose death was apprehended, and the extreme age of Mr. Alden,* who, as first assistant, would have succeeded to the chair, when vacant. In June, 1681, following the death of Josias Winslow, Mr. Hinckley was chosen governor, in which office (excepting for the short period of the rule of Andros, when he was a counsellor,) he was continued until the separate existence of the colony of New Plymouth was terminated by its incorporation with Massachusetts, under the charter of 1692. Upon that event, he was named one of the counsellors of the province of Massachusetts Bay, under the new charter.

The people of New Plymouth had for many years been anxious on the subject of obtaining a charter from the crown, similar to that of Connecticut. They held only under their patent from the Council of Plymouth,

* John Alden was one of the pilgrims of the Mayflower; settled at Duxbury in 1640; was representative, 1641 to 1649; an assistant of the colony under every administration, except that of Governor Carver—in all, 42 years. He married Priscilla, daughter of William Mullins, by whom he had eight children. He died 12 September, 1687, aged 89. A memoir, written by President Alden, one of his descendants, is contained in Alden's American Epitaphs, iii. 264.

which had no powers of sovereignty, and which had long since ceased to exist. They had all along felt that they were at the mercy of the King, who might, at any time, justify the dissolution of their charter, under the forms of his prerogative. They had consequently adopted a course of policy, which was designed to propitiate, as far as possible, the royal favor, and had received frequent assurances from Charles the Second, that a charter should be granted.

The perils of the Indian war had been scarcely passed through, leaving the colony comparatively weak, when dangers of another character began to menace its existence. Massachusetts on the one hand, and New York on the other, were intriguing for the appropriation of New Plymouth to themselves. The former colony had on more than one occasion shown a disposition to extend her borders. The conquered country of Mount Hope, was originally included within the limits of the Plymouth jurisdiction; and notwithstanding its complete separation from Massachusetts and contiguity to Plymouth; notwithstanding it had been conquered principally by the prowess of the people of this little colony, the government of Massachusetts endeavoured to wrest it from them, and to obtain a grant of its lands from the King. Rhode Island, too, which had not even participated in the war, preferred a claim to the lands; and John Crown, of Nova Scotia, alledging an obsolete claim of his father on the bounty of the King, nearly succeeded in obtaining the patent; but the monarch finally granted the lands to Plymouth. This was the only royal grant made in New England of lands conquered from the Indians, and was made in consequence of these conflicting claims.

In the controversy about Mount Hope, Governor Winslow, at the close of his administration, had found it expedient to cultivate the friendship of Edward Randolph, afterwards so odious throughout New England as the tool of Andros, and who had already obtained an unenviable notoriety in Massachusetts.* Governor Hinckley, well aware of the tortuous paths which marked all approaches to the royal ear, also kept up a good understanding with Randolph, who engaged to do every thing in his power to obtain the charter.

In September, 1681, General Cudworth was sent to England, as the agent for the colony. But dying not long after his arrival, he effected nothing, and his papers were lost. The royal displeasure was now manifested against Massachusetts; the *quo warranto* had issued against that colony; and the people of Plymouth were more than ever in suspense between their hopes and fears. They had already incurred the displeasure of the people of Massachusetts, by what was looked upon as a timid and time-serving policy; and now, they were threatened with the mortification of finding all their professions of loyalty disregarded by the King, whose favor they had been so anxious to secure. Mr. Blaithwait, of the Plantation Office in London, on the 27th September, 1683, address-

* Randolph, in a letter dated 29 Jan., 1680, to Governor Winslow, says— "I am received at Boston more like a spy, than one of his majesty's servants. They kept a day of thanks for the return of their agents; but have prepared a welcome for me, by a paper of scandalous verses, all persons taking liberty to abuse me in their discourses, of which I take the more notice, because it so much reflects upon my master, who will not forget it." The "scandalous verses," to which Randolph alludes, are to be found in Farmer and Moore's Hist. Coll., iii. 30. Randolph was the most inveterate and indefatigable of those intriguing men who found access to the royal ear of Charles II., with complaints against the colonies. On this mischievous business, he made no less than eight voyages in nine years across the Atlantic. He died in the West Indies.

ed Governor Hinckley, as follows: "I must deal plainly with you. It is not probable anything will be determined in that behalf until his majesty do see an issue of proceeding in relation to the Massachusetts colony, and that upon regulating their charter, that colony be brought under such actual dependence upon the crown as becomes his majesty's subjects. From hence it will be, that your patent will receive its model; and although you may be assured of all you desire, yet it will be expected that, in acknowledgment of so great favors, such provisions may be inserted as are necessary for the maintenance of his majesty's authority."

Anxious, if possible, to keep alive an interest in the royal bosom, the general court, in November, 1683, forwarded another address, wherein they congratulated his Majesty upon his deliverance, in answer to their prayers they hoped, from the late horrid conspiracy; and they had appointed the fifteenth instant for a day of solemn thanksgiving, for the salvation of his Majesty's royal person from that and other hellish conspiracies.* They go on to pray his Majesty's favor in granting them a charter, having sent over a true copy of their patent from the council of Plymouth. Randolph writes to the governor of Plymouth, the fourth of March following, that he had presented the address with the necessary amendments, to his Majesty in council, that it would be printed, was graciously received, and that they would find the benefit of it, in the settlement of their affairs. Upon the death of Charles II., they were distinguished by James II., from

* Reference is here made, probably, to the attempt to assassinate Charles II., at the Rye House Farm, near Hoddesdon, in Hertfordshire, on his way from Newmarket, called the Rye House Plot.

the other colonies, by a letter under his sign manual, (26 June, 1685,) acquainting them with his accession to the throne, the great things the parliament had done, the defeat of Argyle, and the landing at Monmouth, and the care taken to prevent his success; all to prevent any false and malicious rumors that might be spread among his Majesty's subjects at that distance. An address was sent to the King, upon his accession, taking notice of the assurances they had received from his royal brother, and praying that his Majesty might fulfil them. This was their last effort,* prior to the revolution of 1689.

Governor Hinckley took a deep interest in the efforts of the Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians. The labors of Eliot and the Mayhews had produced good fruits, and it appears from a statement drawn up in 1685, by Governor Hinckley, that the number of christianized Indians in the colony had increased.† The duties which this new relation of christian amity between the natives and the English, imposed upon the government, were sometimes onerous. Governor Hinckley, in the statement above referred to, says—"Their manner is not to accept any to be praying Indians or Christians, but such as do, before some of their magistrates or civil rulers, renounce their former heathenish manners, and give up themselves to be praying Indians; neither do they choose any other than such to bear any office among them. They keep their courts in several places, living so far distant one from another. Especially the

* Hutchinson's Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 344.

† According to the statement forwarded by Governor Hinckley to the corporation in England, there were at this time in the colony 1439 praying or christian Indians, besides boys and girls, under twelve years of age, which were supposed to be more than three times that number.

four chief places often desire my help amongst them, at their courts, and often do appeal from the sentence of the Indian Judges to my determination, in which they quietly rest, whereby I have much trouble and expense of time among them, but if God please to bless my endeavours to bring them to more civility and Christianity, I shall account my time and pains well spent. A great obstruction whereunto is the great appetite many of the young generation have after strong liquors, and the covetous evil humor of sundry of our English, in furnishing them therewith, notwithstanding all the court orders and means used to prohibit the same."*

Governor Hinckley, in his religious views, more closely resembled the rigid Governor Prence, than the tolerant Winslow.† While a deputy, a law was passed, at his instance, and for that reason sometimes called "Hinckley's law," which provided, "that if any neglect the worship of God in the place where he lives, and set up a worship contrary to God, and the allowances of this Government, to the publick profanation of God's Holy Day, and ordinances, he shall pay 10 shillings." When the Quakers made their appearance in New Plymouth, it was attempted to enforce the penalty of this law; but the attempt failed, "because the offender must do all things therein named, or else break not the law." General Cudworth states the curious fact, that in March, 1658, a court of deputies was called, when, after passing sundry acts touching the Quakers, they contrived to make this

* Hinckley Papers, Lib. Mass. Hist. Soc. In Davis' Morton, 407—415, is an interesting memoir of the situation and number of the Christian Indians, at that period in Massachusetts and New Plymouth colonies.

† Randolph, in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, dated 27 October, 1686, characterises Governor Hinckley as "a rigid independent."

act serviceable, by erasing the word "and" in the act, and inserting the word "or," which, being disjunctive, made every branch a law. The alteration, (says Cudworth,) though made in 1658, stands upon the record as the act of 1651, and was enforced to the letter against the Quakers.*

When Mr. Hinckley came to the government of the colony, he endeavored to carry out the policy of sustaining and extending a system of free schools, which he had advocated in the council of assistants, as well as to secure a competent support for the ministers of religion, then much neglected. When the first school was established by law in Plymouth in 1672, Mr. Hinckley had been appointed steward of the income set apart for its support, and had remained its faithful and consistent champion.

Prior to the year 1677, there was no law compelling the people to contribute for the support of public worship. There had been no occasion for one. The people were as much devoted to religion as their ministers; but as the ministers in a manner monopolized the learning of the colony, much of their time was employed in secular affairs, and they were possessed of a leading influence in the colony, and had sometimes consented to act as public officers.

Whatever was bestowed upon them was by voluntary donation; but as the colony increased in population, and new avocations engaged the attention of the people, they neglected the support of their teachers. New plantations also had been commenced, in which the poverty of the people afforded a plausible excuse for this neglect.

* See Cudworth's Letter, in Deane's Scituate, 247.

Many came into the settlement, who voted in all secular affairs, and who felt but little interest in supporting public worship.

The government of New Plymouth now saw or imagined, a necessity for enforcing the support of religion by law. Mr. Hinckley was an earnest and influential advocate of this policy. An act was passed in 1677, providing for a tax upon the people for the support of their ordained ministers, and in the following year another act was passed, requiring each town and village in the colony, to erect, finish, and keep in repair a house for public worship.

The law required that all taxable persons, irrespective of their particular faith or belief, should contribute to the support of the regular congregational ministry; and though it was much complained of, Governor Hinckley insisted on the enforcement of its provisions against the Quakers, who were the most numerous and wealthy of the dissenting sects. After Dudley's short rule commenced in 1686, the Quakers complained of the exaction, as contrary to the King's design of universal toleration. Dudley's commission did not include New Plymouth, but Randolph, in a letter to Governor Hinckley, dated 22 June, 1686, undertakes to admonish the latter in the following terms:—"Perhaps it will be as reasonable to move that your colony should be rated to pay our minister of the church of England, who now preaches in Boston, and you hear him not, as to make the Quakers pay in your colony."* Governor Hinckley complained of this as a great grievance, and contended that if the government was refused the right

* Hutchinson's Hist. Colony of Mass. 357.

to lay taxes, for the support of the ministry, the people would sink into barbarism. He knew that the puritans had now nothing to hope, but much to fear from the imposition of new laws by King James. He believed, as did most of the people of New Plymouth, that though it was pretended that the King was about to allow a universal toleration, it was only the prelude to the introduction of popery, and the imposition of grievous burthens upon the protestants. He continued, as heretofore, to enforce the collection of the tax for the clergy, until Andros, in March, 1687, sent him the following instructions:—"I am very much surprised you should issue forth so extraordinary a warrant as is now brought to me, under your hand and seal, dated the 12th of December past, so much mistaken and assuming (for payment of your minister) extrajudicially to command distress to be made on the goods of his Majesty's subjects. Out of respect to you, I have put a stop to the execution thereof, that neither the constable nor you may be exposed. Hoping you will be mindful of the station you are in, for his Majesty's service and the quiet of his subjects, that they be not amused nor troubled by mistaken notions, or clandestine illegal practices," &c.

The despotic rule of Andros had now commenced. Plymouth had no charter to surrender, but the government was changed, and the colony was allowed no other voice in public affairs, than the votes of the seven men whom Andros had selected to be of his council. Governor Hinckley, although he had experienced rude treatment from Andros, accepted a seat in his council.

King James the Second came to the throne in February, 1685, and was proclaimed at Plymouth in April.

He determined to consolidate the governments in New England into one. Dudley, while the scheme was perfecting, was commissioned temporarily as president of New England. But the royal grasp did not at first take in *all* of the colonies. New Plymouth and Connecticut were left out of the commission, until the appointment of Andros, in June, 1686, whose commission included all New England, excepting Connecticut, and of their charter he was subsequently authorized to receive the surrender.

Being without a charter, the government of Plymouth, having distinguished itself for loyalty, could now offer no resistance, and at once acknowledged and endeavored to make the best of the rule of Andros. Seven persons were selected from the colony of New Plymouth to be of the council of Andros, Governor Hinckley being the first named upon the list. For a time, Mr. Hinckley, acted as a judge of the prerogative court in Plymouth, established by Andros; but the governor as far as possible exercised the supreme power, civil and judicial, and tolerated no man in office, who was not his ready and willing instrument.

Some writers have considered it a stain upon the character of Governor Hinckley, that he consented to accept office under Andros. Baylies says, "the reader who reflects upon the transactions of that day in the pilgrim colony, cannot but think that when Governor Hinckley consented to act as a counsellor to Andros, he fell from his elevation, and the brightness of his character was dimmed. When the government of any country is thrown into such hands, it is the wisest and best policy to retire to that station which then emphatically

becomes the post of honor. It is true that Governor Hinckley went far to redeem his character eventually, by his manly resistance to the tyranny of Andros, but it would have been better, both for his own reputation and the public good, had he never consented, by acting as his counsellor, to have swelled the vanity of a petty despot, and to have lent for a time the sanction of his high character to lessen the odium of measures which soon became intolerable." "We regret to find, (says Judge Davis,) that Governor Hinckley accepted a seat in the council, which suspended the ancient authorities of the country, and authorized or countenanced a course of arbitrary, vexatious, and oppressive proceedings.—It should be observed, however, that many of this council were sincere well wishers to their country, and accepted a seat at the board, with a view of preventing injurious measures."

If the subsequent acts of Mr. Hinckley, while of the council of Andros, are closely scanned, they will sustain the most favorable construction which has been placed upon his conduct. The colony possessed no charter; their affairs had been conducted under a constitution of their own, democratic in its forms and administration; the people professing loyalty to the crown which had suffered them to enjoy their privileges. But they now saw that they were at the mercy of one of the most despotic monarchs who ever filled the British throne—and it may well be conceived, that the object of Governor Hinckley might have been to watch over the interests of the colony, as far as it was possible for him to do. He did not consent to the measures of Andros, and very seldom attended the meetings of the council, after the

first. This was also the case with William Bradford, Barnabas Lothrop, and John Walley, who were counsellors with him from Plymouth Colony.* They never attended more than one or two of the meetings. Most of the counsellors of Massachusetts also absented themselves, as they did not approve of the conduct of Governor Andros. It appears from documents which remain, that Governor Hinckley was decidedly opposed to the exceptionable proceedings of Andros and his adherents. In his letter to Mr. Blaithwait of the Plantation office, dated June 28, 1687, there is a full and free expression of the many grievances which the colony suffered under Sir Edmund Andros' administration. A petition to the King, on the same subject, in October of that year, is more minute and emphatic. It is signed, "Thomas Hinckley, in behalf of your Majesty's most ancient and loyal Colony of New Plymouth in New England."—In reference to the new patents and grants, which they were compelled to take for their lands, fairly acquired, and so long peaceably possessed, it is observed, that all the money left in the colony, would scarcely suffice "to pay one half the charge for warrants, surveying and patents, if every one must be forced thereto." The whole course

* Of Deputy Governor Bradford, a notice has already been given, in page 88 of this volume. Barnabas Lothrop was son of the Rev. John Lothrop, settled at Barnstable, was a deputy six years, and an assistant in 1681. He died in 1715, aged 79. John Walley was of Boston in 1671, was several times commander of the Anc. & Hon. Artillery, and colonel of the Boston regiment. Removing to New Plymouth, he was six years an assistant, one of the council under Andros in 1687, and with Bradford and Lothrop, counsellors under the charter of William and Mary, in 1692. He was judge of the supreme court of Massachusetts from 1700 to 1712, when he died at Boston, 11 January, aged 69. He commanded the expedition against Canada, in 1690, and his journal is published in the Appendix to Hutchinson's History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 554—566.

of Governor Hinckley, during this period of difficulty, seems to have been such, as to preserve the confidence of the people; for immediately after the deposition and imprisonment of Andros, in 1689, the ancient privileges of the colony of New Plymouth were resumed, and Governor Hinckley was again called to the chief magistracy.

At this period of general despondency, the late governor of Plymouth, Mr. Hinckley, had the courage to lay at the foot of the throne, the complaints of the people. In their behalf, acting for the Plymouth colony, he preferred a petition, in which the King was asked—

'That his majesty's subjects in New England might be quieted in possession of all property, both in houses and lands, as they enjoyed them before the government was changed on the 24th of May, 1686; and that the ancient records then settled for titles of lands, might be confirmed.

'That there be liberty of conscience in matters of religion; that their former methods of swearing in giving evidence may be allowed; and that all their meeting-houses might be left free to them, according to the intention of the builders thereof.

'That no laws may be made nor moneys raised there, without the consent of a General Assembly, as it is in the other plantations.

'That all townships may have liberty to assemble and manage the business of their several precincts as under the former government, and have power to reserve and dispose of all voluntary contributions.

'That the college at Cambridge in New England, and the revenues thereunto belonging, be confirmed in the hands of a president and fellows, as formerly.'

This petition, and all others, were unheeded by the King, who seemed to be influenced by a blind infatuation, which, as it rendered him insensible to the perils by which he was immediately surrounded, could scarcely have been expected to have permitted him to become sensible of those which were more remote. But a period to the reign of misrule was at hand. Goaded to resistance by the conduct of Andros, the people rose in a body, and deposed him in April, 1689, and the news of the revolution in England immediately followed. It was hailed with joy in New Plymouth.

Of the seven counsellors from Plymouth, Nathaniel Clark was the only one, who yielded a ready and servile compliance to the wishes of Andros. He of course became obnoxious to the people. The governor rewarded him with the grant of Clark's Island, in Plymouth harbor.* As soon as the news of the imprisonment of Andros was received, the people of Plymouth declared their detestation of Counsellor Clark, by a spirited manifesto, which bears date April 22, 1689, setting forth his oppressions and his crimes, and declaring that they seized upon his person, resolving to secure him, for the hands of justice to deal with him according to his demer-

* This island, which contains a little more than 80 acres of fertile land, was the earliest resting place of the Pilgrims from amidst the storm which they encountered on the night of the 8th December, 1620, while coasting along the bay before their final landing. These circumstances probably led the people to attach a particular reverence to the spot. It was never sold, but reserved for the benefit of the poor of the town. When the people heard that Clark had obtained the grant, they met in town meeting, and determined at all hazards to reclaim the Island. Their town clerk and committee, together with the minister of Duxbury, were thereupon arrested by order of Andros, and bound over for trial at Boston; and Clark was already exulting in anticipation of the enjoyment of his acquisition, when the fall of Andros restored the Island to its original proprietors. Thacher, 153.

its. He was accordingly imprisoned and put in irons, and the next year sent with Andros, his master, in the same ship to England.

The members of the general court of New Plymouth, which was in existence in 1686, when the government of Andros commenced, were now summoned together. They assembled on the first Tuesday of June, 1689, and reinstated the former government, at the same time issuing the following declaration: "Whereas, through the great changes Divine Providence hath ordered out, both in England and in this country, we, the loyal subjects of the Crown of England, are left in an unsettled state, destitute of government, and exposed to the ill consequences thereof, and having heretofore enjoyed a quiet settlement of government, in this their Majesties' Colony of New Plymouth for more than three score and six years, without any interruption; having also been, by the late Kings of England, by their royal letters, graciously owned and acknowledged therein; whereby, notwithstanding our late unjust interruption, and suspension therefrom, by the illegal, arbitrary power of Sir Edmund Andros (now ceased) the general court held here, in the name of their present Majesties, William and Mary, King and Queen of England, &c., together with the encouragement given by their said Majesties' gracious declarations, and in humble confidence of their said Majesties' good liking, do therefore, hereby re-assume, and declare their re-assuming of their said former way of government, according to such wholesome constitutions, rules and orders, as were here in force, in June, 1686, our title thereto being warranted by prescription and otherwise as aforesaid, and expects a ready submission thereunto, by all their Majesties good

should do the same; but others refusing, the subscription failed, as a matter of course.

In February, 1690, the Rev. Ichabod Wiswall, the minister of Duxbury, went to England, in company with Messrs. Elisha Cooke, and Thomas Oakes, who were appointed agents of Massachusetts for procuring the confirmation of the ancient charter of that colony. Soon after his departure, he was chosen an agent by Plymouth, to obtain the confirmation of their's; and subsequently, Increase Mather and Sir Henry Ashurst were appointed to act conjointly with him. Mather had previously fled from Massachusetts in disguise, during the administration of Andros, and embarked for England, in order to lay the complaints of that colony at the foot of the throne.

The agents were faithful to their trust, but the desired object could not be accomplished. In January, 1691, Cotton Mather thus writes to Governor Hinckley, referring to letters received from his father—"I perceive, that about the middle of last November, God had so blessed his applications, as when all other means of restoration to our ancient liberties failed us, he had obtained of the King an order to the Judges, Holt and Pollexfen, and the Attorney and Solicitor-General, to draw up a new charter for us, which was done, but just as the vessel came away, and waited for the broad seal, Governor Sclater (Sloughter) of New York, had Plymouth put into his commission, but purely through my father's industry and discretion, he procured the dropping of it. Our friends at Whitehall assured him, that if he had petitioned for a charter to be bestowed upon Plymouth, by itself, there had none been obtained for you, nor for us neither; wherefore he procured Plymouth to be inserted

in our grant. But when Mr. Wiswall understood it, he came and told my father your Colony would all curse him for it, at which the Solicitor-General, being extremely moved, presently dashed it out, so that you are now again like to be annexed unto the government of New York, and if you find yourselves thereby plunged into manifold miseries, you have none to thank for it but one of your own."

This intelligence excited much uneasiness and alarm in Plymouth Colony. The Rev. Mr. Cotton in a letter to Governor Hinckley, Feb. 6, 1691, urges him to repair to England, and to use his best endeavors to prevent the meditated arrangement. He assures the Governor that this is the opinion of many men of "wisdom, prudence, and piety," with whom he had consulted. "I believe none amongst us," he adds, "will be free to trust any but yourself; and as for the many hundreds of pounds, that must be collected to defray the charge of such an undertaking, I find, amongst us, great readiness, maugre all our great charges, to contribute liberally thereto." Mr. Cotton appears to have overrated the ability or disposition of the people, to make the necessary contributions.

The Court met in March, and with "hearty thanks," expressed to Sir Henry Ashurst, Rev. Mr. Mather, and Rev. Mr. Wiswall, besides a grant to Sir Henry Ashurst of fifty guineas, and to the other two gentlemen of twenty-five guineas each, voted to raise £200 more, to be remitted "toward the charge of procuring a charter." Sir Henry Ashurst was appointed sole agent, but was requested to advise with Mr. Mather and Mr. Wiswall. The amount voted, was not in the treasury, and a subscrip-

tion was opened, to raise the requisite sum, in the several towns, under the direction of the deputies.

It appears by subsequent letters, from Governor Hinckley to Messrs. Wiswall and Mather, that the whole sum was not raised, and what was collected was returned to the subscribers.

In a letter to Mr. Mather, dated 16 October, 1691, Governor Hinckley says—"Your service in keeping us from New York, and all other intimations for the good of this colony, is thankfully received, and it would have been well pleasing to myself and sundry others of the most thinking men, who are desirous of supporting the ministry and schools of learning, to have been annexed to Boston, yet the greater part of the people, and of our deputies, are most desirous of obtaining a charter for themselves, if possible to be procured, though so far as I can discern, they had much rather be annexed to the Massachusetts than New York, yet are not willing to have it mentioned, lest it should divert any endeavours for obtaining a distinct charter for themselves. It was voted that two hundred pounds should be raised by a voluntary contribution. On trial made, though some particular men and towns did contribute liberally, yet others, by reason of the great charge of the war, and partly being discouraged by some leading men telling them that they would but throw away their money, that they never would be like to obtain a charter, nor you neither for the Massachusetts, thereby the sum proposed fell considerably short, and by the court's order, the whole sum not being raised, none was to be sent. Not being in a capacity to make rates for any equal defraying the charge, I see little or no likelihood of obtaining a charter for us, unless their

majesties, out of their royal bounty and clemency, graciously please to grant it, *sub forma pauperis*, to their poor and loyal subjects of this colony." The letter to Mr. Wiswall is in the same strain, with the additional communication of some turbulent proceedings, in contempt of the authority of the Colony, particularly in the county of Bristol, in regard to taxes for operations against the French, in which he says, the people about Dartmouth and Little-Compton, were supported by Governor Sloughter, who arrived in New York in March, 1691.

Before these letters were written, however, the business was completed in England. The charter granted to Massachusetts, in which Plymouth was included, bears date October 7th, 1691. Mr. Wiswall could not be reconciled to this arrangement, and strongly expressed his feelings on the occasion, in a letter to Mr. Hinckley, dated the 5th of November following: "I do believe Plymouth's silence, Hampshire's neglect, and the rashness and impudence of one, at least, who went from New England in disguise by night, hath not a little contributed to our general disappointment. Plymouth, the Massachusetts, as far west as the Narragansett country, and northward three miles beyond Merrimack river, the province of Maine, and the lands from Sagadehoc eastward as far as the easternmost extent of Acadia or Nova Scotia, are clapt into one province, under such restrictions as I believe will not be very acceptable to those inhabitants who must lose their ancient names. There are in the new charter 28 counsellors (of which 4 for Plimouth) a governor and a deputy, all nominated by one who acts as if he were a sole plenipotentiary. The governor, deputy and secretary are to be nominated and con-

tinued only *durante bene placito.* Sir W. P. hath one that labours hard for his advancement.* I only reflect on New England's condition under this juncture of Providence, much like that of the Jews under Cyrus ascending the throne of their oppressor. At his first appearance, they were in hope to rebuild their city and sanctuary, but were deprived of their expected privileges all his days by ill minded counsellors. All the frame of heaven moves on one axis, and the whole of New England's interest seems designed to be loaden on one bottom, and her particular motions to be concentric to the Massachusetts tropic. You know who are wont to trot after the bay-horse; your distance is your advantage, by which you may observe their motions. Yet let me remind you of that great statesman, Ecclesiastes, viii. 14. Few wise men rejoice at their chains. Doubtless it would be accounted hypocrisy before God, and ground of despair among men, to see any person receive and entertain the present and undeniable evidences of his disappointment, with the usual testimonies and compliments attending the desire accomplished."

Mr. Wiswall in this, and in other letters, indulges in severe remarks on Mr. Mather, as if it were by his management, that the union of Plymouth with Massachusetts was effected; but there is reason to believe that his jealousies, on this subject, were unfounded. Mr. Mather

* The Rev. Mr. Wiswall here refers to Sir William Phips, upon whose appointment as governor in 1692, Cotton Mather exultingly exclaims—"The time has come! the set time has come! I am now to receive an answer to so many prayers. All of the Counsellors of the Province are of my own father's nomination, and my father-in-law, with several related to me, and several brethren of my own church, are among them. The Governor of the Province is not my enemy, but one I baptized; namely, Sir William Phips, one of my own flock, and one of my dearest friends."—Diary of Cotton Mather.

undoubtedly exerted himself to prevent the annexation of Plymouth to New York; and from an attentive examination of all accessible documents, on the subject, there appears no reason to doubt his fidelity and sincerity, in regard to Plymouth, as well as Massachusetts.* All his influence and that of his friends, and of the country's friends in England, which was very considerable, could not, probably, however exerted, have prevented the annexation of Plymouth, either to New York or to Massachusetts.

There appears no evidence of discontent on the part of Plymouth to this measure, after it was adopted. Governor Hinckley, in the letter already quoted, says to Dr. Mather, "that it would be well pleasing to himself and sundry other of the most thinking men, who are desirous of supporting the ministry and schools of learning," to be annexed to Massachusetts. Plymouth Colony had done worthily, during its separate existence. This was then acknowledged, and will be acknowledged in all future time; but there has, probably, been no period since the union, in which that transaction has been regretted by the people inhabiting the territory. The similarity of character, and identity of interests of every description, ren-

* Dr. Mather opposed the proceedings of Andros, in Massachusetts, with such boldness and energy, that he was obliged to leave the province to escape his tyranny. He was in England at the time of the revolution of 1688, and acquired great influence with the new government. Being considered the head and representative of the clergy of Massachusetts, the ministers of the Crown were desirous to conciliate him; well knowing that in fact the ecclesiastical was the predominating estate of the Colonial realm. To this end they gave him the nomination of the governor, counsellors, and all the officers appointed under the new charter. Quincy's Harv. Univ., i. 59. A knowledge of these facts probably led the honest minded Mr. Wiswall to believe that Dr. Mather possessed sufficient influence to have preserved the independence of New Plymouth, had he chosen to exert it.

dered such a union rational and desirable, and it is observable that the people of New Hampshire, as Dr. Belknap informs us, would gladly have been annexed to the same government, and indeed, petitioned for such a union by a convention of deputies assembled for that purpose. The measure was defeated only by the influence of the heirs or assignees of some great proprietors.* It is to the honor of Massachusetts, that none have had reason to regret a comprehension with her jurisdiction, and that her history, in every stage of her progress, exhibits multiplied instances of magnanimity, public spirit, and regard to the best interests of man.

By the new charter of 1691, four, at least, of the twenty-eight counsellors, were to be from the territory, "formerly called New-Plymouth." The four gentlemen named for this purpose in the charter, were Thomas Hinckley, William Bradford, John Walley, and Barnabas Lothrop.†

Governor Sloughter having arrived at New York, previous to the arrival of Sir William Phips with the new charter of Massachusetts, attempted to exercise his authority in the jurisdiction of New Plymouth, and issued his orders as though it was a part of the province of New York; but the arrival of Phips at Boston, with the charter, 14th May, 1692, occasioned their immediate suspension. A court having been summoned by the new governor, on the 8th of June following, the province of Massachusetts Bay proceeded to exercise her newly acquired authority without interruption. She had emerged from her colonial state, to be a province of the empire;

* See Belknap's Hist. of New-Hampshire, (Farmers edit.) 123.

† Davis' note, Morton's Memorial, 473—477.

she had become sufficiently powerful to attract the notice of the monarch; and her democratic tendencies were henceforth to be more carefully watched by the ministers of the crown. New Plymouth quietly submitted to her younger sister, and the amalgamation of the two colonies was soon perfected.

The last general court of the colony was summoned, and met at Plymouth on the first Tuesday of July—and the last exercise of power by that body was the appointment of a day of solemn fasting and humiliation. The days of the colony of New Plymouth were numbered!

The population of the colony at this period was about thirteen thousand. There was little trade, and a heavy debt impended over them. The whole personal property of individuals was but little more than sufficient to discharge the general debt, which had grown out of the great Indian war. Yet there were here the elements and seeds of that wealth, which in the next century was developed, by the patience, honesty, industry, and energy of the people.

During the whole period of the independent existence of this colony, the government, almost self-constituted, had been respected and obeyed. It was found fully equal to the exigences of peace and war; and to the accomplishment of the great end of all governments, the security of the rights of persons, and of property; and by a firm and steady course of action, it was able to produce a universal consciousness of that security.

The question may very naturally be asked, how it happened that a population of adventurers, without military force, and with little wealth, which is unquestionably a formidable element of power, and by which men

often make their rule acceptable; and with an equality as general as was possible in any country which had a government; could, without the sanction of a royal charter, and without the interference of the metropolis, which in infant colonies is generally imperative and absolute, sustain themselves so long, and without tumults and commotions, do every thing essential to the well being of the community? This question finds its solution in the religious character of the people. Worldly objects were with them secondary, and that curse of all small and independent communities, political ambition, found no place amongst them. The highest offices were not sought, but the services of such as were fit to sustain them were demanded as the right of the people, and they were accepted, not for the sake of distinction, emolument or pleasure, but from a sense of duty. Fearful of the loss of reputation, men underwent the severe and painful duties which such offices required.

Where there was no strife for power, no temptation in the shape of emolument, and no passion for official distinctions, small was the danger of feuds and factions.

The junction of Plymouth with Massachusetts destroyed all the political consequence of the former. The people of Plymouth shared but few of the favors which the new government had to bestow, and it was seldom indeed, that any resident in what was termed 'the old colony' obtained any office or distinction in the provincial government, or acquired any influence in its councils.

Plymouth, however, may well be proud of the high distinction which has been acquired by many of her native sons, when placed in a more genial clime.

She has furnished her full proportion of talent, genius, learning and enterprise, in almost every department of life; and in other lands the merits of the posterity of the pilgrims have been acknowledged. They may be found wherever the sway of the American republic is acknowledged, and even in the armies and navies, and in the councils of our "father land," they have won their way to eminence, not by the aid of birth or family connections, but by the force of superior merit and transcendent ability. Among the proudest names in the British navy, may be found the descendant of the original purchaser of Mattapoisett in Swansey,* and attached to the title of one of the most distinguished of the English peerage, is the name of one of the early settlers of Scituate.†

In one respect, the people of the Old Colony present a remarkable exception to the rest of America. They are perhaps the purest English race in the world; there is scarcely an intermixture even with the Scotch or Irish, and none with the aboriginals. Almost all the present population are descended from the original English settlers. Many of them still own the lands which their early ancestors rescued from the wilderness, and although they have spread themselves in every

* Mattapoisett Neck, in Swansey, was purchased by William Brenton, governor of Rhode Island, of Philip, the sachem of Mount Hope, by deed dated 23 June, 1664. Jahleel Brenton, grandson of Governor Brenton, had twenty-two children. His fourth son, Jahleel, born 22 Oct. 1729, entered the British navy when a youth, distinguished himself in service, and rose to the rank of admiral. He died in 1802. His son, Jahleel, was bred to the sea, rose to be an admiral, and was knighted in 1810.

† Thomas Richard, the third Lord Holland, married an heiress of the name of Vassall, and his son, Henry Richard Fox Vassall, is the present Lord Holland, Baron Holland in Lincolnshire, and Foxley in Wilts. Playfair's British Family Antiquities, ii. 182.

direction through this wide continent, from the peninsula of Nova Scotia to the gulf of Mexico, some one of the family has generally remained to cultivate the soil which was owned by his ancestors. The fishermen and navigators of Maine, the children of Plymouth, still continue the industrious and bold pursuits of their forefathers. In that fine country, beginning at Utica in the State of New York, and stretching to Lake Erie, this race may be found on every hill and in every valley, on the rivers and on the lakes. The emigrant from the sand banks of Cape Cod, revels in the profusion of the agricultural opulence of Ohio. In all the southern and southwestern states, the natives of the 'old colony,' like the Armenians of Asia, may be found in every place where commerce and traffic offer any lure to enterprise; and in the heart of the gigantic peninsula of Michigan, like their ancestors, they have commenced the cultivation of the wilderness, like them, originally surrounded with savage beasts and savage men, and like them, patient in suffering, despising danger, and animated with hope.*

* Baylies, in conclusion of his Hist. of New Plymouth. The following remarks of President Dwight, when contemplating the history of New Plymouth, may be appropriately added: "The institutions, civil, literary and religious, by which New England is distinguished on this side the Atlantic, began here. Here the manner of holding lands in free soccage, now universal in this country, commenced. Here the right of suffrage was imparted to every citizen, to every inhabitant not disqualified by poverty or vice. Here was formed the first establishment of towns, of the local legislature, which is called a town meeting, and of the peculiar town executive, styled the selectmen. Here the first parochial school was set up, and the system originated for communicating to every child in the community the knowledge of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Here, also, the first building was erected for the worship of God; the first religious assembly gathered; and the first minister called and settled, by the voice of the church and congregation. On these simple foundations has since been erected a structure of good order, peace, liberty, knowledge, morals and religion, with which nothing on this side the Atlantic can bear a remote comparison."

Governor Hinckley died at Barnstable, in 1706, and the following inscription is placed upon his tombstone: "Beneath this stone, erected A. D. 1829, are deposited the mortal remains of Thomas Hinckley. He died A. D. 1706, aged 85 years. History bears witness to his piety, usefulness, and agency in the public transactions of his time. The important offices he was called to fill, evidence the esteem in which he was held by the people. He was successively elected an assistant in the government of Plymouth colony, from 1658 to 1681, and governor, except during the interruption of Sir Edmund Andros, from 1681 to the junction of Plymouth colony with Massachusetts."

Governor Hinckley's first wife was Mary Richards, whom he married in 1641, and his sons by this marriage were Samuel, born in 1652, and Thomas, in 1654. She died soon after, and in 1659, he married Mary, the widow of Nathaniel Glover, son of the Hon. John Glover of Dorchester. She was the daughter of [illegible] Smith, called Quarter-Master Smith, who came from England in 1635, with his family, and settled at Dorchester, Massachusetts. Governor Hinckley's children, by his second marriage, were one son, Ebenezer, and five daughters, one of whom married the Rev. Experience Mayhew, father of the celebrated Dr. Jonathan Mayhew. Another daughter, Mercy, in 1686, married Samuel Prince of Sandwich, the father of the Rev. Thomas Prince, the chronologist. Mr. Prince speaks in the following terms of the second Mrs. Hinckley: "She, to the day of her death, appeared and shone, in the eyes of all, as the loveliest and brightest woman for

beauty, knowledge, wisdom, majesty, accomplishments and graces, throughout the colony."

Descendants of Governor Hinckley, of great respectability, are found in Massachusetts, New York, and in the southern states. Hon. Samuel Hinckley, of Northampton, Massachusetts, who died 15 June, 1840, was a descendant of Governor Hinckley. Judge Hinckley was a soldier in the revolutionary war, and was wounded in an engagement near the Hudson. He was a classmate in college with Governor Griswold, Judge Baldwin, and Chancellor Kent. He was greatly esteemed for the purity of his character, his extensive liberality, and devoted patriotism.

Among the manuscripts in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society, are 3 vols. folio, of papers collected by Governor Hinckley. They contain a mass of valuable information relating to the early history of the Old Colony.

PART II.

GOVERNORS OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

1630—1689.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE Council of Plymouth for New England, established by James I. in November, 1620, instead of engaging in the work of planting colonies, contented itself with the revenues it could command from the sale of patents. The Pilgrims had crossed the ocean to New Plymouth, and before the returning ships had brought intelligence of their success, Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Capt. John Mason, who were active members of the Council, had each made application for grants of territory in New England.

On the 9th of March, 1621, a patent was issued to Mason, granting all the lands from Salem river, round Cape Anne, to the river Merrimack, and up each of these rivers to their sources, and across from the head of one to the other. This district was called MARIANA.

On the 10th of August following, a grant was made to Gorges and Mason, of the whole country between the sea, the St. Lawrence, the Merrimack, and the Kennebeck. And to this they gave the name of LACONIA.

A third patent was issued, 10th September, 1621, to Sir William Alexander, granting all the territory east of the river St. Croix, and south of the St. Lawrence, already known as the Acadie of the French, and since called Nova Scotia.

A fourth patent, granting a tract of ten miles on the Massachusetts Bay, and extending thirty miles into the interior, was issued on the 13th December, 1622, to Robert Gorges, son of Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

The fame of the plantation at New Plymouth had spread throughout England; but few settlements were made prior to the year 1629. Weymouth, the ancient Wessagusset, is the oldest set-

tlement in what was the colony of Massachusetts Bay, being settled by a company under Thomas Weston in 1622.

In 1625, a plantation was commenced at Braintree. About the year 1626, William Blackstone settled on the peninsula of Boston, and in the autumn of the same year, the settlement which had been commenced at Cape Anne in 1625, under the auspices of the Rev. Mr. White, of Dorchester, in England, was removed to Salem. A solitary pioneer had pitched his tent upon the heights of Charlestown in 1627, and was joined by a few persons from Salem in the following year.

On the 19th of March, 1628, the Council for New England sold to Sir Henry Roswell and others, a belt of land, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, extending three miles south of the River Charles and the Massachusetts Bay, and three miles north of the Merrimack. Through the instrumentality of Mr. White, other persons of wealth and character became associated with them, and afterwards purchased rights in the patent. Among these were John Winthrop, Isaac Johnson, Matthew Cradock, Thomas Goffe, and Sir Richard Saltonstall. The company soon after chose Matthew Cradock their governor, and sent over a few people under Capt. John Endecott to prepare for the settlement of a colony.

On the fourth of March, 1629, Charles I. granted a patent to these colonists, under the name of "The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," and the grantees immediately settled a form of government for the new Colony. But on the 29th of August, 1629, the company, after much discussion, decided that the government and patent of the plantation should be transferred from London to the Massachusetts Bay, and that their corporate powers should be executed there. From this period dates the foundation and permanent settlement of the colony. Early in the spring of 1630, the fleet which conveyed Governor Winthrop and his company to America sailed from the shores of England. Further particulars of the history of some of these men, will appear in the following pages.

VANDYKE. G. & W. ENDICOTT LITH. C. PARSONS.

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GOV. JOHN WINTHROP.

Lith for Moores American Governors.

† Dr. Belknap, copying from Mather, places his birth in 1587, but from Savage's notes to Winthrop's Journal, i. 63, and ii. 338, it appears that he was born January 12th, 1588.

VANDYKE

GOV. JOHN WINTHROP.

Lith for Moores American Governors.

GOVERNORS OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

I. JOHN WINTHROP.

JOHN WINTHROP, the first governor of Massachusetts, was descended from a family remarkable for its attachment to the reformed religion, from the earliest period of the Reformation. His grandfather, Adam Winthrop, was an eminent lawyer and lover of the Gospel in the reign of Henry VIII., and brother to a memorable friend of the Reformation in the reign of Mary I., in whose hands the martyr Philpot left his papers, which make a considerable part of the history of the Martyrs. His father, Adam Winthrop, was a gentleman of the same profession and character.*

Governor Winthrop was born at the family-seat at Groton, in Suffolk, January 12, 1588,† and was bred to the law, though he had a very strong inclination to theological studies. At the age of eighteen, he was made a justice of the peace, and his virtues became conspicuous. He was exemplary in his profession, as an upright and impartial magistrate, and in his private character, as a christian. He had wisdom to discern, and fortitude to

* Adam Winthrop, the elder, was buried the 12 Nov., 1562.—Parish Register of Groton. No doubt this was the grandfather of Gov. Winthrop; and probably to him was made the grant of the manor of Groton from Henry VIII, after the suppression of the religious houses. Savage, in III Mass. Hist. Coll., viii. 297.

† Dr. Belknap, copying from Mather, places his birth in 1587, but from Savage's notes to Winthrop's Journal, i. 63, and ii. 338, it appears that he was born January 12th, 1588.

do right in the execution of his office; and as a gentleman was remarkable for liberality and hospitality. These qualities rendered him dear to men of sobriety and religion, and fitted him to engage in the great and difficult work of founding a colony.

After our fathers at New Plymouth, through many difficulties, had prepared the way, and the fame of their successful enterprise had spread over England, many of those who disliked the corruptions and oppressions of the English Church, made preparations for a removal to America. The Rev. John White, a zealous puritan, of Dorchester in England, succeeded in persuading a number of wealthy men to commence a settlement at Cape Anne, under the guidance of Roger Conant, who had previously been at Plymouth and Nantasket. The little company had gathered at Cape Anne in 1625, but in 1626, found a more convenient refuge at Salem, where "they resolved to remain as the sentinels of puritanism in the Bay of Massachusetts."*

At this time, liberty of conscience could not be enjoyed in England. Many were so harassed for their non-conformity, that they determined rather to make settlements in a dreary wilderness, at the distance of three thousand miles from their native country, than endure the persecution to which they were constantly exposed. They emigrated, not for the advantages of trade, but for religion; and the enjoyment of liberty of conscience. They wished to transmit the blessings of civil and religious liberty, to their posterity.†

The Council for New England, on the 19th of March, 1628, sold to Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young,

* Bancroft, i. 339. † Ramsay's Univ. Hist., i. 79.

John Humphrey, John Endecott, Simon Whetcomb and Thomas Southcoat, all from the vicinity of Dorchester, a patent for all that part of New England lying between three miles to the southward of Charles river and three miles to the northward of Merrimack river, and in length within the prescribed breadth, from the Atlantic ocean to the South Sea, or Pacific.* The Rev. Mr. White of Dorchester, who was at this time zealously engaged in projecting an asylum for the persecuted non-conformists, soon interested other and powerful friends to become associates in the enterprise.† These associates were John Winthrop, Isaac Johnson, Matthew Cradock, Thomas Goffe, and Sir Richard Saltonstall, who afterwards purchased rights in the patent. Three of the original purchasers parted with all their rights; but Humphrey, Endecott, and Whetcomb retained an equal interest with the new parties.‡

The company soon after chose Matthew Cradock governor, and Thomas Goffe, deputy governor, with

* Chalmers, 135.

† Rev. John White, A. M. was a native of Stanton St. John in Oxfordshire, where he was born in 1576, graduated at Oxford, and in 1606, became the rector of Trinity church in Dorchester, where he continued with little interruption above forty years. He was one of the earliest friends of the projected colony in Massachusetts, his object being to provide an asylum for the persecuted non conformists. He met with numerous discouragements, and it is said that the undertaking was about to be relinquished, and those who had settled in the new plantation were about returning home, when they received letters from Mr. White assuring them, that if they would endure their painful conflict a little longer, he would procure for them a patent, and all the necessary supplies for the new settlement. They waited the event, and he made his promise good. He was one of the committee on religion appointed in 1640, by the House of Lords, and one of the assembly of divines in 1643. He died at Dorchester, Eng. 21 July, 1648, aged 72. He was usually called "the patriarch of Dorchester," and Wood says, the puritans "had more respect for him than even for their diocesan." Mr. John White, the ejected non-conformist, was his son. Brooke's Lives of the Puritans, iii. 88.

‡ Prince, 171. Mass. Colony Records.

eighteen assistants; and sent over a few people under the government of John Endecott, to carry on the plantation at Naumkeak, and prepare for settling a colony. Endecott, on his arrival, laid the foundations of Salem, the first permanent town in Massachusetts.

When the news reached London, of the safe arrival of the emigrants, the number of the adventurers had been much enlarged. Interest was made to obtain a royal charter, with the aid of Richard Bellingham, and of White, an eminent lawyer, who advocated the design. The earl of Warwick had always been the friend of the company; Gorges had seemed to favor its advancement, and Lord Dorchester, then one of the secretaries of state, is said to have exerted a powerful influence in its behalf.*

At last, on the fourth of March, 1629, the royal patent passed the seals, incorporating the associates as a body politic, by the name of "The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," with as full powers as any other corporation in the realm of England.† The company was empowered to elect forever, out of the freemen of said company, a governor, deputy governor, and eighteen assistants, to be newly chosen on the last Wednesday in Easter term yearly, by the greater part of the company; and to make laws not repugnant to the laws of England. Matthew Cradock

* Bancroft, i. 342.

† See charter in Hazard, i. 239—255. The grantees named in this patent are—*Sir Henry Roswell*, *Sir John Young*, Sir Richard Saltonstall, *Thomas Southcoat*, *John Humphrey*, *John Endecott*, *Simon Whetcomb*, Isaac Johnson, Samuel Aldersley, John Ven, Matthew Cradock, George Harwood, Increase Nowell, Richard Perry, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniel Wright, Samuel Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuel Browne, Thomas Hutchins, William Vassall, William Pinchion, George Foxcroft. [The names in italics, are of the original purchasers.]

was constituted the first governor, and Thomas Goffe the deputy governor. Sir Richard Saltonstall, and 17 other persons were constituted assistants.

A court of the Massachusetts company was soon after holden at London, and settled a form of government for the new colony. It ordained, that thirteen persons, such as should be reputed the most wise, honest, expert, and discreet, resident on the colonial plantation, should, from time to time, have the sole management of the government and affairs of the colony; and they, to the best of their judgment were "to endeavour to so settle the same," as might "make most to the glory of God, the furtherance and advancement of this hopeful plantation, the comfort, encouragement, and future benefit of the company, and of others, concerned in the commencement or prosecution of the work. The persons thus appointed, were to be entitled "The Governor and Council of London's Plantation in Massachusetts Bay, in New England."*

Several persons, of considerable importance in the English nation, were now enlisted among the adventurers, who, for the unmolested enjoyment of their religion, were resolved to remove into Massachusetts. Foreseeing, however, and dreading the inconvenience of being governed by laws made for them without their own consent, they judged it more reasonable, that the colony should be ruled by men residing in the plantation, than by those dwelling at a distance of three thousand miles, and over whom they should have no control. At a meeting of the company on the 28th of July, Matthew Cradock, the governor, proposed that the charter should be

* Hazard, i. 268—271.

transferred to those of the freemen who should become inhabitants of the colony, and the powers conferred by it, be executed for the future in New England. An agreement was accordingly made at Cambridge, in England, on the 26th of August, between Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Dudley, Isaac Johnson, John Winthrop, and a few others, that, on those conditions they would be ready the ensuing March, with their persons and families, to embark for New England, for the purpose of settling in the country.* The governor and company, entirely disposed to promote the measure, called a general court; at which the deputy governor stated, that several gentlemen, intending to go to New England, were desirous to know whether the chief government with the patent would be settled in Old or New England. This question caused a serious debate. The court was adjourned to the next day, when it was decreed that the government and the patent of the plantation should be transferred from London to Massachusetts Bay. An order was drawn up for that purpose, in pursuance of which, a court was holden on the 20th of October, for a new election of officers, who would be willing to remove with their families; and "the court having received extraordinary great commendation of Mr. John Winthrop, both for his integrity and sufficiency, as being one very well fitted for the place, with a full consent chose him governor for the year ensuing."

It is evident from the charter, that the original design of it was to constitute a corporation in England, like to that of the East India and other great companies, with

* See, in Hutch. Coll. 25, 26, "The true coppie of the agreements at Cambridge, August 26, 1629."

power to settle plantations within the limits of the territory, under such forms of government and magistracy as should be fit and necessary. The first step in sending out Mr. Endecott, appointing him a council, giving him a commission, instructions, &c. was agreeable to this construction of the charter.*

The emigrants to Massachusetts had no special warrant of toleration; they had not even the promise of connivance, which the pilgrims ten years before had extorted from James I. The charter does not once mention *liberty of conscience* or *toleration*; though one historian† has inadvertently stated, that "free liberty of conscience was likewise granted to all who should settle in the Massachusetts Bay, to worship God in their own way;" and another‡ that "the charter granted toleration to all christians except papists." At the distance of three thousand miles, however, across the ocean, they felt themselves safe, beyond the reach of the archbishop and high commission courts.

Preparations were now made for the removal of a large number of colonists, and in the spring of 1630, a fleet of fourteen sail was got ready. Mr. Winthrop having by the consent of all been chosen for their leader, immediately set about making preparations for his departure. He converted a fine estate of six or seven hundred pounds per annum into money, and in March embarked on board the Arbella, one of the principal ships.

Before leaving Yarmouth, an address to their fathers and brethren remaining in England, was drawn up, and

* Hutchinson's Hist. Colony Mass. Bay, 13.

† Neal's Hist. of the Puritans, 4to. i. 544.

‡ Hutchinson.

subscribed on the 7th April, by Governor Winthrop and others, breathing an affectionate farewell to the church of England, and their native land. "Wee are not of those that dream of perfection in this world; yet wee desire you would be pleased to take notice of the principals and body of our company, as those who esteem it our honor to call the *Church of England*, whence wee rise, our deare Mother, and cannot part from our native Countrie, where she especially resideth, without much sadness of heart, and many tears in our eyes, ever acknowledging that such hope and part as we here obtain in the common salvation, wee have received in her bosome, and suckt it from her breast: wee leave it not therefore, as loathing that milk wherewith wee were nourished there, but blessing God for the parentage and education, as members of the same body, shall always rejoice in her good, and unfainedly grieve for any sorrow that shall ever betide her."*

In the same ship with Governor Winthrop, came Thomas Dudley, who had been chosen deputy governor after the embarkation,† and several other gentlemen of wealth and quality; the fleet containing about 840 passengers, of various occupations, some of whom were from the west of England, but most from the neighborhood of London.—The fleet sailed early in April; and the Arbella arrived off Cape Anne, on Friday, the 11th June, and on the following day entered the harbor of Salem.

* See App. No. I, Hutch. Colony Mass. Bay, 487.

† Dudley was chosen at a meeting held on board the Arbella, on the 23d March, in place of Humphrey who remained in England. Prince says this election "is the last record of the Massachusetts Company in England."

A few days after their arrival, the governor, and several of the principal persons of the colony, made an excursion some twenty miles along the bay, for the purpose of selecting a convenient site for a town. They finally pitched down on the north side of Charles river, (Charlestown,) and took lodgings in the great house built there the preceding year; the rest of the company erected cottages, booths and tents for present accommodation, about the town hill. Their place of assembling for divine service, was under a spreading tree. On the 8th of July, a day of thanksgiving was kept for the safe arrival of the fleet. On the 30th of the same month, after a day of solemn prayer and fasting, the foundation of a church was laid at Charlestown, afterwards the first church of Boston, and Governor Winthrop, Deputy Governor Dudley, and the Rev. Mr. Wilson, entered into church covenant. The first court of assistants was held at Charlestown, on the 23d of August, and the first question proposed, was a suitable provision for the support of the gospel.

Towards the close of autumn, Governor Winthrop and most of the assistants removed to the peninsula of Shawmut, (Boston,) and lived there the first winter, intending in the spring to build a fortified town, but undetermined as to its situation. On the sixth of December, they resolved to fortify the isthmus of that peninsula; but, changing their minds before the month expired, they agreed upon a place about three miles above Charlestown, which they called first Newtown, and afterwards Cambridge, where they engaged to build houses the ensuing spring. The rest of the winter they suffered much by the severity of the season, and were obliged to

live upon acorns, groundnuts, and shellfish. One of the poorer sort, coming to the governor to complain, was told that the last batch was in the oven; but of this he had his share.* They had appointed the 6th of February for a fast, in consequence of their alarm for the safety of a ship which had been sent to Ireland for provisions; but fortunately the vessel arrived on the 5th, and they ordered a public thanksgiving instead thereof, to be kept on the 22d of the same month.

In the spring of 1631, in pursuance of the intended plan, the governor set up the frame of a house at Newtown; the deputy governor also erected one there, and removed with his family. The town was taken under the patronage of the government, and deemed a fit place to be fortified. But about this time, Chickatabot,† the chief of the neighboring Indians of Neponset, made a visit to the governor, with voluntary professions of friendship. Governor Winthrop thus describes his first interview with this chief, under the date of March 23, 1631;— "Chickatabot came with his sannups (chiefs) and squaws, and presented the governor with a hogshead of Indian corn. After they had all dined, and had each a small cup of sack and beer, and the men tobacco, he sent away all his men and women (though the governor would have

* "And when people's wants were great, not only in one town but in divers towns, such was the godly wisdom, care and prudence (not selfishness but self-denial,) of our Governor Winthrop and his assistants, that when a ship came laden with provisions, they order that the whole cargo should be bought for a general stock; and so accordingly it was, and distribution was made to every town, and to every person in each town, as every man had need."—Memoirs of Capt. Roger Clap, p. 15.

† See note respecting this savage, in Life of Bradford, p. 58. Chikkatabak was one of the nine sachems who signed an instrument of submission to the English at New Plymouth, 13 Sept., 1621. Drake writes his name Chickataubut; Winthrop, Chickatabot, as in the text.

stayed them in regard of the rain and thunder.) Himself and one squaw and one sannup stayed all night; and being in English clothes, the governor set him at his own table, where he behaved himself as soberly, &c., as an Englishman. The next day after dinner he returned home, the governor giving him cheese, and pease, and a mug, and other small things."*

The apprehension of danger from the Indians abated, and the scheme of a fortified town was gradually laid aside; though, if it had been retained, the peninsula would have been a situation far preferable to Newtown. The governor took down his frame, and in October, 1631, removed it to Shawmut, which was finally determined upon for the metropolis, and named Boston.

The three following years he was continued, by annual election, at the head of the government, for which office he was eminently qualified, and in which he shone with a lustre that would have done him honor in a larger sphere and a more elevated situation. He was the father, as well as governor, of the plantation. His time, his study, his exertions, his influence, and his interest, were all employed in the public service. His wisdom, patience and magnanimity were conspicuous in the most severe trials, and his exemplary behavior as a christian, added a splendor to all his rare qualifications. He maintained the dignity of a governor, with the obliging condescension of a gentleman, and was so deservedly respected and beloved, that when Archbishop Laud, hearkening to some calumnies raised against the country, on account of their Puritan principles, summoned one Mr. Cleaves before King Charles I., in hopes of getting some

* Winthrop's Journal, i. 48.

accusation against the governor, he gave such an account of his laudable deportment in his station, and withal, of the devotion with which prayers were made, both in private and public, for the King, that Charles expressed his concern that so worthy a gentleman as Mr. Winthrop should be no better accommodated than in an American wilderness.

He was an example to the people, of that frugality, decency, and temperance, which were necessary in their circumstances, and even denied himself many of the elegances and superfluities of life, which his rank and fortune gave him a just title to enjoy, both that he might set them a proper example, and be the better enabled to exercise that liberality in which he delighted, even, in the end, to the actual impoverishment of himself and his family. An instance is recorded in his Journal:* "The governor, upon consideration of the inconveniences which had grown in England by drinking one to another, restrained it at his own table, and wished others to do the like, so as it grew, by little and little, to disuse."

The following anecdote, related in his Journal, under date of the 11 Oct. 1631, will serve to show the accommodations which were sometimes found in the wilderness: "The governor, being at his farm-house at Mistick, (Medford,) walked out after supper, and took a piece in his hand, supposing he might see a wolf, (for they came daily about the house, and killed swine, calves, &c.) and, being about half a mile off, it grew suddenly dark, so as in coming home, he mistook his path, and went till he came to a little house of Sagamore John, which stood empty; there he stayed, and having

† Savage's Winthrop, i. 37.

a match in his pocket, (for he always carried about his match and compass,) he made a good fire and warmed the house, and lay down upon some old mats he found there and so spent the night, sometimes walking by the fire, sometimes singing psalms, and sometimes getting wood, but could not sleep. It was a warm night; but a little before day it began to rain, and, having no cloak, he made shift by a long pole to climb up into the house. In the morning there came thither an Indian squaw; but, perceiving her before she had opened the door, he barred her out; yet she stayed there a great while, essaying to get in, and at last she went away, and he returned safe home, his servant having been much perplexed for him, and having walked about, and shot off pieces, and hallooed in the night, but he heard them not."* Governor Winthrop would often send his servants on some errand, at meal-times, to the houses of his neighbors, to see how they were provided with food; and if there was a deficiency, would supply them from his own table.

The following singular instance of his charity, mixed with humor, will give us an idea of the man. In a very severe winter, when wood began to be scarce in Boston, he received private information, that a neighbor was wont to help himself from the pile at his door. "Does he?" said the Governor; "call him to me, and I will take a course with him that shall cure him of stealing." The man appeared, and the Governor addressed him thus: "Friend, it is a cold winter, and I hear you are meanly provided with wood; you are welcome to help yourself at my pile till the winter is over;" and

* Savage's Winthrop, i. 62.

then he merrily asked his friend whether he had not put a stop to the man's stealing.

In the administration of justice, he was for tempering the severity of law with the exercise of mercy. He judged that in the infancy of a plantation, justice should be administered with more lenity than in a settled state.

Complaints of the liberal spirit of Governor Winthrop were made at a meeting of some of the leading men of the colony, in January, 1636; when Mr. Haynes, then governor, charged that Mr. Winthrop, while in office, had "dealt too remissly in point of justice." Winthrop replied, that his conduct had been in part misunderstood, but "that it was his judgment, that in the infancy of plantations, justice should be administered with more lenity than in a settled state, because people were then more apt to transgress, partly of ignorance of new laws and orders, partly through oppression of business, and other straits." He professed himself ready, however, on being convinced of error, to take up a stricter course. The ministers were then called on for advice in the case, who all decided "that strict discipline, both in criminal offences and martial affairs, was more needful in plantations than in a settled state, as tending to the honor and safety of the gospel." Whereupon Mr. Winthrop acknowledged that he was convinced that he had failed in over much lenity, and submitted to their judgment, strictly adhering thereafter to the proposals which were made to support the dignity of government, by an appearance of union and firmness, and a concealment of differences and dissensions among the public officers. Dr. Savage, remarking upon this passage in the life of Governor Winthrop, says—"When the administration of Winthrop was im-

peached by Governor Haynes, for too great lenity, it seems natural, that such severe tempers as Dudley, and Vane, and Peter, should unite in the attack; and as the rest of the clergy probably agreed with their ardent brother Peter, the maxims of the first governor of the colony would be overruled; but when their united influences were strong enough to compel him to acknowledge his remissness in discipline, we are bound, as in our early history we often are, to lament the undue dictation of the church."*

His delicacy was so great, that though he could not, without incivility, decline accepting gratuities from divers towns, as well as particular persons, for his public services, yet he took occasion, in a public speech at his third election, in 1632, to declare that "he received them with a trembling heart in regard of God's rule and the consciousness of his own infirmity," and desired them that for the future they would not be offended, if he should wholly refuse such presents. "To which no answer was made, but he was told after, that many good people were much grieved at it, for that he never had any allowance towards the charge of his place."†

In the year 1634, and the two years following, he was left out of the magistracy.‡ Though his conduct, from his first engaging in the service of the colony, had been irreproachable, yet the envy of some raised a suspicion of his fidelity, and gave him a small taste of what, in other popular governments, their greatest benefactors have had a large share of. An inquiry having been made of

* Savage's Winthrop, i. 179, note.

† Savage's Winthrop, i. 77.

‡ In 1634, Thomas Dudley was chosen governor; in 1635, John Haynes; and in 1636, Henry Vane.

his receipts and disbursements of the public money during his past administration, though it was conducted in a manner too harsh for his delicate sensibility, yet he patiently submitted to the examination of his accounts, which ended to his honor. Upon which occasion he made a declaration, which concluded in these words: "In all these things which I offer, I refer myself to the wisdom and justice of the court, with this protestation, that it repenteth me not of my cost and labour bestowed in the service of this commonwealth; but I do heartily bless the Lord our God, that he hath been pleased to honor me so far as to call for any thing he hath bestowed upon me, for the service of his Church and people here; the prosperity whereof, and his gracious acceptance, shall be an abundant recompense to me." In a spirit of innocence and in the pride of just self-respect, he adds the particular request, that "as it stands upon record that upon the discharge of my office I was called to account, so this my declaration may be recorded also, lest hereafter, when I shall be forgotten, some blemish may lie upon my posterity, when there be nothing to clear it."*

The same rare humility and steady equality of mind were conspicuous in his behavior, when a pretence was raised to get him left out of the government, lest, by the too frequent choice of one man, the office should cease to be elective, and seem to be his by prescription. This pretence was advanced even in the election sermons, and when he was in fact reduced to a lower station in the government, and endeavored to serve the people as faithfully as in the highest; nor would he suffer any notice to

* Hutchinson's Coll. Mass. Bay, 41.

be taken of some undue methods which were used to have him left out of the choice.*

An instance of this rare temper, and the happy fruit of it, deserve remembrance. There was a time when he received a very angry letter from a member of the Court, which having read, he delivered back to the messenger, with this answer: "I am not willing to keep such an occasion of provocation by me." Shortly after, the writer of this letter, (Thomas Dudley,) was compelled, by the scarcity of provision, to send to buy one of the governor's fat hogs. He begged him to accept it as a gift, in token of his good will. On which the gentleman came to him with this acknowledgment: "Sir, your overcoming yourself, hath overcome me." The deputy governor Dudley was of a choleric temper, and frequently got into controversy with Governor Winthrop; but the latter, using the weapons most effectual with passionate men, generally conquered with kindness.

But though condescending and gentle on every occasion of personal ill treatment, yet, where the honor of government or religion, and the interest of the people, were concerned, he was equally firm and intrepid, standing foremost in opposition to those whom he judged to be really public enemies, though in the disguise of warm and zealous friends.

Of this number was the famous Anne Hutchinson, a woman of masculine understanding and consummate art, who held private lectures to the women at her house,

* This probably refers to the election of Bellingham in 1641. He had six more votes than the other candidates, "but some votes were refused by the magistrates because they had not given them in at the doors. But others," says Winthrop (ii., 35,) "thought it was an injury, yet were silent, because it concerned themselves."

in which she advanced these doctrines, viz.: "that the Holy Ghost dwells *personally* in a justified person, and that sanctification does not evidence justification." Those who held with her, were said to be "under a covenant of grace," and those who opposed her, "under a covenant of works."*

Into these two denominations, the whole colony began to be divided. Her adherents prevailed in 1636 to choose for governor Henry Vane,† a young gentleman of an apparently grave and serious deportment, who had just arrived from England, and who paid great attention to this woman, and seemed zealously attached to her distinguishing tenets. Winthrop, then deputy-governor, not only differed in sentiment, but saw the pernicious influence of this controversy with regret, and feared that,

* Neal gives the origin of the controversy in the following words: "The members of the church at Boston, used to meet once a week, to repeat the sermons they heard on the Lord's Day, and to debate on the doctrines contained in them. Those meetings being peculiar to the men, some of the zealous women thought it might be useful to them. One Mrs. Hutchinson, a gentlewoman of a bold and masculine spirit, and a great admirer of Mr. Cotton, set up one at her house. She taught that believers in Christ are personally united to the Spirit of God; that commands to work out our salvation with fear and trembling, belong to none but such as are under the covenant of works; that sanctification is not good evidence of a good estate. She likewise set up immediate revelation about future events, to be believed as equally infallible with the Scriptures; and a great many other opinions and fancies, which, under a pretence of exalting the free grace of God, destroyed the practical part of religion." Neal's Hist., c. 5. p. 166.

† This person, so well known afterward in England, is thus characterized by Lord Clarendon:

"A man of great natural parts and of very profound dissimulation, of a quick conception, and ready, sharp, and weighty expression. He had an unusual aspect, a *vultum clausum*, that, though no man could make a guess of what he intended, yet made men think there was something in him extraordinary, and his whole life made good that imagination. There need no more be said of his ability than he was chosen to cozen and deceive a whole nation [the Scots] which was thought to excel in craft and cunning, which he did with a notable pregnancy and dexterity."

if it were suffered to prevail, it would endanger the existence of the colony. In the heat of the controversy, Wheelwright, a zealous sectarian, preached a sermon, which not only carried these points to their utmost length, but contained some expressions which the court laid hold of as tending to sedition, for which he was examined; but a more full inquiry was deferred for that time. Some warm brethren, of Boston, petitioned the court in Wheelwright's favor, reflecting on their proceedings, which raised such a resentment in the court against the town, that a motion was made for the next election to be made at Cambridge. Vane, the governor, having no negative voice, could only show his dislike by refusing to put the question. Winthrop, the deputy-governor, declined it, as being an inhabitant of Boston; the question was then put by Endecott of Salem, and carried for the removal.

At the opening of the election, (May 17, 1637,) a petition was again presented by many inhabitants of Boston, which Vane would have read previous to the choice. Winthrop, who clearly saw that this was a contrivance to throw all into confusion, and spend the day in debate, that the election might be prevented for that time, opposed the reading of the petition until the election should be over. Vane and his party were strenuous, but Winthrop called to the people to divide, and the majority appeared for the election. Vane still refused, till Winthrop said they would proceed without him, which obliged him to submit. The election was carried in favor of Winthrop and his friends. The sergeants, who had waited on Vane to the place of election, threw down their halberds, and refused to attend the newly-elected

governor: he took no other notice of the affront than to order his own servants to bear them before him; and when the people expressed their resentment, he begged them to overlook the matter.*

The town of Boston being generally in favor of the new opinions, the governor grew unpopular there, and a law which was passed in this year of his restoration to office, increased their dislike. Many persons who were supposed to favor these opinions were expected from England, to prevent whose settlement in the country the court laid a penalty on all who should entertain any strangers, or allow them the use of any house or lot above three weeks, without liberty first granted. This severe order was so ill received in Boston, that, on the governor's return from the court at Cambridge, they all refused to go out to meet him, or show him any token of respect. The other towns on this occasion increased their respect towards him, and the same summer, in a journey to Ipswich, he was guarded from town to town with more ceremony than he desired.

The same year a synod was called (30 August, 1637,) to determine on the controverted points, in which assembly, Winthrop, though he did not preside, yet, as head of the civil magistracy, was obliged often to interpose his authority, which he did with wisdom and gravity, silencing passionate and impertinent speakers, desiring that

* Hutchinson tells the anecdote, that Rev. Mr. Wilson, the minister, in his zeal, upon this occasion, got upon the bough of a tree, (it being hot weather, and the election like that of parliament-men being carried on in the field,) and there made a speech, advising the people to look to their charter, and to consider the present work of the day, which was designed for the choosing the governor, deputy governor, and the rest of the assistants for the government of the commonwealth. His speech was well received by the people, who cried out "election! election!" which turned the scale.

the Divine Oracles might be allowed to express their own meaning, and be appealed to for a decision of the controversy; and when he saw heat and passion prevail in the assembly, he would adjourn it, that time might be allowed for cool consideration, by which prudent management the synod, after a session of three weeks, came to an amicable agreement in condemning the errors of the day. Eighty-two opinions, imputed to the followers of Cotton and Wheelwright, were condemned as erroneous.* But the work was not wholly done until the erroneous persons were themselves banished the colony. Wheelwright, Aspinwall, Anne Hutchinson and others were accordingly banished—this act of severity being deemed necessary to preserve the peace of the commonwealth. Toleration had not then been introduced into any of the protestant countries, and the wisest and best men were afraid of it, as the parent of error and mischief.

Some of the zealous opinionists in the Church of Boston, would have had the elders proceed against the governor in the way of ecclesiastical discipline, for his activity in procuring the sentence of banishment on their brethren. Upon this occasion, to excuse himself, and "prevent such a public disorder," in a well-judged speech to the congregation, he told them that, though in his private capacity it was his duty to submit to the censure of his brethren, yet he was not amenable to them for his conduct as a magistrate, even though it were unjust. That in the present case he had acted according to his con-

* Those who have the curiosity to look at the jargon of opinions deemed by our fathers to be heretical, are referred to Welde's "Short Story of the Rise, Reign and Ruin of Antinomians, Familists, and Libertines, that infested the Churches of New England," published in London, 1644.

science and his oath, and *by the advice of the elders of the Church*, and was fully satisfied that it would not have been consistent with the public peace to have done otherwise. These reasons satisfied the uneasy brethren; and his general condescending and obliging deportment so restored him to their affections, that he was held in greater esteem than before; as a proof of this, some years afterwards, upon occasion of a loss which he had sustained in his temporal estate, they made him a present amounting to several hundred pounds.

A warm dispute having arisen in the General Court, concerning the negative voice of the Upper House, the governor published his sentiments in writing, some passages of which giving great offence, he took occasion at the next meeting of the court, in a public speech, to tell them "that, as to the *matter* of his writing, it was according to his judgment, which was not at his own disposal, and that, having examined it by the rules of reason, religion, and custom, he saw no cause to retract it; but as for the *manner*, which was wholly his own, he was ready to acknowledge whatever was blameable. He said that, though what he wrote was on great provocation, and to vindicate himself and others from unjust aspersion, yet he ought not to have allowed a distemper of spirit, nor to have been so free with the reputation of his brethren; that he might have maintained his cause without casting any reflections on them, and that he perceived an unbecoming pride and arrogancy in some of his expressions, for which he desired forgiveness of God and man." By this condescending spirit, he greatly endeared himself to his friends, and his enemies were ashamed of their opposition.

He had not so high an opinion of a *democratic* government as some other gentlemen of equal wisdom and goodness, but "plainly perceived a danger in referring matters of council and judicature to the body of the people;" and when those who had removed to Connecticut were about forming their government, he warned them of this danger in a friendly and faithful letter, wherein are these expressions: "The best part of a community is always the *least*, and of that best part, the wiser is always the lesser; wherefore the old law was, choose ye out judges, &c., and thou shalt bring the matter to the judge."

Governor Winthrop was one of the original founders of Harvard College, and his name and influence were always given in its support. There is no one, (says President Quincy,) to whose patronage the college was more indebted, during the period of its infancy, and consequent weakness and dependence.*

In 1645, when he was deputy-governor, a great disturbance grew out of some transactions at Hingham. It was briefly this: A disagreement had fallen out in a military company at Hingham, touching an election of officers, which led to some mutinous and disorderly practices there; and the offenders being required to find bail for their appearance at court, Winthrop, as a magistrate, on the refusal of some of them, ordered them to be committed. As there existed at that time great jealousy of the authority of the magistrates, and as this business excited much feeling in Hingham, a petition, numerously signed, was presented to the deputies, asking that the case might be examined by the General Court. Win-

* Quincy's Hist. Harv. Univ., i. 163.

throp was put on trial, and, after a prolonged examination of six weeks, was fully acquitted, and the mutineers and petitioners were fined in various sums, from £1 to £20, for the costs of the court. Governor Winthrop now took occasion publicly to declare his sentiments on the questions touching the authority of the magistrates, and the liberty of the people. "It is yourselves (said he) who have called us to this office, and being called by you, we have our authority from God, in way of an ordinance, such as hath the image of God eminently stamped upon it, the contempt and violation whereof has been vindicated with examples of divine vengeance. I entreat you to consider, that when you choose magistrates, you take them from among yourselves, men subject to like passions as you are. Therefore, when you see infirmities in us, you should reflect upon your own, and that would make you bear the more with us, and not be severe censurers of the failings of your magistrates, when you have continued experience of the like infirmities in yourselves and others. We account him a good servant, who breaks not his covenant. The covenant between you and us, is the oath you have taken of us, which is to this purpose, that we shall govern you and judge your causes by the rules of God's laws and our own,* according to our best skill. When you call one to be a magistrate, he doth not profess to nor undertake sufficient skill for that office, nor can you furnish him with gifts, &c.; therefore you must run the hazard of his skill and ability. But if he fail in faithfulness, which by his oath he is bound unto, that he must answer for.

* It must be observed, that the Mosaic law was at this time considered the general standard, and most of the laws of the colony were founded on it.

"For the other point, concerning liberty, I observe a great mistake in the country about that. There is a two-fold liberty, natural, (I mean as our nature is now corrupt,) and civil or federal. The first is common to man with beasts and other creatures. By this, man, as he stands in relation to man simply, hath liberty to do what he lists; it is a liberty to evil, as well as to good. This liberty is incompatible with authority, and cannot endure the least restraint of the most just authority. . . . . The other kind of liberty I call civil or federal; it may also be termed moral, in reference to the covenant between God and man, in the moral law, and the politic covenants and constitutions amongst men themselves. This liberty is the proper end and object of authority, and cannot subsist without it: and it is a liberty to that only which is good, just and honest. This liberty you are to stand for, with the hazard not only of your goods, but of your lives, if need be."*

In the following year, a great excitement grew out of the petitions of such as were non-freemen, who complained that the fundamental laws of England were not owned in the colony as the basis of government; that, civil privileges were denied to men merely for not being members of the churches; and that they could not enjoy Divine ordinances, because they belonged to the Church of England. With these complaints, they petitioned for liberty of conscience; or, if that could not be granted,

* From Mather's mutilated transcript of Governor Winthrop's speech on this occasion, the authors of the Modern Universal History, condensed and adorned, in vol. xxxix. 291,2, their report, as if delivered in St. Stephen's chapel, of "the following speech, which is equal to any thing of antiquity, whether we consider it as coming from a philosopher or a magistrate." Savage remarks, that the original from Winthrop's own pen is far superior to their copy. See Savage's Winthrop, i. 5, and ii. 221—230.

for freedom from taxes and military services: the petition concluded with a menace, that, in case of a refusal, complaint would be made to the Parliament of England. From the foundation of the colony, all persons residing within its limits, who were not church members, were subject to several important disabilities. They were excluded from all the offices and honors of the state; they were not allowed to vote in elections or on laws, even for town-laws and officers, saving only those of military companies. They were, moreover, we can hardly doubt, looked upon by the church members, not only with pity as lost men, but with somewhat of indignation as rebels against the Divine law, and treated sometimes with the indifference or disregard which is often all that the more privileged bestow upon the less. Among those who were not members of a church, and so but half members of the state, there were not a few persons eminent for learning and talent, on whom these disabilities bore grievously. Hence arose, and gradually increased, a dislike of the government, and a purpose to get rid of the odious restrictions, which at length gave rise to the petition referred to. William Vassall, of Scituate, a man of learning, wit, and address, was one of the leading fomenters of this movement; and Dr. Robert Child, of Hingham, whom Winthrop calls "a gentleman and a scholar," ably seconded his efforts. The court refused to entertain the petition, and an appeal was claimed to the commissioners in Parliament. Some of the petitioners were stopped on the eve of their sailing for England, and held to bail. On their examination they justified their petition, and were fined in various sums from £4 to £50. Persisting in their opposition, and while preparing to prosecute

their appeal, Child and others were arrested and imprisoned. He afterwards went to England, where Vassall was already, and attempted to excite an odium against the colony, but was successfully resisted by Edward Winslow, their agent.*

This kind of argument was frequently urged by the fathers of New England, in justification of their severity towards those who dissented from them: they maintained that all men had liberty to do *right*, but no liberty to do *wrong*. However true this principle may be in point of morality, yet in matters of opinion, in modes of faith, worship, and ecclesiastical order, the question is, who shall be the judge of right and wrong? and it is too evident, from their conduct, that they supposed the power of judging to be in those who were vested with authority; a principle destructive of liberty of conscience and the right of private judgment, and big with all the horrors of persecution. The exercise of such authority they condemned in the High Church party, who had oppressed them in England; and yet, such is the frailty of human nature, they held the same principles and practised the same oppressions on those who dissented from them here.

Winthrop, before he left England, was of a more catholic spirit than some of his brethren; after he had come to America, he fell in with the reigning principle of intolerance, which almost all the *Reformers* unhappily retained, as a relic of the persecuting Church from which they had separated; but as he advanced in life, he resumed his former moderation; and in the time of his last sickness, when Dudley, the deputy-governor, pressed

* See Life of Edward Winslow, pp. 124—128.

him to sign an order for the banishment of a person who was deemed heterodox, he refused, saying that "he had done *too much* of that work already."

Having devoted the greatest part of his interest to the service of the public, and suffered many losses by accidents, and by leaving the management of his private affairs to unfaithful servants, while his whole time and attention were employed in the public business, his fortune was so much impaired, that, some years before his death, he was obliged to sell the most of his estate for the payment of an accumulated debt. Not only his time, but much of his estate also, was given to the public. In 1632, he tells us, "For want of a common stock, he had to disburse all common charges out of his estate."* In 1633, the court ordered to be paid him £150 salary for the year, and the money he had paid from his own purse in the public service, being between £200 and £300 more.† He informs us that when in office, his expenses hardly fell short of £500 a year, £200 of which would have supported his family in a private condition. In 1640, his estate had become so reduced, partly by the misconduct of his steward, who had contracted large obligations (£2500) for him without his knowledge, that several hundred pounds (less than 500) were given him by voluntary contribution in the colony; and the court, the treasury being, as it often was, empty, granted to his wife 3000 acres of land: a strong proof of the high esteem in which he was held, as well as of sympathy for his misfortunes.‡—In his will, made June, 1641, (afterward revoked,) he mentions that he owned a farm at Medford, then as now called "the Ten-hills," an island called still

* Journal, i. 86. † Ibid, i. 105. ‡ Ibid, ii. 1, 2.

Governor's, in Boston Harbor, Prudence Island in Narragansett Bay, a lot at Concord, and another of 1200 acres on the Concord River, and 2000 acres still due him from the country.*

He also met with much affliction in his family, having buried three wives and six children. These troubles, joined to the opposition and ill treatment which he frequently met with from some of the people, so preyed upon his nature, already much worn by the toils and hardships of planting a colony in a wilderness, that he perceived a decay of his faculties seven years before he reached his grand climacteric, and often spoke of his approaching dissolution, with a calm resignation to the will of Heaven. At length, when he had entered the sixty-second year of his age, a fever occasioned by a cold, after one month's confinement, put an end to his life, on the 26th of March, 1649. He was buried in the Chapel burial ground in Boston, where his monument may yet be seen.

Upon the occasion of the last sickness of Governor Winthrop, the whole church fasted as well as prayed for him; and in that fast, the venerable Cotton preached on Psalms xxxv. 13, 14; making this application—"Upon this occasion we are now to attend this duty for a governour, who has been to us as a friend in his counsel for all things, and help for our bodies by physick, for our estates by law, and of whom there was no fear of his becoming an enemy, like the friends of David: a governour who has been to us as a brother; not usurping authority over the church; often speaking his advice, and often contradicted, even by young men, and some of low

* Journal, ii. 360.

degree; yet not replying, but offering satisfaction also when any supposed offences have arisen; a governour, who has been to us as a mother, parent-like distributing his goods to brethren and neighbors at his first coming; and gently bearing our infirmities without taking notice of them."*

A fine portrait of Governor Winthrop is preserved in the Senate Chamber of Massachusetts, with those of other ancient governors. The house in which he lived remained until 1775, when with many other old wooden buildings, it was torn down by the British troops and used for fuel. He lived on the lot at the corner of Milk street, Boston, part of which was afterwards taken for the Old South Church, and in the house subsequently occupied by Prince, the chronologist.

Governor Winthrop kept an exact journal of the occurrences and transactions in the colony, during his residence in it; entitled "*The History of New England, from* 1630 *to* 1649." It affords a more exact and circumstantial detail of events within that period than any compilation which has been or can be made from it; the principles and conduct of this truly great and good man therein appear in the light in which he himself viewed them; while his abilities for the arduous station which he held, the difficulties which he had to encounter, and his fidelity in business, are displayed with that truth and justice in which they ought to appear.

The Journal was originally written in three separate books. The two first remained, unpublished and uncopied, in possession of the elder branch of the Winthrop family, until the revolutionary war, when Gov. Trum-

* Mather's Magnalia, b. 2. c. 4.

bull of Connecticut procured the MS., and, with the assistance of his secretary, copied a considerable part of it. After Governor Trumbull's death, Noah Webster, Esq. by consent of the descendants of Governor Winthrop, published the MS. believing it to be the entire work. It was printed at Hartford, in 1790, in an octavo volume of 370 pages: and brought down the Journal to the 26th October, 1644. In 1816, the third book of the original MS. was found among the collections of the Rev. Mr. Prince, in the dormitory of the Old South Church, where for sixty years it had remained unnoticed. It commences where the second volume closed, and continues the Journal to January 11, 1649, which was within about ten weeks of the author's death. The whole work was evidently in the hands of Mr. Prince in 1755,* as it must have been previously in those of Mather and Hubbard.

The fortunate preservation and recovery of the third volume of the MS. Journal of Winthrop, as above stated, induced the indefatigable New England antiquary, Hon. James Savage, to undertake the preparation of a new edition, by whom the task was accomplished in 1825. Dr. Savage carefully revised the text, and added a large body of illustrative notes, which are unrivalled for historical accuracy, sagacity, and learning.

There is in the Library of the New York Historical Society, a MS. entitled "*A Modell of Christian Charity.* Written on board the Arbella, on the Atlantic Ocean. By the Hon. John Winthrop, Esqr. in his passage (with a great company of Religious people, of which Christian

* See Prince's Advertisement, prefacing Continuation of his Annals, II Mass. Hist. Coll., vii. 190.

tribes he was the Brave leader and famous Governor:) from the Island of Great Brittaine to New England in the North America. Anno 1630." It is an interesting paper, and has been reprinted in III Mass. Hist. Coll. viii. 31—48.

Governor Winthrop was four times married, and had thirteen children.

His first wife was Mary, daughter of John Forth, Esq. of Great Stanbridge in Essex, to whom he was married on the 16th April, 1605. She was buried on the 26 June, 1615. His second wife was Thomasin, daughter of William Clopton, who appears to have survived but a short time the period of her marriage, as her burial is mentioned as having taken place on the 11 December, 1616. The third wife of Governor Winthrop was Margaret, daughter of Sir John Tindal, Knt.* to whom he was married on the 29th April, 1618. She died at Boston, 14 June, 1647, being, says the brief record in Winthrop's Journal, "about fifty-six years of age: a woman of singular virtue, prudence, modesty and piety, and especially beloved and honored of all the country." Governor Winthrop afterwards, in 1648, married Martha, the widow of Thomas Coytmore, of Charlestown, who died on the coast of Wales, in 1645. She was the sister of Increase Nowell. She survived Governor Winthrop, and on the 10th March, 1651, was married to John Coggan, a successful merchant of Boston, who was her third husband. The children of Governor Winthrop, were—

* This gentleman, who was a Master in Chancery, was assassinated 12 Nov., 1616, for making a report against a suitor in a cause of comparatively small amount. The murderer was examined 16 Nov., and next day hanged himself in prison.

1. John, who was born at Groton, England, 12 Feb. 1606. After completing his education in the University of Cambridge, and in Trinity College, Dublin, he travelled into France, Holland, Flanders, Italy, Germany, and Turkey, and united the accomplishments of a gentleman with the erudition of a scholar. In 1631, he came with his father's family to New England, and was chosen a magistrate of the colony of which his father was governor. In 1633, he began the plantation of Ipswich. In 1634, he went to England, and in 1635 returned with powers from lords Say and Seal, and Brook, to settle a plantation at the mouth of Connecticut river. He was afterwards chosen governor of the colony of Connecticut.—At the restoration of Charles II. he went to England, and obtained a charter incorporating New Haven and Connecticut into one colony, "with a grant of privileges and powers of government, superior to any plantation which had been settled in America." From this time he was elected governor of Connecticut fourteen years successively till his death. He was one of the most distinguished philosophers of his age. His name appears among the founders of the Royal Society of London. Several of his essays are inserted in the Transactions. In the height of the Indian war, while he was attending to his official duty in Boston, as one of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, he fell sick of a fever, and died April 7, 1676, and was buried in the same tomb with his father.*

2. Henry, born in Groton, in Jan. 1607. He was accidentally drowned at Salem, 2 July 1630, the day

* Further particulars respecting the second Governor Winthrop, and his descendants, will appear in the Lives of the Governors of Connecticut, in a future volume of this work.

after his arrival. He had married a lady by the name of Fones, and left issue a daughter.

3. Forth, who died in England a short time after his father sailed.

4. Anna, baptized 8 August, 1614, and buried the 26th of the same month.

5. Anna, baptized 26 June, 1615, and buried the 29th of that month.

6. Mary, who is mentioned in the will of her father, dated 17 May, 1620. She was married about 1633, to Rev. Samuel Dudley, son of Governor Thomas Dudley, who resided at Cambridge, Boston, and Salisbury, and finally settled at Exeter, N. H., as the minister of that town. She died at Salisbury, 12 April, 1643.

7. Stephen, born in March, 1619; was representative from Pascataqua, N. H. in 1644; went to England in 1645 or 1646, with Rainsburrow, his brother-in-law, lived in the parish of St. Margaret, in Westminster, commanded a regiment in Cromwell's time, and became a member of parliament. He was much trusted by the Protector. He succeeded General Harrison, the exquisite enthusiast, who troubled Cromwell so much with his anticipation of a kingdom of saints.* He died prior to 1659.

8. Adam, born 7 April, 1620, admitted freeman in 1641, and died 24 Aug., 1652. His wife was Elizabeth Glover.† His son Adam, graduate at Harvard College, 1668, commanded one of the three militia companies of

* See note in Savage's Winthrop, i. 126.

† Dr. Farmer, in his Genealogy, following earlier authorities, makes Adam the eldest son of Winthrop by his third wife; but the Parish Register of Groton, in Suffolk, extracts from which are furnished in Savage's "Gleanings for New England History," (III Mass. Hist. Coll. viii.) makes Stephen the elder son by this marriage.

Boston, which assembled on the deposition of Andros, was representative for several years, a counsellor under the charter of 1691, and a judge of the superior court, and died 30th August, 1700, aged 52. His son Adam, graduated at Harvard College, 1694, was representative and counsellor, and commanded the Boston regiment. He died 2d October, 1743. His son John, graduated at Harvard College, 1732, was in 1738, appointed Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, in Harvard College, and was one of the most learned men of the age. He died 3d May, 1779, aged 64."*

9. Deane. He was born March 16, 1623, was member of the artillery company, 1644, freeman, 1665, was concerned in the settlement of Groton, which was probably so named, in honor of his father's native place. He died at Pulling Point, March 16, 1704, aged 81.

10. Samuel, born in August, 1627. In 1647, he was in the West Indies. In 1647, his father writes to John Winthrop, Jr., that Samuel was married in Holland to a Dutch woman, and was intending to visit Boston on his way to Barbadoes.

11. Anne. This daughter was born in April, 1630, after her father had left England. She died on the passage to this country, when eighteen months old.

12. William, born 14th August, 1632. He probably died young, as the records do not mention his birth.

13. Joshua, born 12th December, 1648, the only child by his last wife. After the death of Governor Winthrop, the General Court gave £200 to his infant Joshua; and in case he died before attaining the age of twenty-

* See notice of Professor Winthrop, in Quincy's History Harvard University, ii. 207—224.

one years, one-third of the sum was to go to the widow, one-third to Deane Winthrop, and the remaining third to Samuel Winthrop. The paternal regard of the colony was, however, ineffectual, as the Boston records show that "Joshua Winthrop, youngest son of the late Mr. John Winthrop, Esquire, died 11th January, 1651."

Governor Winthrop had five sons living at the time of his decease, all of whom, notwithstanding the reduction of his fortune, acquired and possessed large property, and were persons of eminence. The high reputation of the first Governor of Massachusetts, has been well sustained by succeeding generations of his family; and no name, perhaps, in the history of New England has been more richly adorned by exalted public and private character, or more generally respected, than that of WINTHROP.*

* Additional genealogical notes, and sketches of the distinguished descendants of Governor Winthrop, will be given in the Memoirs of the Governors of Connecticut.

II. THOMAS DUDLEY.

THOMAS DUDLEY, one of the most distinguished of the Puritan settlers of New England, and second governor of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, was born at Northampton, in the neighborhood of the residence of the Earl of Northampton, in the year 1576. There is a tradition among the descendants of Governor Dudley, in the eldest branch of the family, that he was descended from John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, who was beheaded 22 February, 1553, and some of the name have been anxious to trace their descent to that ambitious courtier; but whoever will take the pains to consult Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire, will be satisfied that our honest old Puritan could not have descended from the Dudleys, who figure so much in English history. His descent, however, was probably quite as honorable; as Dugdale produces evidence to show that Edmund Dudley, the privy counsellor of Henry VII., was the son, or grandson of John Dudley, a carpenter, and of very humble origin—and not descended from the family of Sutton, Baron of Dudley, in Staffordshire, as was pretended by the Duke. It was the marriage of Edmund Dudley with Elizabeth, the daughter and heiress of Sir Edward Grey, Viscount Lisle, that gave to him his family distinction, and his talents gave him his influence and power. He was born in 1462, became a lawyer and privy counsellor to Henry VII., and speaker of the House of Commons in 1505. He retained the favor of this monarch, who bestowed upon him great wealth. Henry VIII.,

inherited his father's treasures, but not his friendships; and Dudley was beheaded on Tower Hill, 22 Aug. 1510. John Dudley, the son of Edmund, was born in 1502, and after the accession of Edward VI., was made Earl of Warwick, and in 1551, Duke of Northumberland. He fell in the vain attempt to raise his daughter-in-law, the Lady Jane Grey, wife of Lord Guilford Dudley, to the throne, as successor of Edward, and was beheaded by order of Queen Mary, 22 Feb. 1553. Sir Robert Dudley, son of the Duke of Northumberland, born 1532, was a favorite of Queen Elizabeth, by whom, in 1564, he was made Baron of Denbigh and Earl of Leicester. He died 4 Sept. 1588. Ambrose Dudley, brother to the Earl of Leicester, who died at Bedford House, near London, 21 Feb. 1589, was "deservedly called the good Earl of Warwick."* The Duke of Northumberland had eight sons and five daughters, and from one of these sons, the Rev. Samuel Dudley, son of Governor Thomas, supposed his family to have been derived.

A late writer, speaking of Robert Dudley, son of the Duke, who became the favorite of Queen Elizabeth, and was made Earl of Leicester, says the disputes about his descent, go back to his great grandfather, who is described by one party as a carpenter, and by the other as a nobleman; while a third, acting as umpire, proposes to reconcile both theories by making him a "noble timber-merchant." However the dispute may be decided, the jest, founded on the first theory, is too good to be lost; it was said, that "he was the son of a duke, the brother of a king, the grandson of an esquire, and the great

* Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickshire. Kippis' Biographia Brittanica, vol. v. art. Dudley.

grandson of a carpenter; that the carpenter was the only honest man in the family, and the only one who died in his bed."

It does not appear that Governor Dudley ever claimed descent either from the family of Warwick or of Northumberland; and there have been those of the name, who would not exchange the title and privileges of an American citizen, for the brightest coronet that glitters in Europe.

Thomas Dudley was the only son of Captain Roger Dudley, who was slain in battle. Being left an orphan, he was taken into the family of the Earl of Northampton, where he remained for several years. He next entered the office of a judge of the name of Nicholls, in the capacity of a clerk, in which situation, the judge being a kinsman of his mother, he was allowed many favorable opportunities for the acquisition of knowledge. These advantages he faithfully improved, and became distinguished among the young men of his age, for intelligence, courage and conduct. Inheriting from his father, a taste for military adventure, and the most direct path to public honors during the reign of Elizabeth being the profession of arms, when the Queen ordered levies for the French service, he was appointed to the command of a company, marched into the field, and was at the siege of Amiens, under Henry IV. On the conclusion of a treaty of peace, Captain Dudley returned to England, and settled in the neighborhood of Northampton. Here he married "a gentlewoman whose extraction and estate were considerable;" which circumstance introduced him to an acquaintance with several eminent and pious dissenting clergymen. He attended their ministrations with

a devout and prayerful spirit, and became one of the most sincere and inflexible of the persecuted body of the Puritans.

It was not long after this, that Lord Say and Seal, and other persons of quality, recommended Mr. Dudley to Theophilus, the fourth Earl of Lincoln, who came to his title on the death of his father, 15th January, 1619.* The young Earl, on coming to his estate, found it incumbered with heavy debts, and conceiving a good opinion of Dudley, made him steward of the household, and entrusted to him the management of his affairs. Finding him to possess more than ordinary discretion, the Earl would rarely, if ever, (says Mather,) do any matter of moment without his advice. He soon extricated the estate from its embarrassments, and increased the income. In his business transactions, he exhibited so much foresight, sagacity, and fidelity, as to gain the entire confidence of that nobleman and his family. Mr. Dudley remained about ten years steward of the Earl of Lincoln, when he removed to Boston, in Lincolnshire, where he became a parishioner of the famous John Cotton, and the associate of those noble spirits, who were soon to lay the foundations of religious freedom in the new world. "Nevertheless the Earl of Lincoln found that he could be no more without Mr. Dudley, than Pharaoh without

* Mather calls this "the best family of any nobleman then in England;" and Collins' Peerage informs us, that Thomas, the third Earl of Lincoln, who was descended from a family that came in with William the Conquerer, had by one wife eight sons and nine daughters. One daughter, Frances, married John, son and heir of Sir Ferdinando Gorges; another, Susan, married John Humphrey; and a third, the Lady Arbella, married Isaac Johnson, and came over in the fleet in 1630, and died soon after. So that a close relationship to New England would be acknowledged by the House of Lincoln. Savage's Winthrop, i. 34, note.

his Joseph, and prevailed with him to resume his former employment, until the storm of persecution upon the non-conformists caused many men of great worth to transport themselves into New England."*

Mr. Dudley was one of the five undertakers of the settlement of the Massachusetts colony, and came over with the charter in 1630. He was far advanced in life for such an undertaking, being fifty-four years of age. Before the sailing of the fleet, while the Arbella, in which he embarked, was riding at anchor in the harbor of Cowes, Mr. Dudley was chosen deputy governor, in the place of John Humphrey, who remained behind. His own graphic account of the first steps in this great enterprise, contained in his letter of 12 March, 1631, addressed to the Countess of Lincoln, is the best that can be given. The following are extracts from this letter:

"For the satisfaction of your honor and some friends, and for use of such as shall hereafter intend to increase our plantation in New England, I have in the throng of domestic, and not altogether free from public business, thought fit to commit to memory our present condition, and what hath befallen us since our arrival here; which I will do shortly, after my usual manner, and must do rudely, having yet no table, nor other room to write in, than by the fireside upon my knee, in this sharp winter; to which my family must have leave to resort, though they break good manners, and make me many times forget what I would say, and say what I would not."

"Touching the plantation which we here have begun, it fell out thus: about the year 1627, some friends being together in Lincolnshire, fell into some discourse about

* Mather's Magnalia, b. 2. c. 5.

New England, and the planting of the gospel there; and after some deliberation, we imparted our reasons by letters and messages, to some in London and the west country, where it was likewise deliberately thought upon, and at length with often negotiation so ripened, that in the year 1628, we procured a patent from His Majesty, for our planting between the Massachusetts Bay, and Charles river on the south, and the river of Merrimack on the north, and three miles on either side of those rivers and bay, as also for the government of those who did or should inhabit within that compass, and the same year we sent Mr. John Endecott and some with him, to begin a plantation and to strengthen such as he should find there, which we sent thither, from Dorchester and some places adjoining; from whom, the same year, receiving hopeful news. The next year, 1629, we sent divers ships over, with about three hundred people, and some cows, goats, and horses, many of which, arrived safely. These by their too large commendations of the country, and the commodities thereof, invited us so strongly to go on, that Mr. Winthrop of Suffolk, (who was well known in his own country and well approved here for his piety, liberality, wisdom, and gravity,) coming into us, we came to such resolution, that in April, 1630, we set sail from old England, with four good ships.* And in May following, eight more followed, two having gone before, in February and March, and two more following in June and August, besides another sent out by a private merchant. These seventeen ships arrived all safe in New England, for the increase of the plantation here, this year, 1630, but made a long, troublesome, and a costly

* The Arbella, Jewell, Ambrose, and Talbot.

voyage, being all wind bound, long in England, and hindered with contrary winds after they set sail, and so scattered with mists and tempests, that few of them arrived together. Our four ships which set out in April, arrived here in June and July, where we found the colony in a sad and unexpected condition; above eighty of them being dead the winter before, and many of those alive, weak and sick; all the corn and bread amongst them all, hardly sufficient to feed them a fortnight, insomuch, that the remainder of one hundred and eighty servants we had the two years before sent over, coming to us for victuals to sustain them, we found ourselves wholly unable to feed them, by reason that the provisions shipped for them, were taken out of the ship they were put in, and they who were trusted to ship them in another, failed us, and left them behind; whereupon, necessity enforced us, to our extreme loss, to give them full liberty, who had cost us about sixteen or twenty pounds a person, furnishing and sending over. But bearing these things as we might, we began to consult of the place of our sitting down, for Salem, where we landed, pleased us not. And to that purpose, some were sent to the bay to search up the rivers for a convenient place; who upon their return, reported to have found a good place upon Mistick; but some other of us seconding these to approve or dislike of their judgment, we found a place liked us better, three leagues up Charles river, and thereupon, unshipped our goods into other vessels, and with much cost and labor, brought them in July, to Charlestown; but there receiving advertisements by some of the late arrived ships from London and Amsterdam, of some French preparations against us, (many of our people brought with

us, being sick of fevers and scurvy, and we thereby unable to carry up our ordnance and baggage so far) we were forced to change counsel, and for our present shelter, to plant dispersedly, some at Charlestown, which stands on the north side of the mouth of Charles river; some on the south side thereof, which place we named Boston (as we intended to have done the place we first resolved on;) some of us upon Mistick, which we named Medford; some of us westward on Charles river, four miles from Charlestown, which place we named Watertown; others of us, two miles from Boston, in a place we named Rocksbury; others upon the river of Sawgus, between Salem and Charlestown; and the western men, four miles south from Boston, at a place we named Dorchester. This dispersion troubled some of us, but help it, we could not, wanting ability to remove to any place fit to build a town upon, and the time too short to deliberate any longer, least the winter should surprise us before we had built our houses. The best counsel we could find out, was to build a fort to retire to, in some convenient place, if any enemy pressed thereunto, after we should have fortified ourselves against the injuries of wet and cold. So ceasing to consult further for that time, they who had health to labor, fell to building, wherein many were interrupted with sickness, and many died weekly, yea almost daily."

"And of the people who came over with us, from the time of their setting sail from England, in April, 1630, until December following, there died, by estimation, about two hundred at the least—so low hath the Lord brought us! Well, yet they who survived, were not discouraged, but bearing God's corrections with hu-

mility and trusting in his mercies, and considering how, after a great ebb, He had raised our neighbors at Plymouth, we began again, in December, to consult about a fit place to build a town upon, leaving all thoughts of a fort, because upon any invasion we were necessarily to lose our houses when we should retire thereunto; so after divers meetings at Boston, Rocksbury and Watertown, on the 28th of December, we grew to this resolution to bind all the Assistants (Mr. Endecott and Mr. Sharpe excepted, which last purposeth to return by the next ships into England,) to build houses at a place, a mile east from Watertown, near Charles river, the next spring, and to winter there the next year, that so, by our examples, and by removing the ordnance and munitions thither, and such as shall come to us hereafter to their advantage be compelled so to do; and so, if God would, a fortified town might there grow up, the place fitting reasonably well thereto."*

In the same letter to the Countess of Lincoln, Mr. Dudley gave the following advice to those who were hoping to better their worldly condition by emigration. It reminds us of similar judicious counsels given six years before by Governor Winslow:

"But now having some leisure to discourse of the motives for other men coming to this place, or their abstaining from it, after my brief manner I say this—that if any come hither to plant for worldly ends that can live well at home, he commits an error of which he will soon repent him. But if for spiritual, and that no particular obstacle hinder his removal, he may find here

* The whole of this letter may be found in Coll. N. H. Hist. Soc., iv. 224—249; and in Force's Historical Tracts, vol. 2, No. 4.

what may well content him, viz: materials to build, fuel to burn, ground to plant, seas and rivers to fish in, a pure air to breath in, good water to drink till wine and beer can be made, which, together with the cows, hogs and goats brought hither already, may suffice for food, for as for fowl and venison, they are dainties here as well as in England. For clothes and bedding, they must bring them with them till time and industry produce them here. In a word, we yet enjoy little to be envied, but endure much to be pitied in the sickness and mortality of our people. And I do the more willingly use this open and plain dealing, lest other men should fall short of their expectations when they come hither, as we to our great prejudice did, by means of letters sent us from hence into England, wherein honest men, out of a desire to draw over others to them, wrote somewhat hyperbolically of many things here. If any godly men, out of religious ends, will come over to help us in the good work we are about, I think they cannot dispose of themselves nor of their estates more to God's glory and the furtherance of their own reckoning, but they must not be of the poorer sort yet for divers years. For we have found by experience that they have hindered, not furthered the work—and for profane and debauched persons, their oversight in coming hither is wondered at, where they shall find nothing to content them. If there be any imbued with grace, and furnished with means to feed themselves and theirs for eighteen months, and to build and plant, let them come into our Macedonia and help us, and not spend themselves and their estates in a less profitable employment: for others, I conceive they are not yet fitted for this business."

Mr. Dudley, as has already been stated, was in favor of making Newtown, now Cambridge, the metropolis of the colony; and after consultation, Governor Winthrop, and the assistants, agreed to settle there, and streets and squares, and market places, were duly surveyed and laid out. In the spring of 1631, Mr. Dudley and others commenced building. Governor Winthrop had set up the frame of a house, but soon after changed his mind, and removed it to Boston. Mr. Dudley finished his house, and moved into it with his family. The first houses were rude structures, the roofs covered with thatch, the fire-places generally made of rough stones, and the chimneys of boards, plastered with clay. The settlers were publicly enjoined to avoid all superfluous expense, in order that their money might be reserved for any unforeseen necessities. Mr. Dudley having finished his house with a little more regard to domestic comfort, exposed himself to public censure. At a meeting of the governor and assistants, he was told, that "he did not well to bestow such cost about wainscoting and adorning his house, in the beginning of a plantation, both in regard to the expense, and the example." Dudley's answer was, that it was for the warmth of his house, and the charge was little, "*being but clapboards nailed to the wall in the form of wainscot.*"

The removal of Winthrop to Boston, in violation of his first understanding with Dudley, Bradstreet and others, was a source of mutual uneasiness; and the misunderstanding, on that and other matters, led Dudley, in April, 1632, to resign his offices of deputy governor and assistant of the colony. He even meditated for a time an abandonment of the colony, and a return to

England. But the ministers and the magistrates saw the evil of this dispute between the two foremost men of the plantation, and after repeated and earnest meetings, succeeded in bringing about a reconciliation. Dudley's resignation was adjudged by the court of assistants to be a nullity, and he again entered upon the duties of his station.* "Ever after (says Winthrop) they kept peace and good correspondency together in love and friendship."

Mr. Wilson, the first minister, having left Boston, in March, 1631, on a visit to England, the religious services of the church were performed alternately by Governor Winthrop, the deputy-governor Dudley, and Mr. Nowell, the ruling elder, until November of that year, when Mr. John Eliot arrived, and preached with them until his settlement at Roxbury. Hubbard says these men, in the absence of their pastor, accepted the charge, "knowing well that the princes of Judah, in King Hezekiah's reign, were appointed to teach the people out of the law of God."

In 1632, there being frequent alarms from the Indians, a palisade was commenced about Newtown. Mr. Dudley "impaled above a thousand acres," and the court of assistants ordered a tax of £60 to be raised for the purpose of enclosing Newtown with the palisade. Each town made choice of two men to advise with the governor about raising a public stock.

In 1634, at the meeting of the general court in May, Mr. Dudley was chosen governor. This was the beginning of a new era in the history of the colony. It was the first legislature in which the representative principle was recognized. Three delegates from each of the

* Savage's Winthrop, i. 72—78, 82—89.

towns were in attendance—the session was continued during three days—and Winthrop remarks, as if glad to escape from doubt, that "all things were carried very peaceably, notwithstanding that *some of the assistants were questioned by the freemen for some errors in government*," &c. The powers of the general court were now defined, the trial by jury was ordained, and orders were made regulating the future elections of the representative body. It was decided that there should be four general courts every year, the whole body of freemen hereafter assembling only at the court of election; the other courts to be held by the deputies. Each town was authorized to choose two or three deputies to represent them in the general court. This was the second house of representatives, in the American colonies.

The origin of the representative body, is an important event in our history, well worth a more deliberate scrutiny than has been freely bestowed upon matters of more trifling interest. Hutchinson says, it seems to have been agreed upon or fallen into by a general consent of the towns, and that it was a thing of necessity. Savage conjectures that the "assistants were become weary of the exercise of all the powers of government, and desired others to participate in the responsibility."* But a consideration of the tendencies of the age may well lead to the conclusion, that it was not so much that the assistants were tired of governing, as that an ardent desire existed and was increasing among the people for a more efficient share in the responsibility of government—a desire which has been conspicuous among their descendants. The towns were allowed two or three deputies each, and it

* Savage's Winthrop, i. 128.

appears that they accepted the grant with eagerness, and almost invariably chose the larger number. The true origin, after all, may be traced, perhaps, to the committees of two from each town, chosen in 1632, to agree upon the method of providing a public stock. The matter of taxation, has always been a topic of interest with the people, as connected with representation; and the expenses of the proposed fortification of Newtown, probably, had its effect—in other words, Governor Dudley's old ditch around the college, the remains of which were visible not many years since, may have been the immediate cause of the establishment of the first house of representatives in New England!

The general court at this session also established a military commission, vested with the most unlimited authority. At the head of this commission Governor Dudley was placed, having Winthrop, Humphrey, Haynes, Endecott, Coddington, Pynchon, Nowell, Bellingham and Bradstreet for his associates. They were deputed, in the words of the record,* "to dispose of all military affairs whatsoever; shall have full power and authority to see all former laws concerning all military men and munitions executed; and also shall have full power to ordain or remove all military officers, and to make and tender to them an oath suitable to their places; to dispose of all companies, to make orders for them, and to make and tender to them a suitable oath, and to see that strict discipline and trainings be observed, and to command them forth upon any occasion they think meet; to make either offensive or defensive war; as also to do whatsoever may be further behooveful for the good of this plantation

* I Col. Records, p. 139.

in case of any war that may befal us; and also that the aforesaid commissioners, or a major part of them, shall have power to imprison or confine any that they shall judge to be enemies to the commonwealth; and such as will not come under command or restraint, as they shall be required, it shall be lawful for the said commissioners to put such persons to death." This was a formidable power to be intrusted to any man, or body of men, but it seems never to have been exerted to the injury or discontent of the people.

In the following year, Governor Dudley was superseded by John Haynes, afterwards Governor of Connecticut. He was chosen assistant in 1635, and in the following year, when Sir Henry Vane was governor. For the years 1637, 8, and 9, he was deputy governor. At a general court in 1636, it was ordered that a certain number of the magistrates be chosen for life—and Governors Winthrop and Dudley were raised to this new dignity. "Only three years (says Savage,) did this council for life subsist." The object of the change was to tempt over some of the nobility and other leading men of England, who were ambitious of titles, by assuring them of a similar tenure of power in this new country. It was a weak device, which met no favor among the people, and was soon abandoned.

In 1636, Anne Hutchinson, a woman of familistic principles, and an ardent enthusiast, held meetings and gave lectures for the propagation of her peculiar sentiments. Her zeal and eloquence attracted numerous hearers, and her adherents rapidly increased. The whole colony was soon divided into two parties, the one called Antinomians, and the other Legalists. Governor Dudley, al-

ways foremost in what he believed to be his duty, opposed the new heresy with great zeal, and with Winthrop, Wilson, and others, maintained the principles and practices of the churches as they stood before this woman came into the country. With them in sentiment and feeling were the ministers and people of the other congregations; but Mr. Vane, the governor, and the Rev. Mr. Cotton, countenanced the opinions of Mrs. Hutchinson—her party became strong—the church was divided in twain—mutual censures passed between the brethren, and every thing in ecclesiastical affairs wore the aspect of disunion and change. The civil power of the colony was at last brought in to crush the heresy, and proved effectual for the time. Mrs. Hutchinson was banished, as was Wheelwright, her brother—all the principal men in the colony who had favored their preaching, were disarmed—and many, to escape banishment, became voluntary exiles from the colony.* The trial of Mrs. Hutchinson is a precious document for those who would understand the manners, customs, and principles of our fathers. It is preserved by Governor Hutchinson, in the Appendix to his History of Massachusetts.†

* Rev. John Wheelwright came from Lincolnshire to New England in 1636. He is said to have been at the University with Cromwell, who when Wheelwright waited upon him in England, after he was Protector, remarked to the gentlemen about him "that he could remember the time when he had been more afraid of meeting Wheelwright at foot-ball, than of meeting any army since in the field, for he was infallibly sure of being *tript up* by him." Mather, in App. to Belknap, iii. 225. Wheelwright, after his banishment, went to Exeter, New Hampshire, from thence to Wells, in Maine, afterwards to Hampton, and finally settled in Salisbury, Massachusetts, having been released from his sentence of banishment. He died at Salisbury, 15 Nov. 1679, at an advanced age.

† See further particulars in relation to Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, in Memoirs of Winthrop and Vane, in the present volume.

In 1640, Mr. Dudley was again chosen governor, taking the place of Winthrop. The latter thus modestly notices the event. "Some trouble there had been in making way for his election, and it was obtained with some difficulty; for many of the elders labored much in it, fearing lest the long continuance of one man in the place should bring it to be for life, and, in time, hereditary. Besides, this gentleman was a man of approved wisdom and godliness, and of much good service to the country, and therefore it was his due to share in such honor and benefit as the country had to bestow."

Richard Bellingham succeeded Governor Dudley in 1641, and Winthrop was governor in 1642. Although uniformly chosen one of the assistants, when not in a higher station, Dudley refused to accept that place in the latter year, unless the general court would give him liberty to remove from their jurisdiction whenever it might suit his convenience, without being bound in any existing oath or regulation, either as an officer, counsellor, or assistant. To these conditions the general court readily assented.

About this period, there was something like a struggle between the magistrates and ministers for power and influence. Mr. Cotton preached the doctrine, that the priesthood ought to be consulted by the magistrates, not only before they went to war, but in all civil affairs of the Commonwealth, and Mr. Rogers, another minister, told the people, that no governor ought to be continued in office for more than a year. These opinions met the indignant opposition of Governor Dudley, and even the milder spirit of Winthrop was roused against them. But however the ministers and magistrates might disa-

gree as to their separate powers, they were sufficiently united to preserve for many years, through their regulations as to the qualifications of freemen,* the closest union of church and state.

In 1644, there being twenty-six training bands and a troop of horse in the colony, it was ordained that there should be one general officer in time of peace, whose title should be Sergeant-Major General. Governor Dudley, although sixty-eight years of age, was chosen to this office.

In 1645, Mr. Dudley was again chosen governor, and he was deputy governor from 1646 to 1649. In 1650, he was for the fourth time elected governor; was deputy governor in the two following years; and assistant in 1653, in which office he died.

* By the old colony laws, no man could have a share in the administration of civil government, or give his voice in any election, unless he was a member of one of the churches. A citizen was required to become a member of the church, before he could be a freeman, until 1664, when the general court repealed the law relating to the admission of freemen, but passed another law allowing English subjects, being freeholders to a certain value, who were certified by the minister of the place to be orthodox, and not vicious in their lives, to be made freemen, although not members of the churches. The following is the form of the

FREEMAN'S OATH.—"I, A. B., being by God's providence an inhabitant and freeman within the jurisdiction of this commonwealth, do freely acknowledge myself to be subject to the government thereof, and therefore do here swear by the great and dreadful name of the ever living GOD, that I will be true and faithful to the same, and will accordingly yield assistance and support thereunto, with my person and estate, as in equity I am bound, and will also truly endeavor to maintain and preserve all the liberties and privileges thereof, submitting myself to the wholesome laws and orders, made and established by the same; and further that I will not plot nor practice any evil against it, nor consent to any that shall so do, but will timely discover and reveal the same to lawful authority, now here established, for the speedy preventing thereof; moreover I do solemnly bind myself in the sight of GOD, that when I shall be called to give my voice touching any such matter of this state wherein freemen are to deal, I will give my vote and suffrage as I shall judge in mine own conscience may best conduce and tend to public weal of the body, without respect of persons, or favor of any man. So help me GOD, in the Lord Jesus Christ."

Governor Dudley, shortly after the removal of the Rev. Mr. Hooker and his associates from Newtown (Cambridge) to Hartford, in 1636, himself removed to Ispwich; but his public engagements rendering it inconvenient for him to be so far from the seat of government, he established himself at Roxbury, where he died on the 31st July, 1653, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. He was a man of sound judgment, the most inflexible integrity, of great public spirit, and exemplary piety. With strong passions, he was still placable and generous in disposition. He was intolerant towards religious sectaries; and his zeal against heretics did not content itself with arguments addressed to the understanding, or reproofs for the conscience. He was shocked at the heresy of Roger Williams, who preached liberty of conscience, and voted for his banishment. Even more alarmed was he at what he believed to be the progress of error, when the famous Antinomian controversy a short time after shook the foundations of the churches; and with proportionate zeal did he exert himself to procure the banishment of Wheelwright, Anne Hutchinson, and others, as opposers of God's word, and enemies of the state. Through the whole of his life, Governor Dudley opposed and denounced what he deemed to be heresy, with an honest zeal, which, in these days of universal toleration, is sometimes referred to as a blot upon his fame. But the candid and judicious, who are acquainted with the history of the Puritans, and the circumstances under which "they came into a corner of the new world, and, with an immense toil and charge, made a wilderness habitable, on purpose there to be undisturbed in the exercise of their worship," will never be found censuring and railing at their errors.

They will rather wonder at the wisdom of the views, the disinterested nobleness of principle, and self-sacrificing heroism displayed by these wonderful men, to whom the world is indebted for the most perfect institutions of civil and religious freedom known among men.

Morton thus speaks of the merits of Governor Dudley:—"His love to justice appeared at all times, and in special upon the judgment seat, without respect of persons in judgment, and in his own particular transactions with all men, he was exact and exemplary. His zeal to order appeared in contriving good laws, and faithfully executing them upon criminal offenders, heretics, and underminers of true religion. He had a piercing judgment to discover the wolf, though clothed with a sheepskin. His love to the people was evident in serving them in a public capacity many years, at his own cost, and that as a nursing father to the churches of Christ. He loved the true Christian religion, and the pure worship of God, and cherished, as in his bosom, all godly ministers and Christians. He was exact in the practice of piety, in his person and family, all his life. In a word, he lived desired, and died lamented by all good men."* A less favorable estimate is placed upon his character by Dr. Savage, who says, "A hardness in public, and rigidity in private life, are too observable in his character, and even an eagerness for pecuniary gain, which might not have been expected in a soldier and a statesman." Hutchinson says "he was zealous beyond measure against all sorts of heretics." Of him Roger Wil-

* Morton's Memorial, 139. See also Johnson's estimate, in Wonder-Working Providence, p. 52.

liams spoke, when he said, "it is known who hindered, who never promoted the liberty of other men's consciences."

The following lines were found in his pocket, after his death, written apparently a short time before he died:

"Dim eyes, deaf ears, cold stomach, shew
My dissolution is in view.
Eleven times seven near lived have I,
And now God calls, I willing die.
My shuttle's shot, my race is run,
My sun is set, my deed is done,
My span is measur'd, tale is told,
My flower is faded, and grown old,
My dream is vanish'd, shadows fled,
My soul with Christ, my body dead.
Farewell, dear wife, children, and friends!
Hate HERESY; make blessed ends;
Bear poverty; live with good men;
So shall we meet with joy again.
Let men of God in courts and churches watch,
O'er such as do a TOLERATION hatch;
Lest that ill egg bring forth a cockatrice,
To poison all with heresy and vice.
If men be left, and otherwise combine,
My Epitaph's, I DIED NO LIBERTINE."

Governor Dudley had an anagram sent to him in 1645, by an unknown hand, which is yet preserved in the files of the first Church in Roxbury.

"THOMAS DUDLEY.
Ah! old must dye.
A death's head on your hand you neede not weare;
A dying head you on your shoulders beare;
You neede not one to mind you, you must dye,
You in your name may spell mortalitye.
Young men may dye, but old men, these dye must;
'Twill not be long before you turn to dust.
Before you turn to dust! ah! must! old! dye!
What shall young doe, when old in dust do lye?
When old in dust lye, what New England doe?
When old in dust do lye, it's best dye too."

Dudley, however, survived this solemn warning several years. The amusement of anagramatising the names

of men, was much indulged in by our forefathers, and was in practice, says Mather, "as long ago as the days of old Lycophron." Camden, in his "Remaines," has a chapter upon anagrams, and cites numerous instances in various languages. The acrostic is another species of false wit nearly allied to the anagram. Numerous examples may be found in our early books. "The rude rhymes of the Pilgrims, (says Judge Davis,) will find a ready apology with all who consider their circumstances and the literature of the age. Ample compensation for any literary defects will be found in the history of their lives." "Hitherto, (says Camden,) will our sparkefied youth laugh at their great-grandfather's English, who had more care to do well, than to speak minion-like; and left more glory to us by their exployting of great acts, than we shall do by forging of new words, and uncouth phrases."*

Governor Dudley, as has before been mentioned, married his first wife in England. She died 27th September, 1643. In the following year, he married Mrs. Catherine Hackburne, widow of Samuel Hackburne. This lady survived Governor Dudley, and was married to Rev. John Allin of Dedham, 8th November, 1653, a little more than three months after the governor's death. The children of Governor Dudley, by both marriages, were,

1. Samuel, born in England, about 1606, came to this country with his father, was educated for the ministry, married Mary, daughter of Governor Winthrop in 1633, resided at Cambridge, Boston, and Salisbury, and finally settled at Exeter, as the minister of that town, in

* Camden's Remaines of a Greater Worke, p. 18.

1650, where he died early in 1683, aged 77. He was a representative in 1644, from Salisbury. His wife died at Salisbury, 12th April, 1643; and he afterwards married a second and third wife. The descendants of Rev. Samuel Dudley are very numerous in New Hampshire.*

2. Anne, born in England, in 1612. At the age of sixteen she married Simon Bradstreet, afterwards governor of Massachusetts, and accompanied him to New England in 1630. She was a woman of rare accomplishments, and wrote a volume of poems, probably the earliest in America, a second edition of which was published in 1678.† She died 16th September, 1672.

3. Patience, who married major-general Daniel Dennison, distinguished in the early annals of the colony.‡

* See Farmer and Moore's Collections, i. 155, and ii. 237.

† Savage says "it does credit to her education, and is a real curiosity, though no reader, free from partiality of friendship, might coincide in the commendation of the funeral elogy by John Norton:

"Could Maro's Muse but hear her lively strain,
He would condemn his works to fire again.
* * * * * *
Her breast was a brave palace, a *broad street*,
Where all heroic ample thoughts did meet,
Where nature such a tenement had ta'en,
That other souls, to hers, dwelt in a lane."

‡ General Dennison was born in England in 1613, was of Cambridge in 1633, removed to Ipswich before 1635, was a deputy eight years, speaker in 1649 and 1651, major general in 1653, and an assistant twenty-nine years. He died 20th September, 1682, aged 70. He is spoken of by high authority as one of the few "popular and well principled men in the magistracy." Savage says: "The moderate spirit by which he was usually actuated, had not a general spread, yet the continuance of his election to the same rank for many years, where his sympathy was not, in relation to the controversy with the Crown, in unison with that of the people, is evidence of the strong hold his virtues and public labors had acquired." *The "Irenicon or Salve for New England's Sore,"* of which he was the author, displays his accomplishments as a scholar. Johnson observes, he was a "godly faithful man, which is the fountain of true validity—a good soldier, of a quick capacity, not inferior to any of the chief officers;—his own company are well instructed in feats of warlike activity." Whitman's Hist. Anc. and Hon. Artill. 170.

4 Mercy, born 27th September, 1621, who married Rev. John Woodbridge, the first minister of Andover, Massachusetts. She died 1st July, 1691.*

5. ———, who married Major Benjamin Keayne, of Boston, the only son of Capt. Robert Keayne, founder of the "Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company" of Boston. The father alludes to this in his will as "an unhappy and uncomfortable match." He went to England, where he repudiated his wife, and died about 1668.

6. Deborah, born 27th February, 1645.

7. Joseph, born 23d July, 1647: The second Governor Dudley; of whom, see memoirs in subsequent pages of this volume.

8. Paul, born at Roxbury, 8th September, 1650, when his father, the venerable Governor Thomas, was 73 years old. He married Mary, a daughter of Governor Leverett, was Register of Probate for several years, and died in 1681.

* Mr. Woodbridge was born at Stanton, in Wiltshire, in 1613, was educated in part at Oxford, came to New England in 1634, and settled at Newbury as a planter, but becoming a preacher, was ordained at Andover in 1645. He went to England in 1647, returned in 1663, and again settled at Newbury; was chosen an assistant in 1683 and 1684, and died 17 March, 1695. His brother, Benjamin Woodbridge, D. D., was the first graduate of Harvard College.

III. JOHN HAYNES.

JOHN HAYNES, the third governor of Massachusetts Bay, was a native of the county of Essex, in England, where he possessed an elegant seat, called Copford Hall, with which he inherited an income of a thousand pounds a year. A gentleman of easy fortune, surrounded by all the comforts of life, he had no motive of a pecuniary nature urging him to exchange his native land for another. He had, however, attached himself to the puritan interest, and watched with eagerness the progress of the emigration to America. The hopes of the pilgrims were beginning to be realized. The difficulties and dangers of the original settlements, had been surmounted. New Plymouth had become a prosperous colony, and the foundations of Boston, Dorchester, Roxbury, Watertown, and Cambridge had been laid. The decrees of the English Star Chamber, and the persecutions of Archbishop Laud, were "sifting the wheat of the three kingdoms," and furnishing abundant seed to plant the deserts of New England with men of resolute and unbending hearts.

Won by the invitations of Governor Winthrop and others, Mr. Haynes, in 1633, determined to remove to New England. Two long months were occupied in the voyage, during which three sermons a day beguiled the weariness of the passengers, of whom there were two hundred on board the ship. The vessel, which was called the Griffin, arrived at Boston on the 4th September, bringing, in addition to Mr. Haynes, three of the most eminent fathers of the New England church: Cotton,

Hooker, and Stone, the first of whom settled at Boston, and the others at Cambridge, then called Newtown.

A man like Mr. Haynes, "possessing a large estate, and larger affections; of a heavenly mind, and spotless life; of rare sagacity, and accurate but unassuming judgment; by nature tolerant, ever a friend to freedom, and ever conciliating peace"—for such is the modern estimate of his character*—would not long remain unnoticed in any community. We accordingly find that at the next election, in 1634, he was chosen one of the assistants of the colony. In the same year, he was placed on the extraordinary commission, consisting of seven persons, to whom was deputed the disposition of "all military affairs whatsoever," with power to levy war offensive and defensive, and to imprison, or put to death, any whom they should judge to be enemies to the commonwealth.†

In 1635, Mr. Haynes succeeded Governor Dudley in the chief magistracy of the colony. "The reason was, partly, because the people would exercise their absolute power, and partly upon some speeches of the deputy."‡ Roger Ludlow was the deputy referred to, and aspired to be governor at this election.§ When the vote was declared in favor of Mr. Haynes, he protested against the election as void, because the deputies of the several towns had agreed upon the election before they came;

* See Bancroft's Hist. i. 362. † See p. 286, of this volume.

‡ Savage's Winthrop, i. 158.

§ Ludlow was one of the founders of Dorchester, and one of the first assistants of the colony. Immediately after the occurrences in 1635, when he thought his claims neglected, he left the colony, and became an active and influential man in Connecticut, where he was a magistrate, deputy governor, and Commissioner of the United Colonies. In 1654, he removed to Virginia, and the time of his death is unknown. Hubbard says he was the brother-in-law of Endecott. He compiled the first code of laws in Connecticut.

whereupon the general court dropped him from the list of magistrates. In the infancy of the plantation, the expenses of government bore somewhat heavily upon the people, and Governor Haynes took occasion to inform them, in his address upon taking the chair, "that he should spare the usual charge towards his allowance, partly in respect of their love showed towards him, and partly for that he observed how much the people had been pressed lately with public charges."*

Soon after Governor Haynes was installed in office, information was received that the Dutch authorities at Manhattan, contemplated a settlement on the Connecticut river, whereupon he sent a barque round the cape to the Dutch governor, to acquaint him that the King had granted the river and country of Connecticut to English subjects, and desired him to forbear building any where thereabouts. A war of words ensued between the two colonies, but hostilities were averted.

Governor Haynes was superseded in the following year, by Henry Vane. Hutchinson says, that "Mr. Haynes being no longer a rival to Mr. Winthrop, he would have been the most popular man, if Mr. Vane's solemn deportment, although he was not then more than 24 or 25 years of age, had not engaged almost the whole colony in his favor." Savage says of Mr. Haynes, that he was "fortunate in being governor of Massachusetts, and more fortunate in removing after his first year in office, thereby avoiding our bitter contentions, to become the father of the new colony of Connecticut."

As early as 1634, measures had been taken by Mr. Haynes and others, to ascertain the feasibility of com-

* Savage's Winthrop, i. 159.

mencing a new settlement on the Connecticut river. Straitened for room at Newtown, they applied to the general court for leave to remove, and the question was for sometime debated, and permission finally refused. But the number of proposed emigrants increasing, the general court afterwards consented. In October, 1635, a company of sixty removed, and settlements were commenced at Windsor and Wethersfield; and John Winthrop, jr., returning from England with a commission from Lord Say and Seal, commenced a plantation at Saybrook. The succeeding winter proved so severe, that famine began to be apprehended; the settlements were partially abandoned, and many of the emigrants were obliged to return to Massachusetts. Their sufferings were extreme, and the few that remained, had to subsist upon acorns, malt, and grain.

In the spring of 1636, preparations were made for a more effectual settlement upon the Connecticut, and after due deliberation, the whole body of Mr. Hooker's church and congregation, came to the determination to remove. They commenced their journey in the month of June. It was to be through a dreary and trackless wilderness, of more than a hundred miles. They had no guide but their compass; no covering but the heavens. There were about one hundred persons, men, women, and children—at the head of whom, were the Rev. Mr. Hooker, Mr. Samuel Stone, and others, who were active leaders of the colony. They drove along with them, a hundred and sixty head of cattle, and subsisted on their march through the wilderness, upon the wild fruits which they found, and the milk of their cows. Fish and fowl were plenty; and, as they usually tarried a short

time on the banks of the little lakes that lay embosomed in the wilderness, their young men, on such occasions, busied themselves in taking game. Occasionally, a huge bear would cross their path in advance, and hurry off affrighted by the formidable array. The deer, which were plenty in those days, would snuff up the breeze which told of the advancing column, and fly far off into the deep forests. Now a wolf or panther, more bold than the other inhabitants of the wild, would loiter by the wayside, as if to dispute the passage of the adventurers, until the noise of the herd, or the shouts of the herdsmen, or the ominous crack of firearms, admonished them to retire. The females who were ill, or too feeble to endure the journey on foot, which was through a perfect wilderness for more than a hundred miles, were borne in litters upon the shoulders of the young athletic men. In the evening, as they came together, and set their watch to keep off the beasts of prey, or prepare to guard against any incursions of the Indians, the prayers of that little congregation went up into the arches of heaven to the Almighty's footstool; and when the first ray of morning light tipped the tall pines, the thanksgivings of humble and contrite hearts were offered to the throne of mercy.

The whole journey occupied nearly a fortnight, and during their march they had no shelter but the broad canopy above, or such as the branches and boughs of the trees afforded. Yet they accomplished their journey with perfect safety, and arrived with joy at their future residence, pleased to behold the beauties of the noble valley which skirted the broad and beautiful Connecticut. The Indian name of the new settlement was Suck-

iaug. The territory was now purchased of Sunckquasson, the Indian sachem of the neighborhood, and a good understanding kept up with the tribe for several years. The town soon began to prosper; the settlers multiplied in numbers, and increased in wealth; and many of the existing families of the present opulent city, trace their descent from the little Newtown colony, to whose exodus we have adverted.

In the spring of 1637, Mr. Haynes removed his family to Connecticut, and settled at Hartford. It was a period of intense gloom in the little colony. The Pequots, then the most warlike tribe in New England, were jealous of the new settlements, and plotting their ruin. Many persons had been killed, or taken, and cruelly tortured. The court of assistants determined on offensive operations, as the only means of conquering the enemy, and the colonies of New Plymouth and Massachusetts agreed to aid them in the struggle. The army commanded by Captain John Mason,* and consisting of seventy-seven Englishmen, sixty Moheagan and river Indians, and about two hundred Narragansetts, marched on the 24th of May to Nihantick, a frontier to the Pequots, and the seat of one of the Narragansett sachems. The next morning a considerable number of Miantoni-

* Capt. John Mason, the distinguished Pequot warrior, was born about 1600, and bred to arms in the Netherlands, under Sir Thomas Fairfax. He came to this country about 1632, was admitted freeman in 1635, having been one of the first settlers of Dorchester, which he represented in 1635 and 1636. In the latter year he removed to Windsor, Connecticut, was of Saybrook in 1647, and of Norwich in 1659. He was a magistrate from 1642 to 1659, deputy governor, 1660, and nine succeeding years, and major general of Connecticut. He died at Norwich, 1672. His son, John, a captain, was wounded in the great battle with the Narragansetts, 19 Dec. 1675, and died in September following. Descendants of this energetic warrior are found in New England, one of whom is the Hon. Jeremiah Mason, LL. D., of Boston.

moh's men, and of the Nihanticks, joined the English, who renewed their march, with nearly five hundred Indians. After marching twelve miles to a ford in Pawcatuck river, Mason halted, and refreshed his troops, fainting through heat and scanty provisions. Here many of the Narragansetts, astonished to find it his intention to attack the Pequots in their forts,* withdrew, and returned home. Under the guidance of Wequash, a revolted Pequot, the army proceeded in its march toward Mistic river, where was one of the Pequot forts, and, when evening approached, pitched their camp by two large rocks.† Two hours before day, the troops were roused to the eventful action, the issue of which was in fearful suspense. After a march of about two miles, they came to the foot of the hill, on the summit of which stood the hostile fort. The day was nearly dawning, and no time was to be lost. Mason, throwing the troops into two divisions, pressed forward with one to the eastern, and Underhill with the other, to the western entrance. When Mason drew nigh the fort, a dog barked, and an Indian instantly called out, Owanux! Owanux! [Englishmen! Englishmen!] The troops pressed on, and, having poured a full discharge of their muskets through the palisades upon the astonished enemy, entered the fort, sword in hand. A severe conflict ensued. Many of the Indians were slain. Some of the English were killed, others wounded; and the issue of battle was yet dubious. At this critical moment, Mason cried out to

* The Pequots had two forts, one at Mistic river; another several miles distant, which was the fort of Sassacus, their great sachem, whose very name filled the Indians with terror. "Sassacus," said the Narragansetts, "is all one God; no man can kill him." I Mass. Hist. Coll., ix. 84.

† In Groton, Connecticut, now called Porter's rocks. Trumbull, i. 83.

his men, "We must burn them." Entering a wigwam at the same instant, he seized a fire brand, and put it into the mats with which the wigwams were covered; and the combustible habitations were soon wrapped in flames. The English, retiring without the fort, formed a circle around it; and Uncas with his Indians formed another circle in their rear. The devouring fire, and the English weapons, made rapid and awful devastation. In little more than the space of one hour, seventy wigwams were burnt; and, either by the sword or the flames, five hundred or six hundred Indians perished. Of the English, two men were killed, and sixteen wounded.

The Governor and council of Massachusetts, on receiving intelligence of the success of the Connecticut troops, judged it needful to send forward but one hundred and twenty men. These troops, under the command of Captain Stoughton, arriving at Pequot harbor in June, and receiving assistance from the Narragansett Indians, surrounded a large body of Pequots in a swamp, and took eighty captives. The men, thirty in number, were killed, but the women and children were saved. Forty men, raised by Connecticut, and put under the command of the heroic Mason, joined Stoughton's company at Pequot.* While the vessels sailed along the shore, these allied troops pursued the fugitive Indians by land, to Quinnipiack,† and found some scattering Pequots on their march. Receiving information at Quinnipiack, that the enemy were at a considerable distance westward, in a great swamp, they marched in that direction, with all

* New London was originally called Pequot; and was occupied by the Pequot tribe. See page 148, of this volume.

† The Indian name of New Haven.

possible despatch, about twenty miles, and came to the swamp, where were eighty or one hundred warriors, and nearly two hundred other Indians. Some of the English rushing eagerly forward, were badly wounded; and others, sinking into the mire, were rescued by a few of their brave companions, who sprang forward to their relief with drawn swords. Some Indians were slain; others, finding the whole swamp surrounded, desired a parley; and, on the offer of life, about two hundred old men, women, and children, among whom was the sachem of the place, gradually came out, and submitted to the English. The Pequot warriors, indignantly spurning submission, renewed the action, which, as far as it was practicable, was kept up through the night. A thick fog, the next morning, favoring the escape of the enemy, many of them, among whom were sixty or seventy warriors, broke through the surrounding troops. About twenty were killed, and one hundred and eighty taken prisoners. The captives were divided between Connecticut and Massachusetts, which distributed them among the Moheagans and Narragansetts. Sassacus, the chief sachem, fled with about twenty of his best men to the Mohawks, who, at the request of the Narragansetts, cut off his head; and his country now became a province of the English. However just the occasion of this war, (says Holmes,) humanity demands a tear on the extinction of a valiant tribe, which preferred death to dependence.*

In addition to the embarrassments occasioned by the struggle with the Pequots, the settlers of Connecticut, as the winter approached, were menaced with starvation.

* Morton, 99. Hubbard's Indian Wars, 36—54. Trumbull, i. 69—77.

The snows, which came frequent, were four feet deep from the 4th of November, 1637, until the 23rd of March following, and the cold was severe. In this emergency, through the agency of a few persons sent among the Indians, now at peace, supplies of corn were procured, and the danger of famine averted.

Governor Haynes accompanied Uncas, the Moheagan sachem to Boston, in 1638, when the latter, who had given offence to Massachusetts by entertaining some of the hostile Pequots, sought a reconciliation. "This heart," said the sachem, laying his hand upon his breast, as he addressed the governor, "is not mine, but yours; I have no men; they are all yours; command me any difficult thing, I will do it; I will not believe any Indians' words against the English; if any man shall kill an Englishman, I will put him to death, were he never so dear to me."* The presents and promises of Uncas were accepted, and he was ever afterwards faithful to the whites.

For a period of nearly three years after the settlement of Connecticut, all the powers of government were exercised by the magistrates. They had a general superintendence of all the affairs of the plantation, without any direct assistance from the body of freemen.

But in 1639, the people determined to establish a constitution for themselves. All the free planters of Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield accordingly assembled at Hartford, on the 14th January, and adopted a constitution, based on the broad foundations of liberty and religion, which has been admired as the model of a republican system, and continued for a century and a

* Savage's Winthrop, i. 266. See also Records of United Colonies, quoted in Hutchinson's Colony Mass. Bay, 142.

half to be the basis of the civil government of Connecticut.

This constitution ordained that there should be annually two general courts, or legislative assemblies, one in April, and the other in September; that in the first, all public officers should be chosen; that a governor should be annually appointed; that no one should be chosen to this office unless he had been a magistrate, and also a member of some church; that the choice of officers should be by ballot, and by the whole body of freemen; and that every man was to be considered a freeman, who had been received as a member by any of the towns, and had taken the oath of fidelity to the commonwealth; that each of the three towns should send four deputies to the general court; and that when there was an equal division of votes on any question, the governor should have the casting vote.*

The first election under this constitution was held in the April following, when John Haynes was chosen the first governor of Connecticut. His distinguished character, and the important part he had taken in the early settlement of the colony, naturally pointed him out for this station. One of his earliest acts, was to press upon the assembly the necessity of establishing a code of laws; and that body proceeded as occasion required to discharge that duty. The laws at first were few, and time was taken to consider and digest them. The first statute in the Connecticut code is a kind of declaration, or bill of rights. It ordains, that no man's life shall be taken away; no man's honor or good name

* Hazard, i. 437—441, where the Constitution is inserted. Trumbull, i. App. No. 3.

be stained; no man's person shall be arrested, restrained, banished, dismembered, nor any wise punished; that no man shall be deprived of his wife or children; no man's estate or goods shall be taken away from him, nor any wise endamaged, under color of law, or countenance of authority, unless it should be by the virtue of some express law of the colony warranting the same, established by the general court, and sufficiently published; or in case of the defect of such law, in any particular case, by some clear and plain rule of the word of God, in which the whole court shall concur. It was also ordained, that all persons in the colony, whether inhabitants or not, should enjoy the same law and justice without partiality or delay.*

Under the constitution of Connecticut, no person could be chosen governor oftener than once in two years. Edward Hopkins was accordingly chosen to that office in 1640. Governor Haynes was again chosen in 1641; but in 1642, from some disagreement among the freemen, both Mr. Haynes and Mr. Hopkins were dropped in the election, and George Wyllys was appointed governor.

In 1643, Gov. Haynes was re-instated in office. In the same year, four of the New England colonies united in a confederation for mutual protection and defence. This union was proposed by the colonies of Connecticut and New Haven, as early as 1638, but was not finally completed until 1643.†

Gov. Haynes was one of the most active agents in accomplishing this important measure, and spent several weeks in Massachusetts in bringing the matter to a conclusion. He was for several years one of the commis-

* Old code of Connecticut. † See pp. 119—122, of this volume.

sioners of the United Colonies from Connecticut under this confederation.

In the autumn of 1646, Governor Haynes, being on his way from Connecticut to Boston, was overtaken by a tempest, and came near perishing. Gov. Winthrop, in a letter, dated 19 November, says, "Mr. Haynes is come safe to us, but in great danger to have perished in the tempest, but that beyond expectation, wandering in the night, God brought him to an empty wigwam, where they found two fires burning, and wood ready for use. There they were kept two nights and a day, the storm continuing so long with them, with much snow as well as rain."*

Gov. Haynes had during the same year escaped assassination. Sequassen, a petty sachem, hired one of the Waronoke Indians to kill Gov. Hopkins and Governor Haynes, with Mr. Whiting, one of the magistrates. Sequassen's hatred to Uncas was insatiable, and, probably, was directed against these gentlemen, on account of the just and faithful protection which they had afforded him. The plan was, that the Waronoke Indian should kill them, and charge the murder upon Uncas, and by that means to engage the English against him to his ruin. After the massacre of these gentlemen, Sequassen and the murderer were to make their escape to the Mohawks. The Indian who was hired to perpetrate the murder, after he had received several girdles of wampum, as a part of his reward, considering how another of his tribe, named Bushheag, who attempted to kill a woman at Stamford sometime before, had been apprehended and executed at New Haven—conceived that it

* Savage's Winthrop, ii. 352.

would be dangerous to murder English sachems. He also revolved in his mind, that if the English should not apprehend him and kill him, he should always be afraid of them, and have no comfort of his life. He also recollected that the English gave a reward to the Indians, who discovered and brought in Bushheag. He therefore determined, that it would be better to discover the plot, than to be guilty of so bloody and dangerous an action. In this mind he came to Hartford, a few days after he had received the girdles, and made known the plot.*

Governor Haynes, while resident in Massachusetts, seems to have embraced the extreme views of Dudley, Peters, and others, in reference to rigor and strictness in government; and he arraigned the conduct of Gov. Winthrop, as being too lenient toward offenders, whereupon greater strictness in discipline civil and military was enjoined upon the magistrates.† But after his removal to Connecticut, he seems to have become more tolerant in his views, and to have regretted the harsh proceedings adopted in Massachusetts against the Anabaptists. Roger Williams, in a letter dated from Providence, 22d June, 1670, says—"The matter with us is not about these children's toys of land, meadows, cattle, government, &c. But here all over this colonie, a great number of weake and distressed soules scattered are flying hither from Old and New England; the Most High and only wise hath in his infinite wisdom provided this country and this corner as a shelter for the poor and persecuted, according to their several perswasions. And thus that heavenly man, Mr. Hains, Governour of Connecticut, though he pronounçed the sentence of my

* Trumbull, i. 158. † See Life of Winthrop, p. 250, ante.

long banishment against me at Cambridge, then Newtown, yet said unto me in his own house at Hartford, being then in some difference with the Bay, "I think, Mr. Williams, that I must now confesse to you, that the most wise God hath provided and cut out this part of the world for a refuge receptacle of all sorts of consciences. I am now under a cloud, and my brother Hooker, with the Bay, as you have been; we have removed from them thus far, and yet they are not satisfied."*

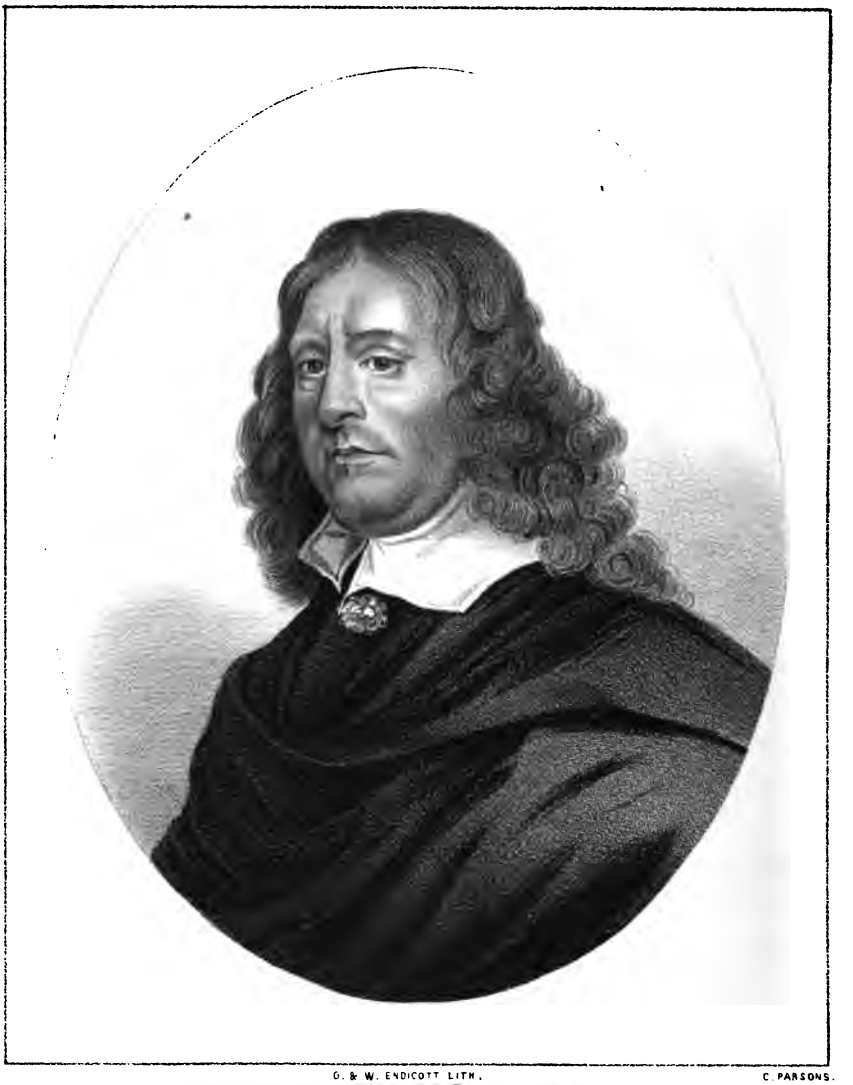
Governor Haynes died at Hartford, in 1654. He was twice married, and had eight children; five sons and three daughters. By his first wife, he had Robert, Hezekiah, John, Roger, and Mary; and by his second, Joseph, Ruth, and Mabel. When he came into New England, he left his sons, Robert, and Hezekiah, and his daughter, Mary, at Copford Hall. Upon the commencement of the civil wars in England, Robert espoused the royal cause; but Hezekiah, declaring for the parliament, was, afterwards, promoted to the rank of major-general, under Cromwell. Upon the ruin of the king's affairs, Robert was put under confinement, and died without issue. Hezekiah enjoyed Copford Hall, under his father, until his decease. He then possessed it as a paternal inheritance, and it descended to his heirs. John and Roger, who came into this country with their father, sometime before his death returned to England. Roger died on his passage or soon after his arrival. John graduated at Harvard College in 1656, returned and was admitted to the degree of Master of Arts at Cambridge in England, and was settled in the ministry, at or near Colchester,

* Williams' Letter to Major Mason, in I Mass. Hist. Coll. i. 280.

in the county of Essex, in England, where he died before 1698, leaving issue. Joseph, graduated at Harvard College in 1658, was ordained pastor of the first church in Hartford, and died 24 May, 1679, leaving one son, John, a magistrate, and judge of the superior court of Connecticut, who graduated at Harvard College in 1689. Mary married Joseph Cook in England; Ruth married Samuel Wyllys, son of Governor Wyllys, of Hartford, and Mabel was married to James Russell, of Charlestown, a counsellor, judge, and treasurer in Massachusetts; and all had issue. The Rev. Mr. Haynes, of Hartford, had one son, John, a gentleman of reputation, for some years one of the magistrates and judges of the colony. He had sons, but they died without issue, and the name became extinct in this country.

Trumbull, in noticing the death of Governor Haynes, says—"He was not considered, in any respect, inferior to Governor Winthrop. He appeared to be a gentleman of eminent piety, strict morals, and sound judgment. He paid attention to family government. His great integrity, and wise management of all affairs, in private and public, so raised and fixed his character, in the esteem of the people, that they always, when the constitution would permit, placed him in the chief seat of government, and continued him in it till his death."*

* Trumbull's Hist. Conn. i. 216.



G. & W. ENDICOTT LITH. C. PARSONS.

SIR HENRY VANE.

FROM AN ORIGINAL AT STRAWBERRY HILL.

Lith. for Moores American Governors.

... Henry Vane, the elder, was chosen from Carlisle, in the parliaments which assembled in 1614, 1620, and 1625, and in every parliament afterwards to the time of his death, being elected for Thetford in Norfolk, Wilton in Wiltshire, and for the county of Kent. Willis' Notitia Parliamentaria.

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IV. SIR HENRY VANE.

THE VANES are descended from an ancient family in Wales. The ancestor of this family, and of the Earls of Westmoreland and Darlington, was Howel ap Vane, of Monmouthshire, who lived before the Conquest. The first of the name distinctly noticed in history, is Sir Henry Vane, who was knighted by Edward, the Black Prince, for his bravery at the battle of Poictiers, in 1356. Six generations are recorded between Howel ap Vane and the Knight of Poictiers, and several generations succeeded, when we find another of the family, Sir Ralph Vane, knighted by Henry VIII., for good conduct at the siege of Boulogne. He died without issue, and was succeeded by John, his brother, who changed the name to Fane, and left two sons, Henry, the ancestor of Lord Barnard, and Richard, from whom is descended the Earl of Westmoreland. Henry, grandfather of Sir Henry Vane, died at Roan, 14 October, 1596. His son Henry of Raby Castle in Durham, and Harlow in Kent, who resumed the name of Vane, was born 18 February, 1589, and was knighted by James I. in 1611. After finishing his travels, and completing his education in foreign languages, and the other learning of his day, he was elected to Parliament from Carlisle in 1614,* and continued from that time, for more than thirty years, to exercise a controlling influence in the senate and the

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cabinet. King James appointed him Cofferer to Prince Charles, an office which he continued to sustain, after the latter had ascended the throne. He was also a member of his Majesty's Privy Council. In 1631, he went to Denmark as Ambassador Extraordinary, and shortly afterwards, in the same capacity, he visited the court of Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden. In both countries, he concluded treaties of great importance to the commerce and power of England. He also acted a conspicuous part in military affairs. In 1633, and again in 1639, he entertained King Charles with great splendor in his castle at Raby. In the last named year he was made Treasurer of the Household, and advanced to the highest seat in the administration, as his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State. The Earl of Strafford was his rival, and after the Earl had been attainted and brought to the block, through the instrumentality of Sir Henry Vane and his son, the King became offended, and removed the elder Vane from his offices. He remained, however, in parliament, until ejected by Cromwell, in 1653. He died in 1654.

Sir Henry Vane, the elder, married Frances, daughter and heiress of Thomas Darcy, of Essex, and had a family of fourteen children, Sir Henry, the principal subject of this memoir, being the eldest, and born in 1612. Two of his brothers, Thomas and John, died young. George was knighted, 22 Nov. 1640, and buried at Long Newton, in Durham, 1 May, 1679, having had thirteen children. Charles was distinguished as a diplomatist in the times of the Commonwealth, particularly as Envoy to Lisbon. Margaret, the eldest sister, 3 June, 1639, married Sir Thomas Pelham, ancestor of the

families of the Duke of New Castle, Earl of Chichester, and Lord Yarborough. Anne, born in Aug. 1623, married Sir Thomas Liddell, of Ravensworth Castle, Durham, who died in 1697. Frances, born 30 April, 1630, married Sir Robert Honeywood, and another married Sir Francis Vincent.*

It will thus be seen that young Vane's entrance into life was under the most favorable circumstances. At sixteen years of age, he became a gentleman commoner of Magdalen College, Oxford. In his early youth, according to his own account, he had been giddy, wild, and fond of "good fellowship," but the year before entering College he became seriously inclined. As he progressed in his studies, he became alienated from the doctrines and forms of the established church, and when the period of his matriculation arrived, he quitted his gown, declined to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy, and thus forfeited his membership at the University. Leaving Oxford, he passed over to the Continent, visited Holland and France, and spent some time in Geneva.

The rumor of his abandonment of the church, soon became known to the King, and his Majesty was advised to take steps to recover him to the cause of the establishment. Archbishop Laud, too tyrannical to be a safe counsellor or friend, undertook to reclaim the young dissenter, but failed. The circumstances caused some excitement in the higher circles of English society at the time. Sir Henry Vane, the elder, then of his Majesty's Privy Council, who was strongly opposed to the puritans, was greatly disturbed by the course of his son. To relieve

* Betham's Baronetage of England. See also Playfair's British Family Antiquities, and the Biographia Britannica, art. Vane

his father from embarrassment, young Vane determined to remove to America. At first, the father was opposed to the plan; but afterwards yielded, at the instance of the King.

Mr. Vane arrived at Boston, in one of the ships that came over in the autumn of 1635. On the 1st of November, he was admitted a member of the church of Boston, and on the 3d of March following, to the freedom of the colony.*

The colonists were naturally prepared to receive him with open arms; and their regard and attachment were increased, as they became personally acquainted with him. His interesting demeanor, grave and commanding aspect, and extraordinary talents; but above all his extensive theological attainments, entire devotion to the cause of religion, earnest zeal for its institutions, and the unaffected delight with which he waited upon its ordinances and exercises, won the admiration, love, and veneration of the Puritans. After a short residence in the country, when the annual election came round, in May, 1636, he was elected Governor of Massachusetts, being at that time but twenty-four years of age.

His administration was brief and stormy. He contended for principles which were in advance of the times, and soon found the applause which every where met his arrival, turned into distrust, and eventually into opposition.

When his election as governor was announced, a salute was fired by the shipping in the harbor, there being at the time some fifteen large vessels in port. The leading men had misgivings about there being so many for-

* Savage's Winthrop, i. 170; ii. 366.

eign vessels in the harbor, and were apprehensive lest the presence of their officers and crews should corrupt the morals of the inhabitants. Governor Vane undertook to remedy the evil; and inviting the captains of all the ships to dine with him, he succeeded in effecting an arrangement, by which inward bound vessels were to remain below the fort, until the Governor's pass should be obtained; all invoices to be submitted to the inspection of government before landing; and none of the ships' crews to remain on shore after sunset.*

Soon after this, the mate of a British vessel affected to be very indignant because the King's colors had not been displayed upon the fort; and in a moment of excitement he denounced the colonists as a set of "rebels and traitors." The people became so clamorous against the mate, for this insult upon their loyalty, that Gov. Vane was obliged to order his arrest. The crew resisted the marshal, but the captain of the vessel at last surrendered the mate, who made an apology; and this being done, the British officers were inclined to insist, that the flag should be hoisted over the fort. This was a sad dilemma for the puritans. Endecott had just before torn the cross from the flag at Salem, and now that they were required to hoist the flag, on which the dreaded Papal Cross was represented, was an abomination. On the other hand, to refuse to acknowledge the King's sovereignty by displaying his flag, might subject them to great difficulty. They hoped to escape, however, by the reply that there were no such colors in the country. The captains offered to lend them a flag; and then the question had to be submitted to the clergy. The result was,

* Savage's Winthrop, i. 187.

that the request of the captains was at last refused! Governor Vane, although a puritan, strenuously opposed this over scrupulous conduct of the magistrates, and was supported by Dudley, one of the straitest of the sect. And the obnoxious flag, with the terrible cross, was finally displayed without the authority of the government, on the personal responsibility of Governor Vane and Mr. Dudley. From this hour the popularity of Governor Vane declined.

During the administration of Governor Vane, Mrs. Anne Hutchinson, the founder of the sect of antinomians, arrived from England. Possessing extraordinary gifts, the happiness of her life consisted in religious exercises and investigations. It was her fortune, (says Upham,) "to raise a contention and kindle a strife in the infant commonwealth of Massachusetts, which has secured to her name a distinction as lasting as our annals."* She established meetings, and set herself up as a spiritual teacher. Her opinions were hostile to those of the clergy and the government; but the power of her eloquence and exertions soon carried the people of Boston with her; and when the government took steps to silence her, the sympathy became almost universal in that city. All beyond the limits of Boston was under the sway of the dominant clergy. Governor Vane espoused the cause of Mrs. Hutchinson, as an advocate of religious freedom, and continued to defend her, until at the close of his administration, he returned to England.

The religious views of this extraordinary woman, which set the colony in a flame, are substantially expressed in the following description.

* See Upham's Life of Sir Henry Vane, in I Sparks' Biography, iv. 123.

She believed that it was the dwelling of the Holy Spirit in the believer's heart, that is, the possession and exercise of the pure and genuine and divine spirit of Christianity in the soul itself, which constituted justification, or made a person acceptable to God; that the external and formal indications of piety, or sanctification, might appear where this inward spirit was not experienced, and that in such cases they were utterly worthless; and that the great end of the religion revealed in the Scriptures, was not so much to make our conduct or outward deportment correct, or bring us under a covenant of works, as to include us under a covenant of grace, by imparting to our souls the Holy Spirit of God.

However unpalatable such doctrines were in a formal and sanctimonious condition of society and manners, they would probably meet with a hearty response from enlightened Christains of all denominations at the present day. It is indeed wonderful, that a female in Mrs. Hutchinson's circumstances, placed beyond the reach of every influence that might be thought necessary to lead to such results, encompassed by the privations of a wilderness and the cares of a young and numerous family, could have made such an advance beyond the religious knowledge of her age.*

When the next election came round, the controversy was at its height. Vane, although he meditated a return to England, was the candidate of the friends of toleration, and Winthrop was supported by the clergy and magistrates. The fathers and founders of the colony now regained the ascendancy. Mrs. Hutchinson, and her brother, John Wheelwright, were banished, and some of the

* Upham's Vane, in I Sparks' Biog. iv. 138.

principal persons in Boston who had defended her were disarmed.* Governor Vane, after a spirited pamphlet controversy with Governor Winthrop, on the great questions at issue, bade adieu to the colony.† He took passage for England, in August, 1637, accompanied by Lord Ley, a young nobleman, son and heir of the Earl of Marlborough, who had come over a short time before to see the country. A large concourse of the inhabitants of Boston followed their honored friend and former chief magistrate to the wharves, and many accompanied him to the vessel. A parting salute was fired from the town, and another from the castle.

Governor Vane's first appearance in public life, after his return to England, was in 1640. About this time, through his father's interest with the Earl of Northumberland, then Lord High Admiral of England, he was joined with Sir William Russell in the lucrative office of Treasurer of the Navy, whom he supplanted in 1643, and became sole Treasurer. He took his seat in the House of Commons on the 13th April, 1640, as member for Kingston upon Hull.

So great was the reputation he had previously acquired, and the impression produced by his appearance and conduct in the House during the brief continuance of this Parliament, that it became an object of some importance to secure his favor and influence to the government. He was accordingly signalized by the expressions of royal regard. In June, 1640, he received from King Charles the honors of knighthood, and was there-

* See notices of the antinomian heats, in pp. 254—258, 287, 288, of this volume.

† The pamphlets comprising this controversy are preserved in Hutchinson's Collection, pp. 67—100.

after, until the death of his father, in 1654, distinguished by the title, either of Sir Henry Vane the Younger, or Sir Henry Vane of Raby Castle, Knight.

A new parliament having been summoned by the King, Sir Henry Vane was re-elected, and took his seat in the celebrated Long Parliament, which commenced on the 3d November, 1640. His career from this period was somewhat distinguished in its bearings upon the destiny of England. He took an open stand against the arbitrary measures of the King, and was soon considered one of the principal leaders of the party of republicans in Parliament. Wood, in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, thus utters the opinion of a royalist of Vane: "In the beginning of the Long Parliament he was a promoter of the rebellion, a frequent committee-man, a speech-maker, a preacher, an underminer, a juggling fellow, and a plotter to gain the estates of other persons, that adhered to his Majesty in the worst of times. In sum, he was the Proteus of the times, a mere hotch-potch of religion, chief ringleader of all the frantic sectarians, of a turbulent spirit and working brain, of a strong composition of choler and melancholy, an inventor not only of whimseys in religion, but also of crotchets in the state, (as his several models testify,) and composed only of treason, ingratitude, and baseness."* Clarendon gives the description of him already quoted, on page 254; while Hallam, in his Constitutional History of England, speaks of him as follows: "The royalists have spoken of Vane with extreme dislike; yet it should be remembered, that he was not only incorrupt, but disinterested, inflexible in conforming his public conduct to his prin-

* Athenæ Oxonienses, iii. col. 580.

ciples, and averse to every sanguinary and oppressive measure; qualities not very common in revolutionary chiefs."*

In the movements of the party, headed by Mr. Pym, which led the Earl of Strafford to the block, and prepared the way for the overthrow of the monarchy, Sir Henry Vane bore a conspicuous part. Sir Thomas Wentworth, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in 1639, had opposed the appointment of the elder Vane as Secretary of State; and when raised to the peerage, in January, 1640, as Earl of Strafford, he procured his patent to be made out with the title of "Baron Raby of Raby Castle," thus appropriating the name of an estate belonging to Vane. Clarendon says, it was "an act of the most unnecessary provocation," on the part of Strafford, and there is little doubt that the Earl was made to atone for the insult upon the scaffold; for from this period the Vanes, father and son, pursued him with an irreconcileable hatred. After the Earl's impeachment, when the bill was likely to fall to the ground for want of evidence, Sir Henry Vane communicated a paper, taken from his father's closet, containing memoranda, taken by the Secretary, of opinions given by the Earl and others at a Council on the 5th May, 1640. This paper, (the production of which, under all the circumstances, is a stain upon the character of the two Vanes,) and the elder Vane's testimony, caused the attainder of the Earl.†

* Hallam's Constit. Hist.

† On the 11th November, 1640, the House of Commons resolved upon an impeachment of the Earl of Strafford, and Pym, the great parliamentary leader, was appointed to manage the impeachment. The charges were reduced to 28 articles, alledging various misdemeanors and traitorous counsels to the

In February, 1641, he carried up to the House of Lords the impeachment against Archbishop Laud; and in the great debate upon the Episcopacy, in June, 1641, he distinguished himself in the House of Commons. When the Assembly of Divines was summoned, in 1643, he was nominated by Parliament as one of the lay members. In the same year, when Parliament found it necessary to gain assistance to enable them to bear up against the King, he was appointed one of the Commissioners to proceed to Edinburgh, for that purpose. The mission was perfectly successful. The Solemn League and Covenant was agreed upon; a complete union was formed between the patriots of England and Scotland, upon a basis which also comprehended the Irish, and was adapted to secure their favor and aid.

King. Upon the impeachment no allusion appears to have been made by Mr. Pym to Sir Henry Vane, or to any evidence in his possession; and there does not appear to have been any judgment on the impeachment. On the 10th of April, 1641, in the House of Commons, Sir Henry Vane, the younger, and Mr. Pym, were enjoined to disclose any facts within their knowledge. Pym now produced a copy of the private notes taken by Secretary Vane of a meeting of the Council on the 5th May, going to shew that the Earl of Strafford, at that meeting, advised the King to traitorous measures, and the words of the paper, purporting to be the very words of the Earl, were quoted. The elder Vane affected great surprise at the revelation, but after proper dalliance, upon his last examination, confirmed the principal charge, and the younger Vane coolly explained how he obtained the private memorandum from his father's secret cabinet, and imparted it to Mr. Pym. On the same day that this scene took place, the bill of attainder against the Earl was first read. An examination of the trial on the impeachment shews, that not one of the other Lords who were at the Council of the 5th May, could remember any such words as were charged in the paper thus produced, (when other evidence was likely to fail,) and sworn to by Secretary Vane. Nor does it appear from the records that the House of Commons passed any vote justifying the conduct of the younger Vane on this occasion, as has been stated by some of his biographers. Whatever may have been the demerits of the great Earl of Strafford, a careful examination of all the authorities forces upon us the conviction that he fell a sacrifice to the enmity of the two Vanes. See Whitelock's Memorials, Rushworth, Nalson, L'Estrange, and Clarendon, and other contemporary authorities.

Hume gives the credit of this transaction to Sir Henry. "In this negotiation," says he, "the man chiefly trusted to was Vane, who in eloquence, address, capacity, as well as art and dissimulation, was not surpassed by any one, even during that age so famous for active talents. By his persuasion was framed at Edinburgh the Solemn League and Covenant."* When the Covenant was ratified in Parliament, on the 22d September, 1643, his name was subscribed next to that of Cromwell on the list.

As the civil war raged, Sir Henry Vane was incessantly engaged in Parliament, and upon various commissions appointed to treat with the King. In this capacity he was at the treaty of Uxbridge in 1645, and at the Isle of Wight in 1648, and, it is said, "was always an enemy to peace."† He resisted all attempts at compromise, except upon such a basis as would forever protect the people against the tyranny of the crown. But other counsels prevailed. On the 5th December, 1648, the Commons voted, 129 to 83, that the terms offered by the King ought to be accepted. Sir Henry Vane considered this to be equivalent to a restoration of Charles to the throne.‡

Not so thought Cromwell. He appeared next day with a troop of horse, and forcibly seizing forty-one of the members, expelled them from parliament; those remaining being devoted to his interests, and thenceforth known as "The Rump."

This proceeding of Cromwell was disapproved by Vane, who for the present withdrew from Parliament,

* Hume's Hist. of England. † Biographia Britannica.

‡ See History of Independency, Part II, p, 26. Parl. Hist. iii. 1145. 1146.

and took no part in the impeachment, trial and execution of King Charles, which followed.*

Charles suffered on the 30th of January, 1649. On the 17th of February a Council of State was installed, into whose hands the executive government of the nation was committed. Sir Henry Vane was appointed a member of the Council. Cromwell used great pains to induce him to accept the appointment, and, after many consultations, he so far prevailed in satisfying Vane of the purity of his intentions in reference to the Commonwealth, as to overcome his reluctance again to appear in public life. He took his seat in the Council nine days after its instalment, and immediately entered, with his accustomed energy and ability, upon the duties of the office. He continued to be in the Council from 1649 to 1653. The powers exercised by that body were very great. They were intrusted with the entire command of the military forces of England and Ireland, and were authorized to raise and control a navy, and to conduct the whole administration of the country, in reference both to its offensive and defensive operations in war. Sir Henry Vane was for some time President of the Council, and, as Treasurer and Commissioner for the Navy, he had almost the exclusive direction of that branch of the public service. The foreign relations were wholly under his management. He planned and conducted the war with the United Provinces, in which Blake gathered his laurels, and won for his country the proud title of mistress of the seas; and he exhibited a

* "Sir Henry Vane did not approve putting the King to death, nor of the force put on Parliament, but withdrew while these things were acting."—Burnet's History of his Own Times, i. 163.

patriotic and generous spirit to his countrymen by an unusual example of disinterested devotion to the public cause. In order to lighten the burden of the war, and to encourage the people to carry it on with vigor, he voluntarily relinquished the profits of the very lucrative office he held, as Treasurer of the Navy, and appropriated them to the common treasury.*

But the genius of Sir Henry Vane was not confined to the conduct of foreign wars, brilliant and wonderful as was its exercise in that department. At this period of his life his labors were so various, so complicated and so constant, that they were regarded as almost incredible. From an early hour in the morning until late at night, he was every moment engaged in the actual transaction of business.† His acts are stamped upon the history of his country.

On the 20th April, 1653, Cromwell suddenly entered the House of Parliament, and, backed by his soldiers, exclaimed, "You are no Parliament! Begone, and give place to honester men." Thus ended the famous Long Parliament, and Cromwell had established his authority

* The income thus relinquished was from £5,000 to £6,000 per annum.

† The following tribute of praise was at this period addressed to Sir Henry Vane, by the great Poet of England:

"Vane, young in years, but in sage counsel old,
Than whom a better senator ne'er held
The helm of Rome, when gowns, not arms, repelled
The fierce Epirot, and the African bold,
Whether to settle peace, or to unfold
The drift of hollow states hard to be spelled;
Then to advise how war may best upheld
Move by her two main nerves, iron and gold,
In all her equipage; besides to know
Both spiritual power and civil, what each means,
What severs each, thou hast learnt, which few have done;
The bounds of either sword to thee we owe;
Therefore on thy firm hand Religion leans
In peace, and reckons thee her eldest son."

JOHN MILTON.

upon the ruins of the Commonwealth. Sir Henry Vane, shocked at the conduct of Cromwell, now retired to his estate at Raby Castle.* Here he wrote and published a pamphlet, entitled the "Healing Question," in opposition to Cromwell, for which he was summoned before the Protector, charged with seditious intent, and required to give bond to keep the peace, which neglecting to do, he was arrested and imprisoned in Carisbrook Castle in the Isle of Wight; from which, Cromwell not choosing to take his life, he was liberated at the close of the year 1656.

Oliver Cromwell died on the 3d September, 1658, and Richard, his son, succeeded to the Protectorship. A new Parliament was summoned in January, 1659. The partisans of the new Protector opposed the return of Sir Henry Vane; and though he was duly chosen from his former borough, they gave the election to another. He determined to persevere, and was finally returned from Whitchurch, in Southamptonshire.

Fearful that the republican party, which was strong in the House, might gain the ascendancy, the leading

* "When Lieutenant Colonel Worsley entered the House of Commons with two files of musqueteers, to drive out the members, on 20th April, 1653, Sir Henry Vane said aloud, 'This is not honest; yea, it is against morality and common honesty.' Upon which Cromwell fell to railing at him, crying out with a loud voice, 'O Sir Henry Vane, Sir Henry Vane! The Lord deliver me from Sir Henry Vane!" Ludlow's Mem. II. 457.

"Young Sir H. Vane, notwithstanding the affronts he received at the dissolution of the Parliament, was invited, being in Lincolnshire, by a letter from the Council, which invitation he answered by a letter extracted out of that part of the Apocalypse, wherein the reign of the Saints is mentioned, which he saith he believes will now begin; but for his part he is willing to defer his share in it until he comes to Heaven; and desired to be excused in yielding to their desires. Yet upon second thoughts he is come to London, and I believe will, like Tiberius, upon little entreaty, accept a share in this empire." Intercepted Letter T. Robinson to Mr. Stoneham at the Hague, June 3, 1653. Thurloe's State Papers, i. 265.

officers of the army, on the 21st of April, 1659, sent a request to Richard, to dissolve the Parliament, intimating very plainly that unless he complied, they should deprive him of power, and assume the whole government to themselves. The Protector accordingly despatched the Keeper of the Seals to dissolve the Parliament. Getting information of this design, the House ordered their doors to be closed, and the gentleman usher of the black rod was not permitted to enter. It was on this occasion, (says Mr. Upham, following the Biographia Britannica,) that Sir Henry Vane delivered the following speech, which produced an overwhelming effect upon the House and nation, and entirely demolished the power of the Protector:*

"Mr. Speaker: Among all the people of the universe, I know none who have shown so much zeal for the liberty of their country, as the English, at this time, have done. They have, by the help of Divine Providence, overcome all obstacles, and have made themselves free. We have driven away the hereditary tyranny of the house of Stuart, at the expense of much blood and treasure, in hopes of enjoying hereditary liberty, after having shaken off the yoke of kingship; and there is not a man amongst us, who could have imagined that any person would be so bold as to dare attempt the ravishing from us that freedom, which has cost us so much blood and so much labor. But so it happens, I know not by what misfortune, we are fallen into the error of those, who poisoned the Emperor Titus to make room for Domitian, who made away Augustus that they might have Tiberius, and changed Claudius for Nero.

* See Upham's Life of Vane, in I Sparks, iv.

"I am sensible these examples are foreign from my subject, since the Romans, in those days, were buried in lewdness and luxury; whereas the people of England are now renowned, all over the world, for their great virtue and discipline; and yet suffer an idiot, without courage, without sense, nay, without ambition, to have dominion in a country of liberty.

"One could bear a little with *Oliver* Cromwell, though, contrary to his oath of fidelity to the Parliament, contrary to his duty to the public, contrary to the respect he owed to that venerable body from whom he received his authority, he usurped the government. His merit was so extraordinary, that our judgment and passions might be blinded by it. He made his way to empire by the most illustrious actions. He held under his command an army that had made him a conqueror, and a people that had made him their general.

"But as for *Richard* Cromwell, his son, who is he? What are his titles? We have seen that he has a sword by his side, but did he ever draw it? And, what is of more importance in this case, is he fit to get obedience from a mighty nation, who could never make a footman obey him? Yet, we must recognise this man as our king, under the style of Protector!—a man without birth, without courage, without conduct. For my part, I declare, Sir, it shall never be said that I made such a man my master."

"This impetuous torrent swept every thing before it. Oratory, genius, and the spirit of liberty never achieved a more complete triumph. It was signal and decisive, instantaneous and irresistible. It broke, at once and forever, the power of Richard and his party, and the con-

trol of the country again passed into the hands of the republicans. Richard immediately abdicated the Protectorate, having at the same time issued a Proclamation dissolving the Parliament; and the general voice of the country was so clearly and strongly uttered, that the military factions bowed to its demand, and the famous Long Parliament, which Oliver Cromwell had dispersed in 1653, was once more summoned to assemble, by a declaration from the council of officers, dated on the 6th of May, 1659."*

Such is the account given by the intelligent biographer of Vane, of the effect of a supposed speech of Sir Henry Vane. His authority is a note in the Biographia Britannica, copied from Oldmixon's History of the Stuarts. Where Oldmixon found it, does not appear, and his authority is not always to be relied upon. Neither Whitelocke, who was in Parliament at the time, nor Ludlow, also in Parliament, and the friend of Vane, make any mention of the speech; nor does it appear from Burton's Diary during the Protectorate, used by Clarendon, that any such speech was made by Sir Henry Vane, or any body else in Parliament. The entire speech is probably a fiction.†

The Parliament assembled by Richard in January, upon the demand of the army was dissolved by Proclamation on the 22d of April. On the 6th of May, the

* Upham's Life of Sir Henry Vane, in I Sparks, iv.

† For many of the corrected dates given in this memoir, and in particular for the correction of some of the modern accounts of Sir Henry Vane's agency in bringing the Earl of Strafford to the block, and in the proceedings pending the abdication of Richard Cromwell, the writer is indebted to the suggestions of that thorough antiquary, Peter Force, Esq., of Washington, D. C., and the free use of the rich stores in his invaluable library.

army published a Declaration, requesting the members of the Long Parliament to re-assemble, and that body met on the 7th, at Whitehall.

The records of the time would seem to disprove any feeling of hostility towards Richard. Indeed the Parliament treated him with kindness, and in the debates given by Burton, he is rarely spoken of, even in the stormiest scenes in that body, with harshness. When the army began to dictate, and the Parliament doubted his power or right to the protectorship, he seems to have made up his mind to seek his own comfort and security by abdicating. On the 7th of May, 1659, the Commons made their declaration against any government of a single person, Kingship, or House of Peers; and on the same day, Fleetwood, Haslerigge, Vane, Ludlow, Salway, Sydenham and Jones were made a Committee of Safety. On the 14th, a Council of State was agreed upon, and Sir Henry Vane was one of the number. On the 20th of May, he was one of the committee appointed "to prepare a Declaration to the Nation how affairs stood with the Commonwealth, when the House was interrupted [20, April, 1653,] and how affairs stood at present." On the 25th, he was appointed at the head of a committee to consider "what is fit, to be done as to the settlement of a comfortable and honorable subsistence on Richard Cromwell, eldest son of the late Lord General Cromwell." And on the same day, Richard's letter of abdication is dated.

On the 26th of May, Sir Henry Vane was placed first on a committee of seven, to manage the affairs of the Admiralty and Navy, and in September, he was President of the Council. On the 13th of October follow-

ing, the army took possession of the Hall where Parliament sat, and prevented their further meeting. Vane now took sides with the army against the Parliament. On the 17th, he was one of the committee of ten appointed by the council of officers, to carry on the affairs of Government; on the 26th, was one of the Committee of Safety; and on the 1st of November, was one of a committee appointed to consider a form of government for three nations as one commonwealth.*

On the 26th December, 1659, through the influence of General Monk, the Parliament was again assembled. That body were now suspicious of Vane, and questioning some of his proceedings with the army, on the 9th of January following, ordered him to retire to his house at Raby, and await further orders, at the same time dismissing him from Parliament. Delaying to comply, and endeavoring to stir up opposition to Parliament, the House in February ordered him to be sent under custody to Raby, and afterwards to be conveyed by the Sergeant at Arms to his house at Bellew, in Lincolnshire.

After King Charles' restoration, Sir Henry Vane, having no apprehension of danger, went up to his house in London. But on the 11th June, 1660, the House of Commons resolved that he should be one of the twenty persons excepted out of the King's Proclamation of Pardon, and in July following he was committed to the Tower. From the Tower he was afterwards removed to other prisons, and finally to the Isle of Scilly. In August, 1660, the Commons petitioned the King, that

* Whitelocke, p. 688, says Sir H. Vane was commissioned 5 Nov. 1659, to raise a regiment of horse. On the 14th Jan. 1660, Parliament ordered that the regiment of foot, called Sir Harry Vane's, should be forthwith disbanded.

if Sir Henry Vane should be attainted, his life might be spared—to which the King assented; but after the insurrection of the Fifth Monarchy men,* in January, 1661, the Commons withdrew their request that his life might be spared, and he was remanded to the Tower.†

He was arraigned before the Court of King's Bench for trial, on the 2d June, 1662, the verdict of guilty was rendered on the 6th, sentence pronounced on the 11th, and on the 14th, he was executed on Tower Hill.

It being observed that the dying speeches of the regicides made an impression upon the multitude, unfavorable to the government, measures were taken to prevent Sir Henry Vane from addressing the people. "His trial," says Bancroft, "he had converted into a triumph." And when he offered to address the people from the scaffold, the King's officers interrupted him, trumpets were blown in his face, and personal violence was resorted to in snatching away his papers. "Blessed be God," he exclaimed, as he bared his neck for the axe, "I have kept a conscience void of offence to this day, and have not deserted the righteous cause for which I suffer." His heroic bearing upon his execution, was the admira-

* The principal idea of this fanatical sect, was, that our Saviour was coming down, to erect a *Fifth Monarchy* upon earth, which was to last for a thousand years. Sir Henry Vane's pamphlet, called "The Retired Man's Meditations," &c., published in 1655, contained an exposition of some of the mystical doctrines of these enthusiasts.

† The government had now resolved to crush the republican party, of which Vane was a leader. "Certainly," wrote the King, "Sir Henry Vane is too dangerous a man to let live, if we can honestly put him out of the way." Ludlow says, "the cause of his destruction was because his adversaries knew his integrity, and feared his abilities." But Burnet says, "the great share he had in the attainder of the Earl of Strafford, and in the whole turn of affairs to the total change of the government; but above all the great opinion that was had of his parts and capacity to embroil matters again, made the Court think it was necessary to put him out of the way."

tion of the times; and produced so great a sensation throughout the kingdom, that the King found it expedient to allay the public sympathy, by restoring to the family of Sir Henry Vane all his estates and honors.

Sir Henry Vane, in July, 1639, married Frances, daughter of Sir Christopher Wray, of Glenkworth, in Lincolnshire, and had a family of eleven children. Christopher, the eldest, was knighted by Charles II., was of the Privy Council to James II., and in July, 1698, was created Baron Bernard of Bernard Castle, in the Bishoprick of Durham. He married Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Gilbert Holles, Earl of Clare, and sister and coheiress of John, Duke of New-Castle, and died at his seat in Fairlawn, Kent, in 1723.

Gilbert Vane, the second Lord Bernard, died in 1753; and his son, Henry Vane, in the following year was created Viscount Bernard and Earl of Darlington. He married a daughter of Charles, Duke of Cleveland, and died in 1758.

The present lineal descendant is William Harry Vane, who in 1833, was created Marquis of Cleveland, with the names and titles of Baron Raby of Raby Castle, and Duke of Cleveland.

V. RICHARD BELLINGHAM.

Richard Bellingham, the fifth Governor under the first Massachusetts charter, was a native of England, born in 1592. The editor of Winthrop says, "he was of a good family in England, and perhaps Richard Bellingham, who was recorder of Boston, in 1625, was his father." He was educated to the profession of the law, which he abandoned, and came to this country in 1634.* On the 3d of August in that year, he joined the church at Boston, with his wife Elizabeth, whose death is mentioned as having occurred not long after.

Mr. Bellingham was one of the twenty-six original patentees named in the charter of King Charles I. in 1628; and being well qualified to take an active part in the affairs of the infant colony, the opportunity was not long wanting. He was chosen a deputy in March, 1635. He was an assistant from 1636 to 1639, and from 1643 to 1652; and was also treasurer of the colony from 1637 to 1639. In May, 1635, the general court placed him

* Johnson, in the "Wonder-Working Providence," thus notices the arrival of Mr. Bellingham: "At this time came over the much honored Mr. *Richard Bellingham*, whose Estate and person did much for the civill Government of this wandering people, hee being learned in the Lawes of England, and experimentally fitted for the worke, of whom I am bold to say as followeth:

Richardus now, arise must thou, Christ seed hath thee to plead,
His people's cause, with equall Lawes, in wildernesse them lead;
Though slow of speech, thy counsell reach, shall each occasion well,
Sure thy stern look, it cannot brook, those wickedly rebell.
With labour might thy pen indite doth Lawes for people's learning:
That judge with skill, and not with will, unarbitrate discerning;
Bellingham, thou, on valiant now, stop not in discontent,
For Christ with crown, will thee renown, then spend for him, be spent;
As thou hast done, thy race still run till death, no death shall stay
Christ's work of might, till Scripture light bring Resurrection day."

upon the commission for military affairs, which Winthrop says "had power of life and limb"—and which was indeed the most important power exercised in the colony.* His associates in the commission were the governor, deputy governor, Winthrop, Endecott and others, and they were empowered to make war offensive and defensive, and to imprison such as they might deem to be enemies of the commonwealth, and in case of refusal to come under restraint, to put offenders to death.

At the succeeding general court, held at Newtown, [Cambridge,] 6th May, Mr. Bellingham was chosen deputy governor. From this period he was annually chosen a magistrate until 1641. Hutchinson represents him to have been, at this period, like Winthrop, Dudley, and Bradstreet, a man of property and estate above most of the planters of the colony.

In the framing of the colonial laws, which occupied the attention of the General Court from time to time, Mr. Bellingham, being a lawyer, and a man distinguished alike for good judgment and integrity, had a greater share than any other person of his time, excepting perhaps Governor Winthrop.

In 1640, Mr. Bellingham was re-elected deputy governor; and at the election in 1641, he was chosen governor, in opposition to Winthrop, by a majority of six votes. There were rival and party interests, even at that early day, amongst those who had fled from a common persecution. Winthrop seems to have been the favorite candidate of the General Court, and Bellingham, for the time, to have been the candidate of the

* See pp. 286, 298, of this volume.

people; and no sooner was the result known, than the Court manifested their discontent, by repealing the order formerly made for an annual allowance of £100 to the governor. There was no general dislike of the excellent Winthrop, but the people held to the democratic doctrine of rotation in office, even to the neglect of so good a man as Winthrop, "lest there should be a governor for life." Mr. Winthrop seems to have felt some little mortification at this result, and complained that "there were divers who had not given in their votes," and were denied by the magistrates, "because they had not given them in at the doors."* At the following election, however, the Court party rallied, and Winthrop was again elected.

During the few years preceding, the harmony of the people was greatly disturbed by the Antinomian controversy, in which the celebrated Anne Hutchinson bore so conspicuous a part. There were factions in the church, and factions in state, which for a long time divided the people on almost every question. There were other circumstances, however, which contributed to render the first administration of Bellingham unpleasant, and finally unpopular. Toward the close of the year, the General Court being in session, there were "uncomfort-

*"There had been much laboring to have Mr. Bellingham chosen, and when the votes were numbered, he had six more than the others; but there were divers who had not given in their votes, who now came into the court, and desired their liberty, which was denied by some of the magistrates, because they had not given them in at the doors. But others thought it was an injury, yet were silent, because it concerned themselves, for the order of giving in their votes at the door was no order of Court, but only direction of some of the magistrates; and without question, if any freeman tender his vote before the election be passed and published, it ought to be received."—Savage's Winthrop, ii. 35.

able agitations and contentions between the governor and Court." Winthrop says that they arose from the jealousy of the governor, at "seeing some others of the magistrates bear more sway with the people than himself, and that they were called to be of the standing council for life, and himself passed by." And he goes on to pronounce the conduct of Governor Bellingham in this instance to be the "occasion of grief to many godly minds, and matter of reproach to the whole Court in the mouths of others."

The prejudices of Governor Bellingham's opponents, in this case, seem to have outstripped their judgment, as his alledged offences bear no proportion to the formal reprimand which was imposed. One was, that the governor had taken the part of a poor miller, of the name of Howe, of Watertown, in a dispute about the title of a mill, against the rich and austere Dudley; and another was, that he had interfered improperly in the matter of a fine imposed upon a citizen for an infraction of the law. The governor was inflexible in his opinions, and probably did not spare his opponents in the heat of the controversy. The deputies, after consulting together, gave him, says Winthrop, "a solemn *admonition*, which was never done to any governor before."

There was another proceeding, however, on the part of the governor, which greatly offended the puritan delicacy of the elders and magistrates. Winthrop, who relates many other things less proper to be told, gravely expresses a doubt whether the facts in this case were "fit to be published." There resided at this period in the family of Governor Bellingham, a young man, who had been paying his addresses to a gentlewoman of the

neighborhood, of the name of Penelope Pelham, a sister of Herbert Pelham;* and matters had proceeded so far, Winthrop says, that she "was ready to be contracted to him" in marriage. The governor, who was a widower, suddenly made overtures to the damsel, who, being dazzled by the prospects of a better establishment thus suddenly placed before her, accepted his suit, jilted her former admirer, and married his excellency. This little episode in the affairs of the colony, excited universal attention and animadversion. The governor, it seems, not only disappointed the hopes of the unsuccessful suitor, but he committed a gross breach of order, in refusing to have his contract of marriage published where he dwelt, according to law, and also by performing the marriage ceremony himself. This he claimed the right to do, in his capacity of magistrate, but it was contrary to the practice of the colony. These offences were deemed so inexcusable, that he was presented by the grand inquest for a breach of the law; and the General Court, not being in a very friendly mood, took up the matter, and through their secretary formally summoned the governor to answer to the prosecution. But the governor, refusing to descend from his high place as judge on the bench, to take the bar as an offender, and the magistrates not wishing to proceed to extremities, the matter was finally suffered to rest, without any further proceedings. But the popular opinion was for the time decidedly against the governor, and, as a consequence, in 1642, he was dropped from office, and Winthrop chosen in his stead.

* Herbert Pelham was an assistant from 1646 to 1649. He was of the same family with Thomas, Lord Pelham, who on the death of John Holles, Duke of New-Castle, 15th July, 1711, succeeded that nobleman in his estate and titles.

After this, we hear little of Governor Bellingham for several years, except in occasional conflicts with his brethren of the magistracy, whose course he did not approve. With Mr. Saltonstall, of Salem, one of the most worthy of the fathers of New England, we find Governor Bellingham frequently joined in opposition to the rest of the council, and taking part with the deputies against the powers claimed by the magistrates.*

In 1644, another controversy arose out of a trifling affair, which set the little colony by the ears, and so divided the magistrates and deputies, that the elders were obliged to interfere, and the difficulty was only ended by both parties finally getting weary of the dispute, and glad to compromise. A poor woman had lost a swine, which strayed away, and after some time she found it, as she alledged, in the possession of a rich neighbor. She claimed the swine, but the neighbor denying that it was her's, refused to deliver it up. She appealed to the magistrates. Bellingham, with his usual readiness to protect the interests of the weaker party against the more powerful, took up the cause of the poor woman; while Dudley, on the other hand, as in the case of the miller, espoused the cause of the partrician. The contest waxed warm, and there being no hope of ending it, Dudley and Bellingham, at last, "in order that the public peace might be restored," arranged a compromise between the parties.

In a popular excitement which occurred two years afterward, when some "persons of figure," who had settled at Scituate, undertook to complain of the illiberality of the government of the colony, we find Mr. Belling-

* Savage's Winthrop, ii. 186, 209.

ham opposed to rigorous measures, and in favor of that Christian toleration, which has since become a distinguishing feature in our institutions.*

In 1653, Mr. Bellingham was again chosen deputy governor; and in the following year, governor. In 1655, he was again elected deputy governor, and was annually re-elected until 1665. He was then chosen governor, in which office he continued under annual elections until his death, in 1672.

During this long period, he was actively engaged in the affairs of the colony, and carefully watched over its interests in the trying periods of the revolution, the protectorate, and the restoration. During the latter years of the reign of Charles I., and during the stern despotism of Cromwell, when the colonists were increasing in numbers and wealth, and were apprehensive of some invasion of their chartered privileges, Bellingham was an admirable pilot to carry them through the storm. After the restoration, and at a time when fears were entertained of the disposition of Charles II. respecting the charter, Mr. Bellingham was appointed, with Leverett and others, "to receive the charter and duplicate thereof in open court," for safe keeping. The same determination probably existed at this time to preserve their Charter, at whatever hazard, that actuated the people of Connecticut, when Andros, twenty-two years afterwards, demanded the surrender of theirs.

In obedience to a royal summons, agents had repaired to London to answer allegations against the colony, with whose explanations the King declared himself to be sat-

* Savage's Winthrop, ii. 292. See notices of the controversy with the men of Scituate, pp. 124—127, 261—263, of this volume.

isfied, and promised to confirm their charter, at the same time enjoining upon them the toleration of Episcopalians and Quakers. A short time afterwards, however, the colony was alarmed by the appearance of four royal commissioners, who had been appointed for the purpose of exercising a supervisory power over all the colonial governments. The spirit of the colony was roused. They considered the commission to be, as in truth it was, in derogation of the powers granted by their charter. The colonial government had now a difficult task to perform. On the one hand, they were determined to resist at the threshhold any invasion of their chartered privileges, and on the other hand, loyalty to the sovereign required that they should be discreet in their proceedings. An extra session of the General Court was summoned, and the bold and decided stand at once taken, not to recognize the authority of the commissioners. An address was at the same time forwarded to the King, explaining and defending the course adopted. The proceedings of the commissioners were in general arbitrary and impolitic, and adapted rather to distract than to tranquilize the people. On their return to England, they did not fail to represent the conduct of Massachusetts in the most unfavorable light. The King was vexed at this instance of disregard for prerogative, and issued peremptory orders to Governor Bellingham and four others, who were named, to appear before him, and "answer for refusing the authority of his commissioners." Instead of complying with this injunction, they addressed a letter to the Secretary of State, in which they affected to doubt the authenticity of the royal mandate. They profess the utmost loyalty, and say that their case had been

already so well unfolded, that the wisest among them could not make it any clearer. With this manifestation of loyalty, and the timely present of a ship-load of masts for the royal navy, at that time much wanted, and which was sent forward to the King, he was appeased—and the cloud, which had for some time been gathering over the colony, was dispersed.

Contemporary with the alarm occasioned by the proceedings of the Royal Commissioners, was the religious excitement occasioned by the anabaptists. A law had been passed against them in 1644, with the penalty of banishment for adherence to their opinions, and contempt of civil authority. It does not appear, however, that any prosecutions were commenced until about 1665, when the sect had considerably increased. The dawn of a better spirit was seen in 1668, when, before proceeding to banish those who were deemed heretics, an opportunity was given for them to maintain their opinions before the public. In March, of that year, the anabaptists were summoned to a public dispute upon their peculiar sentiments, "that it might be determined whether they were erroneous or not."* Six of the ablest divines in the colony were appointed to manage the debate, and, as if fearful that these learned clergymen might not be a match for a few illiterate baptists, the governor and magistrates were requested to meet with them. The debate began on the 14th of April, and continued two days, in the first church at Boston. Governor Bellingham took part in

* A record of this remarkable conference, whereof the first day occupies some forty pages, and the second twenty-six pages of manuscript, is yet in existence; and doubtless deserves more notice than our theological antiquaries have yet bestowed upon it. See II Mass. Hist. Coll., (Danforth Papers,) viii. 111.

this conference, the result or proceedings of which have never been made public. The storm which had threatened the peace of the colony, however, from this quarter, soon passed over.

Although, as before intimated, Governor Bellingham was less rigid than his associates Winthrop and Dudley, in his religious opinions, he was devotedly attached to the puritan faith, and warmly opposed any movement, which he feared might weaken or prejudice the church. He was opposed to the establishment of a new church in Boston, in 1669, "as detrimental to the public peace," and summoned the council to consider the subject, but they declined to interfere. In the whole controversy growing out of the settlement of Davenport, he was the advocate of the first or original church.

The witchcraft delusion was at this time existing in New England, and a sister of Governor Bellingham, the widow of William Hibbins, was executed in June, 1656, as a witch, being the second victim in this country to that absurd fanaticism.* Hutchinson intimates that some pecuniary losses of her husband, in the latter part of his life, had so soured her temper, that she became quarrelsome, and falling under church censures, was so odious to the people, that they accused her of witchcraft. It was of her that the famous Norton made the remark, that "one of the magistrates' wives was hanged for a witch, only for having more wit than her neighbors."†

* William Hibbins was admitted a freeman, May 13, 1640; was a deputy from Boston in 1640 and 1641, and an assistant from 1643, to his death, July 23, 1654. He was a man of some note, and had been agent of the colony in England.

† Savage's Winthrop, i. 321. Hutch. Colony Mass. Bay, 187.

The prior case of witchcraft here referred to, was that of Margaret Jones, who was condemned as a witch, and executed at Charlestown, Massachusetts, in 1648. From this period, although the belief in witchcraft was general, we hear of no more executions, until after the great Sir Matthew Hale had pronounced judgment against the Suffolk witches in England, when there was found to be so great a resemblance between the Old England demons and the New, that the most sanguinary proceedings were enacted in Massachusetts, until the very excess of the delusion, in 1692, put an end to the melancholy tragedy.*

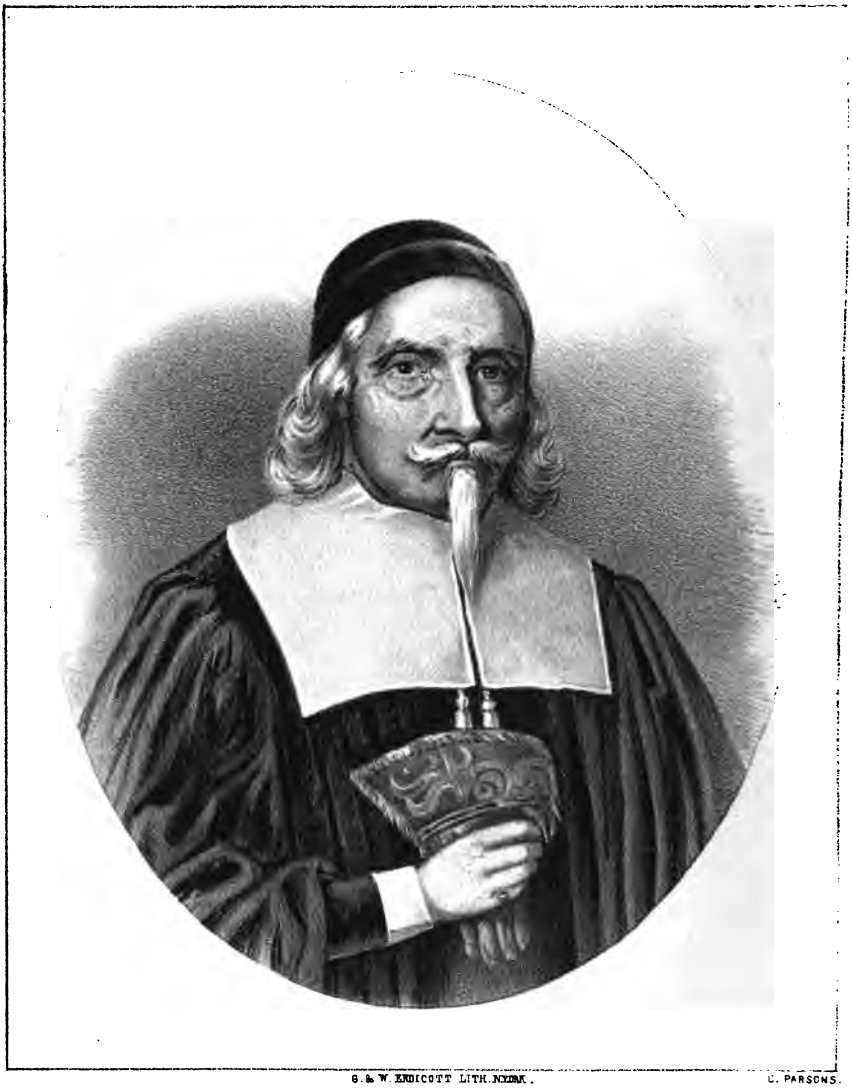
Governor Bellingham died on the 7th December, 1672, at the age of 80. He lived to be the only surviving patentee named in the charter. As a man, he was benevolent and upright; as a Christian, devout and conscientious; and as a magistrate, attached to the interests of the people, and resolute in defending them. Hubbard speaks of him, as "a very ancient gentleman, having spun a long thread of above eighty years, a notable hater of bribes, and firm and fixed in any resolution he entertained." Mather, following Hubbard, says, that "among all his virtues he was noted for none more than for his notable and perpetual hatred of bribes," and for this he would honor him with a Theban statue. Nor does the testimony stop here; for, in the Granary burial-ground, in Boston, over his tomb is inscribed:

> "Virtue's fast friend within this tomb doth lie,
> A foe to bribes, but rich in charity."

* An account of the Witchcraft Delusion in Massachusetts, will be given in the Memoirs of Lt. Gov. Stoughton and Sir William Phips, in a subsequent volume of this work.

By his will, executed on the 28th November, a few days before his death, he left his large property at Rumney Marsh, for charitable and pious purposes; but the instrument was drawn in such a manner, that the General Court set it aside, and made a different disposition of the estate. Mrs. Penelope Bellingham, widow of Governor B., died at Boston, May 28, 1702.

Governor Bellingham had several children, of whom it appears by his will, made in 1672, that only one survived him. Samuel Bellingham was born in England, and probably accompanied his father to New England, in 1634. Having completed his academical studies and taken his first degree at Harvard College, in 1642, he commenced the study of medicine, and repaired to Europe, to enjoy those advantages in completing his professional studies, which New England did not at that time afford. He travelled on the continent, was sometime at Leyden, and obtained from that university the degree of Doctor of Medicine. It is believed that he visited New England afterwards; but he finally settled in London, in the parish of St. Anne, in Westminster, where about 1695, he married Widow Elizabeth Savage, who had been a resident of Boston. He lived to an advanced age, but the time of his death is unknown.



G. & W. ENDICOTT LITH. NYORK. C. PARSONS.

Jo. Endicott.

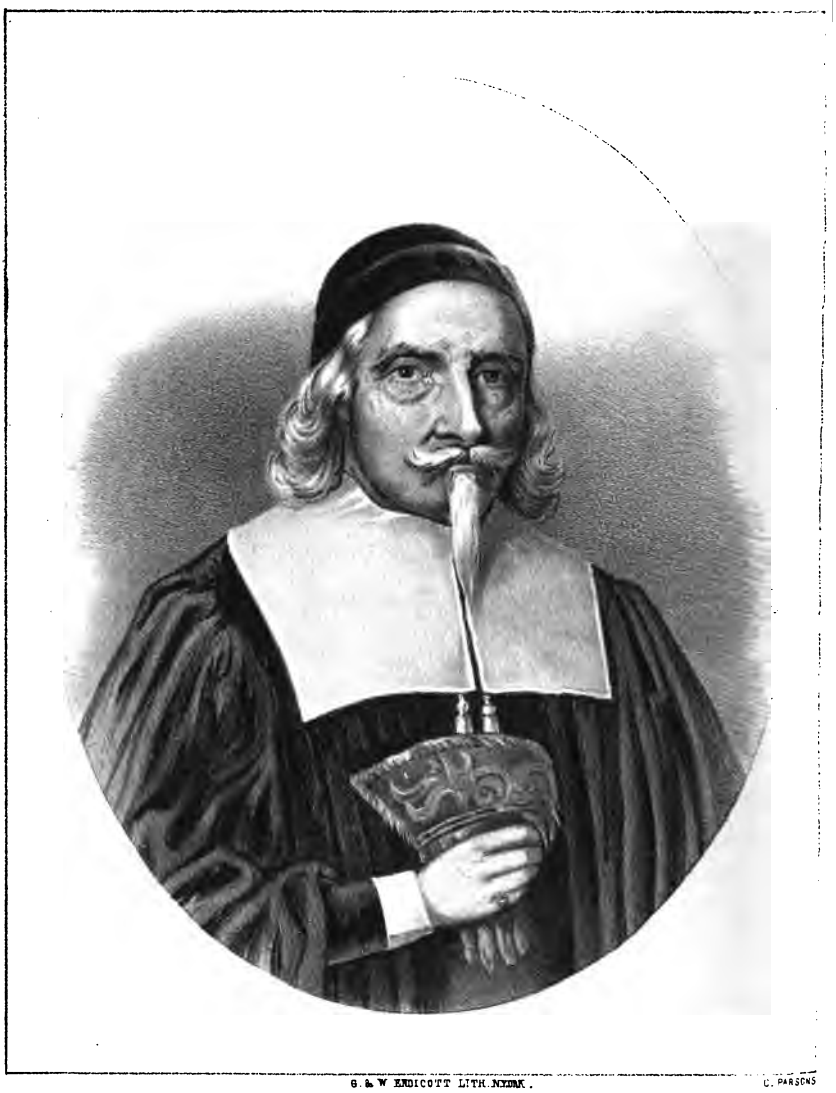
GOV. JOHN ENDECOTT.

From a Daguerreotype copy of the original picture in the possession of W.P.Endicott Esq. Salem, Ms.

Lith. for Moores American Governors.

the plan adopted of making the new colony an asy-

* See pp. 235—241, of this volume.



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Lith. for Moores American Governors.

VI. JOHN ENDECOTT.

JOHN ENDECOTT was a native of Dorchester, in Dorsetshire, England, where he was born in 1588. He followed the profession of a chirurgeon in his native county, after coming of age; and becoming attached to the puritan interest early in life, he emigrated to this country, in September, 1628. He was one of the founders of Salem, the ancient Naumkeag, the oldest town in the colony of Massachusetts Bay. His was the first successful attempt to establish a colony on the Bay: and although he was afterwards overshadowed by the lofty character of Winthrop, Endecott may be considered the real founder of Massachusetts. Johnson says, that Endecott, who came with the colonists "to govern," was "a fit instrument to begin this wilderness work; of courage bold, undaunted, yet sociable, and of a cheerful spirit, loving or austere, as occasion served." He is characterised by Hutchinson, as one of the most zealous undertakers, and the most rigid in principle amongst the colonists.

Of the initiatory proceedings in the settlement of the second and principal New England colony, an account has been given in the preceding pages.* Mr. Endecott was one of the six original purchasers of Massachusetts, named in the patent granted by the Council of Plymouth, 19 March, 1628, and one of the three who determined to retain their interest in the company, when its original design of a commercial enterprise was abandoned, and the plan adopted of making the new colony an asylum

* See pp. 235—241, of this volume.

for the persecuted puritans of England. Two months after the patent was obtained, preparations had been made for the embarkation of settlers, at the head of whom was Endecott, accompanied by his wife and family, "hostages of his fixed attachment to the New World."* On the 28th of June, the company of emigrants sailed in the ship Abigail, from Weymouth in England, and they arrived at Salem on the 8th of September, where Endecott, "uniting his own men with those which were formerly planted in the Country into one body, they made up in all not much above fiftie or sixtie persons."†

Mr. Endecott, on his departure, was provided with instructions, to which the historians of New England turn with pride. "If any of the Salvages," said they, "pretend right of inheritance to all or any part of the lands granted in the patent, we pray you endeavour to purchase their tytle, that we may avoid the least suspicion of intrusion."‡ The government under the patent was organized, and at first designed to be continued in England, Matthew Cradock§ having been chosen governor

* Bancroft, i. 341.

† The Planter's Plea, Lond. 1630, p. 76. Speaking of Endecott's arrival, the same work continues: "his prosperous Iourney and safe arrivall of himselfe and all his company, and good report he sent backe of the country, gave such encouragement to the worke, that more adventurers joining with the first Vndertakers, and all engaging themselves more deeply for the prosecution of the designe, they sent over the next year about three hundred persons more."

‡ Hazard, i. 263.

§ Matthew Cradock, who was governor of the corporation in England, until its transfer to Massachusetts in 1629, was an eminent merchant of London, more forward in advancing out of his substance than any other of the adventurers. He never came to this country, though he continued for some years to carry on a trade by servants in the colony. He had a small fishing establishment at Mystick, opposite Winthrop's Ten Hills Farm. Savage refers his death to 1644, and a descendant, George Cradock, is mentioned by Douglas and Hutchinson as holding public trusts in the colony.

of the Company.—The design was to constitute a corporation resembling the East India Company, with power to settle plantations within the limits of the territory, under such laws and government as they should see fit to impose, with magistrates of their own appointment. To the colonists the only privilege allowed, was that of choosing two of the thirteen counsellors, who, with the governor, were to rule the plantation. Under these restrictions, Mr. Endecott entered on his brief career as ruler of the new plantation.

To protect themselves against the Indians, a military company was organized by the settlers, and Mr. Endecott was placed in command. Soon afterwards, the dissolute proceedings of the settlers at Merry Mount having caused much scandal to the colony, Captain Endecott went to Mount Wollaston, and publicly reproved them, changed the name of their settlement to Mount Dagon, cut down their May-pole, and admonished them with threats to change their course of conduct. This perhaps was a reprehensible proceeding, but the orgies of these people had become so scandalous, that Captain Standish of New Plymouth had been ordered to break up their establishment altogether.*

The patent from the Council of Plymouth gave a good title to the soil, but no powers of government to the colony; in consequence, when the design of the plantation was changed, a charter was obtained from Charles I., bearing date the 4th March, 1629. The original patent, under which Mr. Endecott came to New England, having been surrendered and the government transferred to the grantees under the charter, his duties as governor of

* Prince, 175—177.

the plantation, of course, ceased, upon Winthrop's arrival with the charter, and a commission as governor of the colony, in 1630.

Captain Endecott was chosen an Assistant in 1630, and continued in office until 1634; was again elected in 1637, and remained in the same office until chosen to that of deputy governor in 1641. He succeeded Governor Dudley in 1645, as Sergeant Major General, then the highest military office in the colony, and continued to discharge its duties until 1649.

The early portion of Mr. Endecott's career, as a magistrate and christian, is disfigured by acts of intolerance and rashness. In forming the first church of the puritans at Salem, two articles were agreed upon—first, that the Salem church should be independent of the church already established at Plymouth, and second, that the authority of ordination should not exist in the clergy, but should depend upon the free choice of the members of the church, who should have a representative of their power in the person of the ruling elder. The new church rejected the ceremonies and rites, and virtually disclaimed the authority, of the church of England. This proceeding was offensive to a portion of the settlers, who, however they dissented from the arbitrary rule of the English bishops, were nevertheless sincerely attached to the ritual of the English Church.

Two of the most influential settlers, John and Samuel Browne, the one a lawyer, the other a merchant, both men of character and members of the colonial council in England, withdrew from the church at Salem, and set up a separate society. They had followers. No act of theirs could have excited greater uneasiness. The little

band of puritans, who had just erected the standard of their faith in the wilderness, suddenly beheld the arm of that church which had oppressed them in England, stretched out against them in the New World. They saw no course left, but to crush the faction at a blow. The persecuted of the Old World now became the persecutors of the New.

Endecott was determined to execute the plan of church government which had been adopted, and considered himself clothed with sufficient power to enforce compliance. "If any prove incorrigible," said the Company, in their instructions to Endecott, "ship such persons home by the Lyon's Whelp."* His admonitions to the Brownes had been disregarded, and neither Mr. Endecott nor his associates could be satisfied with half way measures. The heresy must be crushed. And they who could not be terrified into silence, says Bentley, were not commanded to withdraw, but were seized and transported as criminals.† These proceedings cast a shade over the reputation of Endecott in England, which the friends of the colony finally thought it prudent to remove by endeavours of private reparation to the parties aggrieved.

* Hazard, i. 263. For all these proceedings of Governor Endecott, he seems to have had ample warrant in his instructions, the general tone of which may be further understood by what follows:

"To the end that the Sabbath may be celebrated in a religious manner, we appoint that all that inhabit the plantation, both for the general and particular employments, may surcease their labour every Saturday throughout the year at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and that they spend the rest of that day in chatechizing and preparing for the Sabbath, as the ministers shall direct."

Instructions were also given "to settle some good orders, whereby all persons, resident upon our plantation, may apply themselves to one calling or other, and *no idle drone be permitted to live among us.*"

†Bentley, in I Mass. Hist. Coll. vi. 245.

Roger Williams, the apostle of religious toleration, arrived in Salem in 1631, and his influence was soon apparent in the little community. Before his arrival, Endecott had embraced the doctrine of veils for the women in the church; and if he worshipped in the beauty of holiness, he was determined that human beauty should form no part of his pleasure. A uniformity of dress might be favorable to uniformity of manners, but though encouraged, could not be enforced. The veils might produce the best effects on the public solemnities, and be liable to no serious objections. Endecott's heart was upon the practice, and having the assent of the ministers, he did not lack the zeal to enforce the injunction.*

The settlers of new countries, in addition to other obstacles, rarely fail to meet with difficulties of a personal nature among themselves. An incident is recorded by the historians, which goes to illustrate the temper of Mr. Endecott. In 1631, a quarrel had arisen between him and Thomas Dexter, who had settled at Lynn, in which the Salem magistrate so far forgot his dignity as to strike Mr. Dexter. The offence, of course, was grave enough in such a community, to attract general notice, and was brought before the court at Boston. Endecott, who was detained by accident from the trial, wrote Governor Winthrop, as follows: "I desired the rather to have been at court, because I hear I am much complained of by goodman Dexter for striking him; understanding since it is not lawful for a justice of peace to strike. But if you had seen the manner of his carriage, with such daring of me, with his arms akimbo, it would have provoked a very patient man. He hath given out,

* Bentley, in I Mass. Hist. Coll. vi. 246.

if I had a purse, he would make me empty it, and if he cannot have justice here, he will do wonders in England; and if he cannot prevail there, he will try it out with me here at blows. If it were lawful for me to try it at blows, and he a fit man for me to deal with, you should not hear me complain." The court adjudged the magistrate to have broken the peace, and fined him £10, although Dexter was doubtless the greater bully of the two.

In 1634, Mr. Endecott was chosen one of the board of military commissioners for the colony, seven in number, who were vested with the extraordinary and summary power of levying war, and of arresting, imprisoning, or executing persons deemed to be enemies of the state.*

The zeal of Endecott, warmed by the influence of Roger Williams, prompted him, in 1634, to another act of imprudence, for which he received the public censure. The banner used by the train band at Salem, had the cross of Saint George worked upon its folds. In his impetuous resolution to put down every remnant of what he deemed to be popish or heathenish superstition, he cut the cross from the standard. The people deemed the act to be a rash one, and were apprehensive the government in England would consider it an insult to the national flag. The matter was accordingly brought before the general court at Boston, and after due investigation, they "adjudged him worthy admonition, and to be disabled for one year from bearing any public office; declining any heavier sentence, because they were persuaded he did it out of tenderness of conscience and

* See p. 286, of this volume.

not of any evil intent."* The indomitable spirit of the Salem magistrate was not daunted by this censure, and in Roger Williams, then the beloved minister of Salem, he had a faithful co-operator against heresy and sin in the little world around them. The bold preaching of Williams became distasteful to the rulers of the colony, and an attempt was made to silence him, before proceeding to the act of banishment, which not long after followed. The people of Salem defended their preacher, and Endecott justified their defence, in terms which were offensive to the magistrates and deputies, whereupon they committed him. Finding it useless to resist, he finally made the acknowledgment required, and was released.†

From this period, Mr. Endecott seems to have acted in full harmony with the other leaders of the colony, and to have regained the esteem, which his imprudent zeal in the outset had jeoparded. In 1636, he was placed in command of an expedition from Massachusetts against the Pequot Indians. John Oldham, of Cape Ann, had been murdered by a party of the natives, who fled to the Pequots, and were protected by them. Considering them abettors of the murder, the Massachusetts government decided to send a military force under command of Endecott, with a commission to offer the Pe-

* Savage's Winthrop, i. 158. It is a fact worthy of note, that, in the very next year, after solemn consultation, only two of the council would consent to spread the King's colors even in the fort, on account of the Cross in them. (See p. 318, of this volume.) Hence, it has been observed, that Endecott's assent to Roger Williams' heresy may have had some influence in subjecting him to the censure above mentioned. Felt, than whom no one has more carefully studied the character of the first settlers of Massachusetts, in his Annals of Salem, says most of the principal men of the colony thought as Endecott did on the subject of the cross. "The difference between them was, that he manifested his opinion in deed, and they retained theirs in secret." Annals of Salem, 77.

† Savage's Winthrop, i. 166.

quots terms of peace, on condition of their surrendering the murderers and forbearing further acts of hostility, or else war. When the military force arrived, the Pequots fled where pursuit became impracticable, and little was effected by the expedition. Winter was approaching, and Capt. Endecott deemed it prudent to return. He did not escape censure for the ill success of his expedition. The enemy was indeed emboldened by the result—and in the following year committed further aggressions, which were finally avenged, by the extinction of their tribe by the English under the warlike Captain Mason, aided by the friendly Narragansetts.*

In 1644, Mr, Endecott was chosen governor of Massachusetts. He was again elected to that office in 1649, and also from 1651 to 1653, and from 1655 to 1664, in the whole fifteen years—being at the head of the administration of the colony for a longer period than any other governor under the old charter.

His administration was of course marked by the energy, as well as by the faults, of his character. A stern magistrate, fired by an intense zeal against all heresy, he was ready to apply the sword of the civil power for its extinction. When the enthusiast, Anne Hutchinson, began to disturb the churches by her preaching, Endecott was found by the side of Dudley and the fiery Hugh Peters in opposition to her heresy. The elders and magistrates were shocked by the boldness of her teachings, and alarmed at the progress of her doctrines among the people of Boston. Endecott assumed a high prerogative against all dissenting sects, and history records that as a magistrate he did not bear the sword in vain. Mrs.

* See pp. 148 and 302, of this volume.

Hutchinson, after a formal trial, was banished, and the most conspicuous of her adherents, or rather those who were opposed to her persecution, were disarmed. Several persons at Salem were disgraced, or excommunicated. Others, suspected of being friendly to the anabaptists, were deprived of personal liberty, or restricted to prescribed bounds; and in 1644, banishment was decreed against the whole sect. The spirit of this law was retained in the act of 1646, against heresy—and ten years after, when the Quakers made their appearance in Massachusetts, an act of banishment was passed upon the entire sect, with the penalty of death, if disregarded.

The rumor of the coming of the Quakers, filled the colonists with alarm. A fast was ordered on account of it in June, 1656. In October, the hated sect had made their appearance. The Court of Assistants thereupon pass an order, forbidding masters of vessels bringing them over, under a penalty of £100. They next order that if any Quaker comes into Massachusetts, he shall be confined, whipped, kept at work, and not suffered to speak. Any person bringing a Quaker book into the colony, was to be fined £5 for every book; any one defending their doctrines, 40*s*. for the first offence, £4 for the second, and if persisting, then to be imprisoned and banished.

1657. October. The Court order a fine for every hour's entertainment or concealment of a Quaker, of 40*s*. They further order that if any male of that sect return after banishment, he shall have one of his ears cut off; and for a second return, shall have the other ear cut off, and be kept at the house of correction. Any female so doing, to be whipped, and kept at the house of correction. If any of either sex come back a third

time, they were to have their tongues bored through with a hot iron. And any colonists siding with them were to be treated with equal severity.

1658. May. The Court order that any person attending a Quaker meeting shall pay 10*s.*, and £5 for speaking where it may be held. In October of this year, the Quakers increasing, notwithstanding their persecutions, the Court order them to be banished on pain of death.

1661. May. The Court order that Quakers when discovered, shall be made bare from the middle upwards, tied to a cart, and whipped through the town to the boundary of the colony, and if returning a second time, to be similarly punished and branded on the shoulder, if a third time, to be banished on pain of death. On the 27th November, 1661, the General Court assembled to consider the order of the King, forbidding the further persecution of the Quakers, and voted to comply with the order.

Sanguinary as these laws were, they were executed in many cases, and in all the forms enumerated, excepting those of boring the tongue and cutting off the ears. Heavy fines were imposed, and imprisonment and stripes, chains and the dungeon, and even death were inflicted. In all these rigorous measures, Governor Endecott concurred, with the hearty zeal of an honest but misguided man.

In 1659, two men and one woman, (Quakers,*) were tried before the general court of Massachusetts, and sentenced to death. The two men were executed, but the

* Their names were William Robinson, Marmaduke Stephenson, and Mary Dyer. Another, William Leddra, was executed, in March, 1660.

woman was reprieved, on condition of her departure from the jurisdiction in forty-eight hours; and if she returned, to suffer the sentence. She was carried, however, to the gallows, and stood with a rope about her neck until the others were executed. "The blood of the martyrs is the seed of the church"—and many of these enthusiastic people actually courted persecution. The infatuated woman above mentioned returned, and was executed in 1660. Charles II. was restored in 1660, and in the following year issued a mandamus forbidding the further persecution of the Quakers.* The bloody laws were repealed, and the dawn of that glorious toleration appeared, which has since redeemed and elevated the character of the country.

Dr. Robertson styles Governor Endecott "a deep enthusiast," and it is certain that his energetic mind was not unfrequently directed to the rigorous enforcement of frivolous observances. Well might the historian Hutch-

* The Mandamus of King Charles is dated at Whitehall, the 9th day of September, 1661, and is directed "To our trusty and well-beloved John Endecott, esquire, and to all and every other the governor or governors of our plantations of New-England, and of all the colonies thereunto belonging, that now are or hereafter shall be, and to all and every the ministers and officers of our plantations and colonies whatsoever within the continent of New-England." There is a copy of it in Hazard's Collections, ii. 595, in Sewell's History of the Quakers, i. 475, and in the Journal of George Fox, pp. 326, 327. Fox gives the following account of its being presented to the governor. It was brought over in 1661, by Samuel Shattock, who had been banished by the government of Massachusetts for being a Quaker. He and Ralph Goldsmith, the commander of the ship in which they came, "went through the town [of Boston] to the governor's, John Endecott's door, and knocked. He sent out a man to know their business. They sent him word their business was from the king of England, and they would deliver their message to none but the governor himself. Thereupon they were admitted in, and the governor came to them; and having received the deputation and the Mandamus, he put off his hat and looked upon them. Then going out, he bid the friends follow. He went to the deputy governor, and after a short consultation, came out to the friends, and said 'We shall obey his majesty's commands.'" George Fox, Journal, folio p. 326.

inson remark, that the scrupulosity of the good people of the colony must have been at its height, when Governor Endecott, the most rigid of any of the magistrates, joined in an association against the custom of wearing long hair.*

It is observed by Mather, in the Magnalia, that after the death of Mr. Dudley, the notice and respect of the colony fell chiefly on Mr. Endecott. He was at the head

* Harvard College Records, under date of 3d mo. 10th day, 1649, contain the following paper, drawn up by the governor and magistrates against the custom of wearing long hair:

"Forasmuch as the wearing of long hair, after the manner of Ruffians and Barbarous Indians, has begun to invade New England, contrary to the rule of God's word, which says it is a shame to wear long hair, as also the commendable custom generally of all the godly of our nation, until within these few years:

"We the magistrates, who have subscribed this paper, (for the shewing of our own innocency in this behalf,) do declare and manifest our dislike and detestation against the wearing of such long hair, as against a thing uncivil and unmanly, whereby men doe deforme themselves, and offend sober and modest men, and doe corrupt good manners. We doe therefore earnestly entreat all the elders of the jurisdiction (as often as they shall see cause) to manifest their zeal against it in their public administrations, and to take care that the members of their respective churches be not defiled therewith, that so such as shall prove obstinate and will not reform themselves, may have God and man to witness against them. The third month, 10th day, 1649.

Jo. Endecott, governor.	William Hibbins,
Tho. Dudley, dep. gov.	Thomas Flint,
Rich. Bellingham,	Rob. Bridges,
Richard Saltonstall,	Simon Bradstreet."
Increase Nowell,	

A like absurdity in former days pricked the consciences of prelates, kings and courtiers. Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, pronounced an anathema of excommunication on all who wore long hair. Serlo, a Norman bishop, acquired great honor by a sermon which he preached before Henry I. in 1104, against long curled hair, with which the king and his courtiers were so much affected, that they consented to resign their flowing ringlets, whereupon the prudent prelate, determining to give them no time to change their minds, pulled a pair of shears out of his sleeve, and performed the operation with his own hand. A canon is still extant, of the date of 1096, importing that such as wore long hair should be excluded from the church whilst living, or being prayed for when dead. Now, the very curates rejoice in ringlets and macassar.—*Black. Edin. Mag.* lvi. 460.

of the colony, during the difficult and critical period of the great political dissensions and civil wars in England. Mr. Endecott's bias in that controversy was apparent, and corresponded with that of the country, but the public proceedings were temperate and wise. On the restoration of Charles II., the English statesmen could not fail to perceive that the spirit of liberty was every where prevalent in the colonies. The Earl of Clarendon, in framing his plan for their government by commissioners, remarked, that "they were already hardened into republics." In 1664, the royal commission was established, over-riding the existing charters, and in April of the following year, they began to execute their trust in Massachusetts. Governor Endecott was at this time in the chair, and when the commissioners proceeded to sit in judgment upon the governor and general court of the colony, the spirit of the puritans was kindled, and the general court "published by sound of trumpet their disapprobation of this proceeding, and prohibited every one from abetting a conduct so inconsistent with their duty to their God, and allegiance to the King." The crest-fallen commissioners departed, threatening against the authorities of Massachusetts "the punishment which many in England concerned in the late rebellion had met with." Thus early appeared in the fathers of Massachusetts the unyielding spirit of liberty, which a century afterwards was found to be invincible in their descendants. The famous stamp act was passed just a century after this abortive essay of the royal commissioners.

The firmness of Governor Endecott in these proceedings was noted in England, and instructions were

given to the end that another person more acceptable to the King should be chosen governor at the next election. Governor Endecott died, however, before the effect of this recommendation could be ascertained. But as his integrity and firmness in the great agitations through which they had already passed, had gained the confidence of the people, there can be no doubt that the royal intimation to his prejudice would have been altogether disregarded.

Governor Endecott, before his election to that office, removed from Salem to Boston, where he died in office on the 15th March, 1665, in the 77th year of his age. His will, dated at Boston, 2d May, 1659, mentions the house he lived in, which was on the lot formerly the residence of Gardiner Greene. The house, a part of which was lately standing at the corner of Court and Church streets in Salem, occupied by Governor Endecott during his residence there, was first erected by the Dorchester company at Cape Ann, and removed from thence to Salem in 1628, by Walter Knight and others, for the Governor's use. The Rev. John Sparhawk occupied this house in 1736, and Timothy Orne, Sen., afterwards. It was afterwards known as the "Ship Tavern." Governor Endecott was a large landholder in different parts of the country. The first grant ever made in the interior of New Hampshire, was of 500 acres selected for Governor Endecott of the finest interval land on the Merrimack, in Concord. It was granted in 1657, and is now known as the Endecott, or Sewall farm. The farm cultivated by Governor Endecott near Salem, is said to remain in possession of a descendant. There is a good portrait of Endecott in one of the apart-

ments of the State House at Boston; and another, said to be an original, in possession of W. P. Endicott, Esq., of Salem.*

Governor Endecott has not unfrequently been represented as rude and uncultivated, inexperienced in the passions of men, and untouched by any of the finer feelings and sympathies of our nature. Stern, inflexible, and uncompromising, particularly towards those who differed from him in religious matters; his great firmness and decision have often been construed into grovelling wilfulness and unbending obstinacy. That he was a man of good intellectual endowments, and mental culture, and that he possessed a fearless and independent spirit, which well fitted him for the various duties he was called upon to perform, is very certain. But his highest claim to distinction rests upon the fact that he was a successful leader of the Pilgrims, and his name is so closely associated with the first settlement of the country, and with whose early history his own is so closely interwoven, that the learned and Rev. Dr. Bentley, of Salem, in a letter to the elder Adams, says, "above all others, he deserves the name of THE Father of New England."

The principal charge against Governor Endecott is his want of liberality in religious matters. "But where was liberality to be found in the seventeenth century? Governor Endecott's integrity and firmness in all the political questions which were agitated in his day with the mother country, merited the confidence and gratitude of his own. His was no temporizing policy. He was a

*This gentleman is also said to possess the small sword used by Governor Endecott, and some of his Manuscripts.

faithful sentinel upon the watch-towers of his country's interests, ever jealous of her rights, and ever zealous for her welfare. He fulfilled all the trusts committed to his care with an honesty of purpose, and a fidelity that knew no fear; having for his reward, far above all earthly distinctions, the approval of his own conscience in a life well and usefully spent."

From Prince, we learn that Governor Endecott brought a wife from England, of whose death no account is given. Her name was Anna Gover. His second wife was Elizabeth Gibson, whom he married 18th August, 1630. She survived her husband.* Governor Endecott had two sons—

John, the eldest, was born about the year 1632, removed with his father to Boston in 1644, was married, Nov. 9, 1653, to Elizabeth, daughter of Jeremy Houchin, of Boston, admitted freeman in 1665, and died in 1667, leaving no children.

Zerubabel, the second son, was born in 1635, was a physician, and lived in Salem; and from him have descended all the Endecotts who have lived in Salem and its immediate vicinity. He was father of six sons and seven daughters. His first wife was Mary ———, the mother of most, if not all, of his children. His second wife was Elizabeth, widow of Rev. Antipas Newman, of Wenham, and daughter of Governor John Winthrop, of Connecticut, to whom he was married some time subsequent to the year 1672. He was admitted a freeman in 1665, and died March 27, 1684. The names of his

* The property of Governor Endecott's widow not being sufficient for her support, the general court, in 1671, granted her an annuity of £30 during her widowhood. This act was an indication of the public respect both for her and her deceased husband. Felt's Annals of Salem, 239.

children, which are here mentioned in the order of their births, were Elizabeth, Elizabeth, Zerubabel, John, Samuel, Zerubabel, Benjamin, Joseph, Mary, Sarah, (who married Nathaniel Gilbert of Boston,) Elizabeth, Hannah and Mehitable. The three first died in infancy, and the others survived their father. By his will, dated Nov. 23, 1683, he bequeathed to his two eldest surviving sons, John and Samuel, the old homestead of his father in Salem, (now Danvers,) called the "Orchard." To Zerubabel, Benjamin and Joseph, he left a tract of land of 555 acres, granted by the General Court to the Governor, and bequeathed by the Governor to him, on the Ipswich river in Topsfield, (now Boxford,) to be equally divided between them, with a proviso that if either died without heirs, his part was to revert to the survivors. The five daughters inherited an island of about two acres near Marblehead, called Cotta Island, and other legacies.

John, eldest son of Zerubabel, and grandson of the Governor, was born about 1662; was, like his father, a physician, and some time in London, England, completing his education. He married Ann ———, had one son, Robert Edwards, who died without issue, and one daughter, Anna, who married her cousin Samuel, Dec. 20, 1711. He died at Salem, probably on the "Orchard" farm, in May, 1700. Felt, in his Annals of Salem, says he was "active, useful and respected."

Samuel, second son of Zerubabel, was born about the year 1664, lived at the "Orchard" in Salem, married Hannah ———, and had two sons, John and Samuel. Until within a few years, the "Orchard farm" has been cultivated by, and has been the residence of, some one

of the descendants of Samuel, many of whom have led peaceful and quiet lives, cultivating the soil for a livelihood, without entering public life, any further than occasionally representing the town in which they resided, either in the legislature or in municipal trusts; while some of the fifth and many of the sixth generation turned their attention to commerce, and were successful merchants, fulfilling all their obligations with fidelity. There are one or two families living in Worcester county, Massachusetts, but Salem and vicinity has been, and still is, their "home." Some have been sea captains, generally in the China trade, and having "had enough of the sea," are now filling responsible and honorable stations in society.

Zerubabel, third son of Zerubabel, was born Feb. 14, 1664, married Grace ———, by whom he had one son, named Zerubabel, and five daughters, Grace, Mehitable, Elizabeth, Phebe and Hannah. In 1715, he was living on his inheritance in Topsfield, as a farmer, where he died. The son Zerubabel dying without heirs, subsequently to the father, the five sisters finally possessed the family estate.

Benjamin, fourth son of Zerubabel, was born in 1667, and in 1715 was living on the Topsfield farm as a farmer, where he died in 1735, without heirs.

Joseph, fifth son of Zerubabel, was born at Salem (the birth place of all his father's children) in 1669, married Hannah ———, and left at his death, according to his will, recorded in the office of the Secretary of State, at Trenton, New Jersey, two sons, John and Joseph, and two daughters, Ann Gillam, and Elizabeth Delavane. A grandson, Joseph Bishop, is also mentioned. In a

deed executed by him, and recorded in what is now Boxford, Massachusetts, he styles himself "Joseph Endecott, of North Hampton, county of Burlington, in West Jersey, in the government of New York, yeoman." He died in May, 1747, at North Hampton.

Benjamin, son of John, and grandson of Joseph Endecott, of North Hampton, was a soldier of the Revolution. John, his son, was lately living, at an advanced age, in Port Republic, New Jersey, where others of the family reside.

About the year 1700, there were living in Boston three brothers, John, William and Gilbert Endecott, the elder of which appears to have been a man of some note, if owning lands and houses, and holding the office of church warden in King's Chapel would make him so. Where these brothers were born, or whence they came to Boston, is uncertain. John, the eldest, was father of about ten children, none of which survived him; William, of about as many more, of which no account can be given, and Gilbert, of two only, whose descendants are numerous in Norfolk county, Massachusetts, where he died, Oct. 18, 1716. The families of that name in Boston, are supposed to be derived from Governor Endecott, and those residing in New York are descended from Gilbert, of Boston.

The Governor spelt his name *Endecott*, and this mode of spelling was retained as late as 1724, as the records show. Since that time, it has been variously written, *Endicott*, *Indecott*, and *Endicot*, and few names have suffered more from distortion in spelling than this.

VII. JOHN LEVERETT.

JOHN LEVERETT was a native of England, and came over with his father, Elder Thomas Leverett, in company with the Rev. John Cotton and others, in 1633. Thomas Leverett lived at Boston, in Lincolnshire, England, where all his children, sixteen in number, were born and baptized, the youngest of which was baptized 12th April, 1632. Mr. Leverett, being disposed to aid the emigration of settlers to Massachusetts, advanced fifty pounds sterling, for the purpose of transporting poor families, building churches and fortifications, maintaining ministers, and other public charges of the plantation.* He came over in 1633, in company with the Rev. Mr. Cotton and others, became a member of the Boston church in October of that year, at which time his wife Anne also joined, and on the 5th November following, was admitted to the freeman's oath. Dr. Cotton Mather ascribes to the vigilance and discretion of Mr. Leverett, while in England, the defeat of many designs to molest his friend Mr. Cotton for non-conformity; and says, that "quickly after Mr. Cotton's ordination in Boston, the church called and settled Mr. Leverett as their ruling elder, which office he sustained till his death."

* The general court of Massachusetts, 19 Oct. 1652, acknowledged the obligations of the colony to Elder Leverett, by the following vote: "Whereas the father of Captain John Leverett, deceased, was an adventurer with the first into these parts, by adventuring money for the forwarding the plantation, who never had any allowance of land or otherwise for the same: This Court doth hereby grant to Capt. John Leverett, his son, all those small Islands lying within the Bay between Allerton's Point, and Nehenot, not heretofore granted." Mass. Colony Records.

John Leverett was born in July, 1616, and, notwithstanding the numerous family of his father, is said to have been his only son and heir at the time of Elder Leverett's decease.* He was admitted to the Boston church, 14th July, 1639, and made a freeman in 1640. Soon after his establishment in Boston, he engaged in extensive business as a merchant, and was concerned in hazardous commercial adventures with Edward Gibbons, by which he impaired his fortune. He also became a distinguished military officer, and in 1663, was chosen major general of the colony, and again in 1666. He was an active member of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Boston for more than thirty-two years; and, besides other offices in the company, was commander in 1652, 1663, and 1670.

Mr. Leverett spent a considerable portion of his life in the service of the colony. In 1642, he was sent with Edward Hutchinson, on an embassy to Miantonomoh, the sachem of the Narragansetts, the object of which was to ascertain the truth of the current rumors, that the Indians all over the country had combined to cut off the English settlements. It was a period of great alarm. A constant watch was kept in the several plantations from sunset to sunrise, and places of retreat provided for the women and children in case of attack. The Indians within the colony were disarmed; but after all, there seems to have been no sufficient grounds for the general alarm. Mr. Leverett informed the sachem of the reasons of his coming, and that the governor required of him an explanation.

* See Appendix to Waldo's Defence of the Title of John Leverett to the Muscongus Lands, &c., folio, 1756, p. 41.

His reception by the great chief, is thus described by Winthrop: "Miantonomoh carried them apart into the woods, taking only one of his chief men with him, and gave them very rational answers to all their propositions. He visited Boston according to his promise. Being called in, and mutual salutations passed, he was set down at the lower end of the table over against the governor, and had only two or three of his counsellors, and two or three of our neighboring Indians, such as he desired, but would not speak of any business at any time, before some of his counsellors were present, that they might bear witness with him at his return home of all his sayings.

"In all his answers, he was very deliberate, and showed good understanding in the principles of justice and equity and ingenuity withal. He demanded to have his accusers produced. The English answered, the accusers were not in their power; that they did not intend to give any credit to their charges, until they had informed him of them, and given him an opportunity to deny them. He then asked, why they disarmed their Indians, if they had not credited these charges? They answered, they had done it for their own security, some of the Indians at Saco having robbed some of the whites; and with this answer he was satisfied. He gave many reasons why they should hold him free of any such conspiracy, alledging it to be a fabrication of his enemy, Uncas. He said that, being innocent, he trusted to the justice of the English, and that he would come to them any time they requested, if they would only send him some Indians he liked. The greater part of two days were spent in making arrangements, and all things were accommodated. Only some difficulty we had to bring him to desert the

Nyanticks, if we had just cause of war with them. They were, he said, his own flesh, being allied by continual intermarriages. But at last he agreed, if he could not bring them to make satisfaction, he would leave them to the English. When we should go to dinner, there was a table provided for the Indians to dine by themselves, and Miantonomoh was left to sit with them. This he was discontented at, and would eat nothing until the governor sent meat for him from his own table. When he departed, we gave him and his counsellors, coats and tobacco, and when he came to take leave of the governor, and such of the magistrates as were present, he returned and gave his hand to the governor, saying that was for the rest of the magistrates who were absent."*

Mr. Leverett spent some time in England, in 1644–5, and while there, was appointed a captain in Rainsborrow's regiment, in the service of parliament, but soon after returned to Massachusetts. He was first chosen representative from Boston, in 1651, and during a portion of the year was Speaker of the House. He was re-elected in 1652 and '3, and again in 1663, '4 and '5.

In July, 1652, Mr. Leverett was one of the commissioners appointed to visit the settlements in Maine, and declare them to be under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. Soon after, a county called Yorkshire was established in Maine, and sent deputies to the general court at Boston.

In 1653, the public mind having become impressed with the idea that a plot had been concerted by the Dutch Governor Stuyvesant and the Indians, for the destruction of the English colonies, Mr. Leverett was appointed one

* Savage's Winthrop, ii. 81.

of the commissioners of Massachusetts, to the Dutch government of New York, and was made commander of the forces contemplated to be raised in case of war. In 1654, he had a military command under General Sedgwick, in expelling the French from Penobscot, an enterprise in which they succeeded with very little difficulty.*

In 1655, Mr. Leverett again went to England, and was employed in the public service there for some time until his return in 1662. Immediately after his return he was re-elected to the assembly of the colony, and was chosen speaker in 1663 and in 1664. He went with Lusher and Danforth, in 1665, to Portsmouth and Dover, as one of the commissioners to enquire into the disturbances there, which had been created by a faction headed by one Abraham Corbett, inimical to the government of Massachusetts. Corbett was in the end arrested, taken to Boston, and fined and otherwise punished for seditious behavior.†

He was one of the four persons, in 1664, to whom the patent or first charter was delivered by the general court, to be kept safe and secret, together with a duplicate, which they were directed to dispose of as might be most safe for the country. Governor Bellingham, Thomas Clark, and Edward Johnson were the others.‡

In 1665, Mr. Leverett was chosen an Assistant, and continued in that office until 1670. In 1671 and 1672, he was elected deputy governor.

At the election in 1673, he was chosen governor to succeed Mr. Bellingham, and was annually re-elected without opposition until his death, in 1679.

* All the country from the Penobscot to Port Royal was conquered with very little resistance. Hutchinson's Colony Mass. Bay, 183.

† Farmer's Belknap, 60. ‡ See p. 341, of this volume.

As has already been stated, the authority of Massachusetts had been extended over the settlements in Maine, and Governor Leverett had visited that territory in 1652, and several times afterwards, to arrange the terms of submission. The inhabitants in some cases resisted the claim of Massachusetts, regarding it as a usurpation;* and to put an end to the troublesome controversy, the government of Massachusetts, in 1677, purchased of Gorges the province of Maine for the sum of £1,250 sterling.† In February, 1680, the General Court of Massachusetts assumed the charter granted to Gorges, under their right of purchase, and proceeded to frame a civil administration for the province. The delay of nearly three years after the purchase to assume the patent of Gorges, may be accounted for from the disagreeing opinions as to the best mode of governing the newly acquired territory, and from the known hostility of the King to the purchase by Massachusetts. Charles II. had intended, with the provinces of Maine and New Hampshire, to make provision for his son, the Duke of Monmouth, and had been for some time in treaty with the proprietor of Maine, but was outwitted by the agents of Massachusetts. He was so deeply affronted when he heard of the transfer, that he reprimanded the agents for their disloyal interference, and required them to assign their purchase to the crown, upon payment of the sum they had given. This they refused to do, and Massachusetts, with the usual resolute steadfastness which actuated her people whenever the royal prerogative bore hard upon them, determined to make the most of her purchase.

* See Folsom, Hist. Saco and Biddeford, pp. 84—90.

† Hutchinson's Hist. Col. Mass. Bay, 312.

In 1678, Edward Randolph, who had been appointed collector of Boston, came over, bringing a commission, empowering certain persons to administer an oath to the governor that he would faithfully execute the Royal Acts of Trade. The colony were determined to evade these acts, and Governor Leverett refused to take the oath required. The people considered the navigation acts as an invasion of their rights, as they were not represented in parliament; and the controversy ended only with the subversion of their charter.

Governor Leverett is described by Cotton Mather, as "one to whom the affections of the freemen were signalised his quick advances through the lesser stages of honor and office, unto the highest in the country; and one whose *courage* had been as much recommended by martial actions abroad in his younger years, as his *wisdom* and *justice* were now at home in his elder."*

He received the order of knighthood from Charles II. in 1676; but he suppressed the title, or knowledge of it, during his life, probably on account of his republican employments, and the genius of the colonial government. He was in England at the time of the restoration, attending to the interests of the colony, which brought the King acquainted with his talents and influence, and led to the bestowal of subsequent honors.

"The Governor under the old charter," says Hutchinson, "although he carried great port, yet his share in the administration was little more than any one of the Assistants. The weighty affairs of the war, and the agency, during his administration, conducted with prudence and steadiness, caused him to be greatly respect-

* Magnalia, b. 2. c. 5.

ed."* "Great military talents," says Savage, "fitted him for the place of sergeant-major-general† several years, and in the higher station of governor, in the most perilous period Massachusetts ever knew, Philip's war, they were fully exerted." In this great struggle, Massachusetts furnished her full proportion of men and means; and many of her bravest sons fell, before the Indians were conquered. The command of the forces raised by the United Colonies devolved upon General Winslow, the governor of New Plymouth, and a summary of the events of that sanguinary war will be found in the memoir of Josias Winslow.‡

Governor Leverett died on 16th March, 1679. His funeral was made a pageant, not unlike that of royalty in England.§

The disease of which Governor Leverett died was the gravel, as appears by Mather, and also an interleaved

* The general court of Massachusetts, 7th May, 1662, "Ordered, that Major General John Leverett have granted to him 500 acres of land, referring to his services in the country, both in England and here; which 500 acres shall be laid out to him together, with 500 more, formerly granted to him in reference to his father's adventure of the sum of £50 put into the public stock, in consideration whereof, Brewster's Islands were formerly granted to the said Major John Leverett, but since adjudged by this court to belong to the town of Hull, whereupon the court granted the 500 acres last mentioned." Mass. Col. Records.

† The first regular organization of militia in the country, was in 1644, when great exertions were made to render the militia efficient, and the emulation of the people was excited to provide for emergencies that might happen. All males were enrolled at sixteen—none being exempt, except "*timorous persons*," and there were but few who would permit themselves to be thus classed. The soldiers were required to do duty eight days in a year under a penalty of 5*s*. a day—and a day's duty was the whole day spent in laborious drill, not a few hours of showy parade. The general court labored to avoid all high titles, and therefore ordered one general officer for the colony, whose title was *Sergeant Major General*, to be chosen annually.

‡ See pp. 179—192, of this volume.

§ See Whitman's Hist. Anc. and Hon. Art., p. 95.

Almanack of 1679. His picture, in the military costume of that day, his sword, collar, and gloves, &c., are preserved in the Essex Historical Rooms, at Salem. He wore long hair, but is the first colonial governor painted without a long beard. He is said to have laid it aside in Cromwell's court.

Governor Leverett was married, in 1639, to Hannah Hudson, daughter of Ralph Hudson, deceased, who by his will had bequeathed to this daughter "£100 upon her marriage, and after his and his wife's decease, his new house in Boston with the yard adjoining, which then stood close to the market, on the south of the old Town House, and also his great lot of forty-six acres at Pullen Point." To match this respectable endowment, Elder Leverett at the same time settled upon his son various tracts of land and other property, and upon the decease of himself and wife, "his dwelling house in Boston, with the houses and gardens adjoining, and a hundred acres of land at Muddy River."

The time of the death of the first wife of Governor Leverett is uncertain. The death of his second wife, Sarah, who survived him twenty-five years, is mentioned as having occurred at Boston, 2d January, 1705, when she was at the age of 74. Mary, daughter of Governor Leverett, married Paul Dudley, son of the first Governor Dudley. He died in 1681, at the age of 31.

Hudson Leverett, only son of Governor Leverett, was born in 1640. Hutchinson says, he did not support the reputation of his father; but John Leverett, his son, in the presidency of Harvard College, gave a character to that institution which it had never before attained.* He

* Savage's Winthrop, ii. 245.

graduated in 1680, was afterwards a tutor, became a member of the legislature, speaker of the assembly, counsellor, judge of the superior court, and of the court of probate. He was one of the founders of Brattle street church in Boston. In 1708, he was chosen President of Harvard College, in which station he continued until his death, which was sudden, 3d May, 1724. He was endowed with great powers of mind, and was conspicuous for his learning. His talents were eminently practical. He knew better than most men what course to shape in difficult times, and how political and religious factions were to be managed or controlled. To these characteristics the College owed much of the prosperity it enjoyed at that period; and these conferred the reputation for success, which has ever since rested upon his administration. In all his official relations, his industry, vigor, and fidelity were conspicuous and exemplary. Flynt's Funeral Oration ascribes to him Aristotle's words to Plato—"*Hic jacet homo, quem non licet, non decet, impiis vel ignorantibus laudare.*" His literary merits procured him honors from abroad, particularly a membership in the Royal Society of London.*

* Quincy's Hist. of Harvard University, i. 323. Whitman's Hist. Anc. and Hon. Art. Co. 249.

VIII. SIMON BRADSTREET.

SIMON BRADSTREET was a native of Horbling, a small village near Folkingham, in Lincolnshire, England, where he was born in March, 1603. His father, born of a wealthy family in Suffolk, was one of the first fellows of Emanuel College, and highly esteemed by persons distinguished for learning. In the year 1603, he appears to have been minister at Horbling, in Lincolnshire, but was always a nonconformist to the church of England. He was afterwards preacher to the English congregation at Middleburg, where he was most probably driven by the severity of persecution. He was living about the year 1630. The first planters of New England had the highest respect for him, and used to style him "The venerable Mordecai of his country."*

The son was entered at the grammar school, where, after spending some time, he was taken into the family of the Earl of Lincoln, in which he remained about eight years, under the direction of Thomas Dudley, holding several offices at different periods in the household of the Earl. His capacity, and the desire which his father expressed to give his son an education, induced Dr. Preston, an intimate friend of the elder Bradstreet, to interest himself in behalf of the son. He was thereupon entered at Emanuel College, Cambridge, in the capacity of governor to the young Lord Rich, son of the Earl of Warwick. This young nobleman, however, did not come to the university; and a brother of the Earl of

* Brooke's Lives of the Puritans, iii. 519.

Lincoln, of rather idle and dissipated habits, being then in college, and claiming too much of the time and attention of Bradstreet, he left the institution after about a year, and returned to the Earl of Lincoln. Mr. Dudley being about to remove to New England, his post of steward in the household of the Earl was conferred on Bradstreet. He was afterwards steward to the aged Countess of Warwick, and here became acquainted with Anne, daughter of Thomas Dudley, whom he married, in 1628. This connection induced him to join the company of Winthrop, Dudley, Saltonstall, Endecott, and others, who were then about to embark for New England. In March, 1630, he became associated with the company of colonists; and, embarking with his family, arrived at Salem in June following. He was at the first court held at Charlestown, 23d August, 1630, and was there elected secretary of the colony, and remained in office until 1644. He is named as the seventh member who joined in forming the first congregational church of Charlestown and Boston.

In the spring of 1631, Mr. Bradstreet removed to Cambridge, and was one of the earliest settlers of that town. He resided, with Dudley, Saltonstall, and others, for a time, at Ipswich, between 1635 and 1644, and afterwards removed to Andover, where he became one of the first planters of that town, in 1648.

Among those who were banished from Massachusetts, on account of their antinomian principles, was Captain John Underhill, who settled at Dover, New Hampshire, and, on the expulsion of Burdet, was chosen "governor" of that town. He was himself an enthusiast of bad character, and introduced Hanserd Knollys,

an Antinomian Baptist, to the ministry there. Knollys busied himself in calumniating the Massachusetts settlers, and soon raised up a strong party in opposition. Thomas Larkham, a zealous churchman, from England, headed this new party. One party dealt out bulls and excommunications; and the other imposed fines and penalties; until the little settlement became a theatre of riots, assaults and general disorder. The government of Massachusetts, which had always had an eye upon the eastern settlements, now thought it time to interfere; and Mr. Bradstreet, Hugh Peters, and Samuel Dalton, were appointed commissioners to inquire into the difficulties at Dover, and attempt a reconciliation. These peace makers travelled from Boston to Dover on foot, and having ascertained that both parties were in fault, succeeded in adjusting the feud, by persuading one party to remit its fines and penalties, and the other to annul its censures and excommunications.*

When, in the year 1643, the New England Colonies formed their memorable confederation, or union for mutual protection and defence, Mr. Bradstreet was one of the commissioners on the part of the Massachusetts colony, and took an active part in the proceedings.† The records of that period, in all the public affairs of the colony, show how diligent and useful he was as a public officer, through all the changes of the infant common-

* See Farmer's Belknap, 23–26, and Farmer and Moore's Collections, ii. 236.

† Governor Winthrop, in noticing the selection made by the deputies for this important service, calls "the choosing one of the *younger* magistrates (Bradstreet) a great error," although he pronounces him to be "a very able man." The reason probably was, that Mr. Bradstreet was "an eastern man," being at that time a resident of Ipswich; for he was one of the original assistants, and had been fourteen times re-elected to that office, although he was now but forty years of age.

wealth. As one of the most active magistrates, he was noted as rarely ever absent from his post; and in his capacity of secretary of the colony, his papers bore the marks of a clerkly hand, and of a mind so well trained in matters of law, and legislation, that he is spoken of by the editor of Winthrop, as having been "bred to the bar."

Mr. Bradstreet, although a strict Puritan in faith, and as decidedly opposed "to all heresy and schism," as his austere relative Dudley, was endowed with a different temper; and for the sake of peace, or with the hope of reformation, could more readily excuse an offender. He seems to have been imbued with a spirit more gentle, and to have been influenced by a better idea of religious freedom, than some of his associates in the colony. While the Antinomian controversy was pending, he seems to have been inclined to more moderate measures than the exasperated magistrates and elders. When Anne Hutchinson was arraigned, before Governor Winthrop, and during two days, in presence of the whole authority in church and state united, maintained her ground with a self-possession and ability that came near carrying some of the judges in her favour, as her arguments already had convinced a majority of the Boston church,—Mr. Bradstreet was for persuasion rather than force. He remarked to Mrs. Hutchinson, that she ought to forbear her meetings, because they gave offence; and when she interposed a plea of conscience, he replied that he was not against all women's meetings, and even considered them to be lawful, but still thought they should be avoided, as matters disturbing the public peace.*

* See Account of the Trial of Anne Hutchinson, in Appendix to Hutchinson, vol. ii.

The rigorous discipline which the churches and magistrates enforced at this period, caused many to be publicly arraigned and punished, for offences, which would at this day be deemed trivial and insignificant. To speak evil of rulers, was an offence, and there were numerous instances in which this breach of order was punished with severity. Mr. Bradstreet, on occasions of this description, frequently took ground in favor of freedom of speech, and voted, in opposition to the majority of magistrates, against presentments and fines "for words spoken in contempt of government."

In the same spirit, which was in advance of the age, when the witchcraft delusion overspread the colony, he discountenanced the excesses into which the government was betrayed. Brattle, in his account of this delusion, makes honorable mention of "the few men of understanding, judgment and piety, inferior to few if any in New England, that do utterly condemn the proceedings, and do freely deliver their judgment that these methods will utterly ruin and undo poor New England." Among the first of these he names Mr. Bradstreet.*

In 1650, Mr. Bradstreet was one of the commissioners assembled at Hartford, to determine the long controverted boundary line between the Dutch Colony of New Amsterdam, (New York,) and the English Colony of New Haven.

The settlements which had been made at York and Kittery, in Maine, under grants from Gorges, early attracted the notice of the government of Massachusetts. They claimed the territory on the Pascataqua, as contained within the bounds of their charter. In 1651, avail-

* I Mass. Hist. Coll. v. 75.

ing themselves of the advantages presented by the dissensions among the people of those settlements, the government of Massachusetts appointed Mr. Bradstreet one of the commissioners to treat with the disaffected at York and Kittery, about coming under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. In the following year, matters had been so far matured, that on Mr. Bradstreet's again appearing at Kittery, and summoning the inhabitants to come in and acknowledge their subjection to Massachusetts, they resolved to surrender, and signed an instrument of submission, which was soon after followed by a similar submission of the people of York, Saco, Wells, &c.

In June, 1654, we find Mr. Bradstreet active in a meeting at Ipswich, on the subject of preparing a refutation of certain calumnies, which had been forwarded to the Protector Cromwell, against the general court of Massachusetts.

It was some months after the restoration of Charles II. became known, before he was proclaimed in Massachusetts; although a loyal address was voted and forwarded, in December, 1660. The colonists were alarmed as to the consequences of the great revolutions in the parent state; and sinister reports of evil for a time kept the people in a state of feverish anxiety. In May, 1661, the state of public affairs was brought before the general court, Mr. Bradstreet was placed at the head of a committee "to consider and debate such matters touching their patent rights, and privileges, and duty to his Majesty, as should to them seem proper." This committee, after grave deliberation, embodied their report in an able state paper, drawn up by Mr. Bradstreet, and adopted by the general court in special session, 10th

June, 1661. This report declares in emphatic terms the rights and liberties of the colony. under the charter, followed by a declaration of allegiance, loyalty and duty to the king.

The Massachusetts address to the King met a favorable reception, notwithstanding strong representations had been forwarded against the colony, growing out of the persecutions of the Quakers, and other rigorous measures. The royal mandamus soon after put an end to this persecution; and Massachusetts was summoned to answer complaints made against the government of the colony. In this emergency, Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Norton were despatched to England. They met with a favorable reception at court, and in answer to the address and petition of Massachusetts, they were intrusted with a letter from the King, which promised a full pardon of political offences, and a confirmation of the ancient privileges of the colony, but coupled with such conditions as created at once, in the midst of the general rejoicing at the prospect of peace, a deep gloom throughout the colony. The requisitions of the King, in this instance, were in the highest degree tolerant and enlightened, far beyond the scope of most of the acts of his reign. Bradstreet and Norton understood the matter in this light, and so it was considered by the best friends of the colony in England. But the general court looked upon the King's letter as requiring a surrender of their rights, which they determined not hastily to assent to. The agents, who were supposed to have made unnecessary concessions, were now loaded with reproaches, and evils which it could not have been in their power to avert, were laid to their charge. Mr. Norton, a faithful and

honest man, who went reluctantly upon the embassy, could not bear up under the general reproach; but Mr. Bradstreet, conscious that he had in no way compromitted the honor or rights of the colony, steadily defended his course, and advocated a dutiful compliance with the requisitions of the King, as the best and only safe course. When the royal commissioners arrived in 1665, Mr. Bradstreet was one of the few who counselled a quiet compliance, and protested against the declaration of the general court drawn up in answer to the demands of the commissioners. The sturdy democracy of the Puritans, however, forbade their yielding an iota of what they conceived to be their chartered privileges; and they not only denounced the proceedings of the commissioners, but prohibited any one from abetting or aiding them. If the course advised by Mr. Bradstreet might have been under the circumstances, the more prudent and politic, that adopted by the colony was in fact more noble, and better becoming a community of freemen.

In 1673, Mr. Bradstreet was chosen deputy governor, and continued in that office under repeated elections, until the death of Governor Leverett, in 1679. In May of that year, he was first chosen governor, at the age of seventy-six years, having previously been chosen an assistant for fifty years in succession. He was annually re-elected governor, until May, 1686, when the charter was dissolved, and Dudley commenced his administration as president of New England. Dudley's commission from James II. bore date the 8th October, 1685, and Mr. Bradstreet was the first of the seventeen counsellors named in the commission. The new president, on receiving his commission, waited upon Mr. Bradstreet at

his house, the 14th May, 1686; but Mr. Bradstreet declined accepting the appointment, as did his son, Dudley Bradstreet, also named as counsellor.*

The tyranny of Andros, which followed the short rule of Dudley, bringing with it the most gloomy forebodings as to the future, nerved the arms of the people and knit their hearts in unison for ultimate resistance. The venerable Bradstreet, though verging upon ninety years of age, was consulted by the people, and gave his advice as the Nestor of New England. In a letter which Hutchinson has preserved, on the subject of the arbitrary seizure of lands, and contempt of title deeds, by Andros, Governor Bradstreet states with admirable clearness his opinion of the case.†

When the people of Boston, on the 18th of April, 1689, rose in arms, and the inhabitants from the surrounding country flocked in to the assistance of their brethren of the capital, Mr. Bradstreet and fourteen of the magistrates of 1686, addressed a message to Andros, in the name of the people, demanding of him, an immediate surrender of the government and fortifications.‡

* Hutchinson's Hist. Colony of Mass. Bay, 351.

† Hutchinson's Colony of Mass. Bay, 360, 361.

‡ The following is the message referred to, which is copied from the original handbill, printed in black letter by Green, in 1689, in possession of Col. PETER FORCE, of Washington, D. C.

"*At the Town House in Boston:* April 18th, 1689.

"SIR,—Ourselves as well as many others the Inhabitants of this town and places adjacent, being surprised with the People's sudden taking to Arms, in the first motion whereof we were wholly ignorant, are driven by the present Exigence and Necessity to acquaint your Excellency, that for the Quieting and Security of the People inhabiting this Countrey from the imminent Dangers they many wayes lie open and are exposed unto, and for your own Safety; We judge it necessary that you forthwith Surrender, and Deliver up the Government and Fortifications to be preserved, to be Disposed according to Order and

The governor with his council resisted, and withdrew to the fort. "Just then, (says Bancroft,) the last governor of the colony, in office when the charter was abrogated, Simon Bradstreet, glorious with the dignity of fourscore years and seven, one of the early emigrants, a magistrate in 1630, whose experience connected the oldest generation with the new, drew near the town-house, and was received by a great shout from the freemen. The old magistrates were reinstated, as a council of safety; the whole town rose in arms, 'with the most unanimous resolution that ever inspired a people;' and a declaration, read from the balcony, defended the insurrection, as a duty to God and the country. 'We commit our enterprise,' it is added, 'to Him who hears the cry of the oppressed, and advise all our neighbors, for whom we have thus ventured ourselves, to joyn with us in prayers and all just actions for the defence of the land.' On Charlestown side, a thousand soldiers crowded together; and the multitude would have been larger if needed. The governor, vainly attempting to escape to the frigate, was, with his creatures, compelled to seek protection by sub-

Direction from the Crown of England, which is suddenly expected may arrive, Promising all Security from violence to your Self, or any other of your Gentlemen and Souldiers in Person or Estate: or else we are assured they will endeavor the taking of the Fortifications by Storm, if any opposition be made.

"*To Sr. Edmond Andross, Knight.*

William Stoughton,	Simon Bradstreet,	Wait Winthrop,
Thomas Danforth,	John Richards,	Samuel Shrimpton,
	Elisha Cook,	William Brown,
	Isaac Addington,	Barthol. Gedney,
	John Foster,	
	Peter Sergeant,	
	David Waterhouse,	
	Adam Winthrop,	
	John Nelson.	

"Boston. Printed by Samuel Green, 1689."

mission; through the streets where he had first displayed his scarlet coat and arbitrary commission, he and his fellows were marched to the town-house, and thence to prison. All the cry was against Andros and Randolph. The castle was taken; the frigate was mastered; the fortifications occupied." The people voted to re-assume the old charter; representatives were chosen; and Massachusetts again assembled in general court, calling Bradstreet to the chair of state.*

Mr. Bradstreet was annually re-elected Governor of Massachusetts, and of New Hampshire, under the union of those provinces, until the arrival of Sir William Phips, in May, 1692, with a charter, which deprived the people of the right of choosing their chief magistrate. In this charter he was named as senior counsellor. But the venerable old man, after more than half a century of public service, now retired from office, and closed his eventful career at Salem, on the 27th March, 1697, in the 95th year of his age. His great age is attributed by Mather to his temperate habits of life. The inscription upon his tomb, in the ancient burial place at Salem, is as follows:

SIMON BRADSTREET,

Armiger, ex ordine Senatoris, in colonia Massachusettensi ab anno 1630, usque ad annum 1673. Deinde ad annum 1679, Vice-Gubernator. Denique ad annum 1686, ejusdem coloniæ, communi et constanti populi suffragio, Gubernator. Vir, judicio Lynceario preditus: quem nec numma, nec honos allexit. Regis authoritatem, et populi libertatem, æqua lance libravit. Religione cerdatus, vita innocuus, mundum et vicit, et deseruit, 27 die Martii, A. D. 1697. Annoq. Guliel. 3t ix. et Æt. 94.

His epitaph, says Felt, gives a correct idea of his character:—"He was a man of deep discernment, whom neither wealth nor honor could allure from duty. He poised with an equal balance, the authority of the King,

* Hutchinson, 373—382. Bancroft, ii. 447.

and the liberty of the people. Sincere in Religion, and pure in his life, he overcame and left the world." The assembly of the province being in session at the time of his death, "in consideration of the long and extraordinary service of Simon Bradstreet, late Governor, who is now deceased, voted £100 towards defraying the charges of his interment."

The first wife of Governor Bradstreet, as has already been stated, was Anne, daughter of Governor Thomas Dudley, whom he married in England. She died 16th September, 1672, at the age of 60 years. "She is," says Savage, "the most distinguished of the early matrons of our land by her literary powers." A volume of her poems was published in 1678. It was dedicated to her father, in a copy of verses, dated 20 March, 1642, and is probably the earliest poetic volume written in America.*

There is also in possession of one of her descendants, a manuscript volume, in the hand-writing of Mrs. Bradstreet, dedicated to her "Dear Son Simon Bradstreet," and containing seventy seven "Meditations, Divine and Moral," which she intended to continue through the volume, as we are told in a note written by her son, "but was prevented by death." Extracts from these Meditations are given in the History of the First Church of Charlestown, Massachusetts.†

After the death of his first wife, Governor Bradstreet, in 1680, married Ann, widow of Capt. Joseph Gardner, who was killed in the memorable Narragansett fight, 19 Dec. 1675. This lady was a daughter of Emanuel Dow-

* See page 295, ante.

† By Rev. William I. Budington, published in 1845.

ning, distinguished for her talents and accomplishments. She died 19 April, 1713, aged 79.

Governor Bradstreet's children were, four sons and four daughters, viz.

Samuel, who was graduated at Harvard College in 1653, of which he was one of the fellows, was admitted freeman, 1653, was representative for Andover, in 1670, and died before 1683.

Simon, graduated at Harvard College in 1667, was ordained as minister of New London, Connecticut, 5 Oct., 1670, and died in 1688.

Dudley, who was born 1648, was representative for Andover, in 1677 and 1692, was colonel of militia, and one of the Council of Safety, appointed in 1689.

John, born 31 July, 1652, and settled at Salem.

Ann, who in 1659, married Thomas Wiggin, of Exeter, New Hampshire.

Dorothy, who married Rev. Seaborn Cotton of Hampton, New Hampshire, and died 26 Feb., 1671.

Hannah, who married a Wiggin; and *Mercy*, who in 1672, married Nathaniel Wade of Medford.

The Rev. Simon Bradstreet, son of the minister of New London, and grandson of Gov. Bradstreet, was graduated at Harvard College in 1693, and settled at Charlestown, 26 October, 1698. He was a man of great learning, and lively imagination; but in the latter part of his life, became so hypochondriacal, that he was afraid to preach in the pulpit, lest he should die there, and for some time delivered his sermons from the deacon's seat.*

* The anecdote is told of him, that when Lieut. Gov. Tailer introduced him to Gov. Burnet, who was himself a scholar, he said "Here is a man, sir, who can *whistle* Greek."

IX. JOSEPH DUDLEY.

Joseph Dudley, son of Governor Thomas Dudley, was born on the 23d of July, 1647, at Roxbury, Massachusetts. He was the son of the Governor's old age, being born after his father had attained the age of seventy years. During his childhood, he was under the care of his excellent mother, and the Rev. Mr. Allin of Dedham, to whom she was married after the death of Gov. Dudley. He was educated at the free school in Cambridge, under the famous Master Corlet, and at Harvard College, where he graduated in 1665, in the 18th year of his age. Hutchinson says, "he was educated for the ministry, and if various dignities had been known in the New England churches, possibly he had lived and died a clergyman; but without this, nothing could be more dissonant from his genius. He soon turned his thoughts to civil affairs. Ambition was the ruling passion, and perhaps, like Cæsar, he had rather be the first man in New England, than second in Old."

He was admitted a freeman in 1672, and in 1673 he was first chosen a representative from his native town, Roxbury, and was re-elected for the two following years. In 1676, he was chosen one of the assistants, in which office he continued, (with the exception of one year,) until 1685, when he was appointed President of Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

When the great Indian war broke out in 1675, Dudley was appointed one of the commissioners of Massachusetts, who, accompanying the military forces of the

colony into the country of the Narragansetts, were enabled to dictate the terms of a treaty, with the chiefs of that tribe, by which they bound themselves to aid the English in the war against Philip.* Mr. Dudley was present at the great battle with the Narragansetts in December, 1675, and wrote to Governor Leverett an interesting account of the battle, which is published by Hutchinson.

Mr. Dudley, with a keen perception of the future in political affairs, attached himself to the moderate party in 1680, inclining to the opinion that it was best to acquiesce in the surrender of the old charter, and wait for circumstances. This is supposed to have paved the way for his agency to England, to which, in conjunction with Major John Richards, he was appointed in 1682. He professed himself warmly in favor of the restoration of the charter, but his conduct in England proved him to have played the courtier, rather for his own advancement, than for the interests of his native land. His mission was unsuccessful, and he returned to Boston, 23 October, 1683. His proceedings not proving satisfactory to the people, he lost his election as an assistant in 1684.

During his visit to England, finding that he could not serve his country by obtaining a confirmation of the old charter, he determined to look well to his own interests; and accordingly became a prominent candidate for the chief magistracy. Dudley was a finished courtier, as well as an adroit politician, and the idea of having a New England man, born and brought up among the

* Hutchinson, i. 289—291; where the articles are inserted. The Narragansetts, who were then very powerful, had promised Philip to rise, in the spring of 1676, with 4000 men.

inhabitants, appointed governor, was a circumstance that gave him many friends—an advantage which a man of his address knew well how to use. He was successful in his application, and when the government of Massachusetts was changed, in 1686, to a President and Council, he was appointed to the presidency. The people had resisted as long as possible the surrender of their charter; and when the Rose frigate arrived in May, 1686, with Dudley's commission, the general court informed the new president and council, that they did not consider their assuming of the government as just; but if they considered themselves bound to obey the King, they might, and the court would endeavour to act legally.*

King James II. was proclaimed with great ceremony, in the "High street in Boston," on the 20th April, 1686, and Mr. Dudley received his commission on the 15th May, and published it on the 26th, when the new President first met the Council in form.† He was commissioned as President of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and Rhode Island; and to assist him in the government, fifteen mandamus counsellors were appointed by the crown. No house of deputies was recognized. To the President and Council, thus constituted, was committed the power of managing and controlling all the

* See Hutchinson's Colony Mass. Bay, 342. The town of Salem, in anticipation of Dudley's appointment, gave the following instructions to their deputies in the general court: "In case Mr. Dudley, &c., said to be nominated and authorized by his majesty to edit another government here, do publish a loyal nullification of our Charter, and a commission from the King for their acceptance of the government here, then our instruction to you is, that you give no countenance to any resistance, but peaceably withdraw yourselves, as representing us no longer." Felt's Annals, 282.

† Dudley's commission as President of New England, is dated 27 Sept. 1685. He acted from 25 May, 1686, until 20 Dec. 1686, when Andros arrived.

public affairs. The new government went into operation, 25 May, 1686. In general, all the existing legal usages were observed. But Dudley's administration was short, and, though unpopular with the people, seems not to have been a very grievous one. It lasted but four months and twenty-six days, when the next political revolution brought Andros upon the stage, as governor of New York and New England. This man arrived at Boston on the 20th December, and published his commission on the following day. Dudley was retained as one of his Council, of which he became president, and was also made one of the Justices of the Superior Court. In this capacity, he opposed some of the proceedings of Andros and the Council, in their attacks upon the titles of the people to their lands. In other matters, however, he generally went with the party of Andros, and so managed as to keep up a friendly understanding with him and with Randolph, his infamous agent and confidential adviser.

Mr. Dudley, of course, became peculiarly the object of dislike among the people, who regarded him as little better than the betrayer of their liberties. And, when in April, 1689, they overturned the government of Andros, Dudley, as one of the most obnoxious, was arrested and kept a close prisoner for a long time. On the 16th May, 1689, a ship arrived from England with advices of the proclaiming of William and Mary. This was most joyful news. The fears of the people, of any bad consequences, from their late revolutionary actions, were now over. "On the 29th, the proclamation was published in Boston, with greater ceremony than had ever been known. Governor Bradstreet and his council, the

civil and military officers, merchants of the town, and country, being on horseback, the regiment of the town, and many companies of horse and foot from the country, appearing in arms—a great entertainment was prepared in the town house, and wine was served out to the soldiers."

On the 5th of June, the representatives from several towns assembled at Boston. The council immediately proposed to them to consent to the liberation of the gentlemen seized by the people, upon security, but this was not agreed to; and on the 27th, they resolved that they were not bailable, and sent up articles against them. Sir Edmund Andros, Col. Dudley,* and others, remained in close custody for upwards of twenty weeks. At last, an order was received from the King, approving the course pursued by the people, and old magistrates, and directing that Andros and the rest of the prisoners should be sent forthwith to England. This order arrived late in the year, and on the 16th Feb. 1690, Sir Edmund Andros, Mr. Dudley, and several others, embarked for England.

Lieut. Gov. Danforth, in a letter to Dr. I. Mather, speaking of the transactions of this period, says, "Mr. Dudley is in a peculiar manner the object of the people's displeasure, even throughout all the colonies, where he hath sat as judge; they deeply resent his correspondence with that wicked man Randolph, for overturning the government. The Governor and Council, though they have done their utmost to procure his enlargement, yet cannot prevail, but the people will have him in the jail;

* Whitman supposes that Dudley obtained his title of Colonel, by an appointment in the British army while in England.

and when he hath been by order turned out, by force and tumult they fetch him in." Dudley himself, in a letter to Cotton Mather, dated 1st June, says, "I am told that this morning is the last opportunity for rolling away the stone from the mouth of this sepulchre, where I am buried alive," &c. And in a letter to his brother-in-law, Gov. Bradstreet, dated 12th Sept., he says, "After twenty weeks unaccountable imprisonment, and many barbarous usages offered me, I have now to complain that on Monday, the whole day, I could be allowed no victuals, till nine o'clock at night, when the keeper's wife offered to kindle her own fire and warm something for me, and the Corporal expressly commanded the fire to be put out. I may be easily oppressed to death. God will hear them that complain to him. I pray your direction for your oppressed kinsman, J. D."

Gov. Dudley returned to his native country towards the close of the year 1690, having been much more successful in conciliating the favor of the crown, than he could hope to be of regaining the confidencc of the people. He was now looking to another sphere of action for public honors. The supreme court of the colony of New York was established on the 6th of May, 1691, and on the 15th Mr. Dudley, who had previously been appointed a member of the council of New York, was appointed chief justice by Governor Sloughter. On the 11th Nov. 1692, after the arrival of Gov. Fletcher, he was removed from this station, on account of not being resident in the province. As a member of the council of New York, and senior in the board, he was entitled to preside in the administration of that province, on the death of Sloughter; but being absent in Massachusetts at

the time, the chief position was given to another, a proceeding which Mr. Dudley did not think it worth while to contest.

Mr. Dudley went the third time to England in 1693; where he remained until 1702. While there, he was eight years Deputy Governor of the Isle of Wight, under Lord Cutts, through whose interest he was also returned a member of the House of Commons, for the borough of Newton in Southampton. On the death of King William, he returned with a commission from Queen Anne, as governor of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, with which he arrived at Boston, 11 June, 1702, and was received, says the Boston News Letter of that day, "with great respect and affection."* He was sworn into office, 13th June, 1702. During his absence in England, he had managed to take advantage of the complaints transmitted from Massachusetts against Governor Phips, and after having caused him to be arrested in London, and held to bail in £20,000, found it an easy matter to supplant him.

On meeting his first assembly, Dudley gave "instances of his remembering the old quarrel, and the people, on their parts, resolved never to forget it."† "All his ingenuity could not stem the current of their prejudice against him." A stated salary was demanded for the governor. "As to settling a salary for the governor," replied the House, "it is altogether new to us; nor can we think it agreeable to our present constitution; but we shall be ready to do what may be proper for his support."

* Sir Charles Hobby, a native of Boston, was a rival of Dudley for the office of governor. He died in London, in 1714.

† Bancroft, iii. 99, 100.

Here began the controversy which nothing but independence could solve. In vain did Dudley endeavor to win from the legislature, concessions to the royal prerogative; and he, and for a season his son also, became the active opponents of the chartered liberties of New England, endeavoring to effect their overthrow, and the establishment of a general government, as in the days of Andros. In December, 1702, he wrote to the board of trade in England, that "many of the council were Commonwealth's men, and that until the Queen should appoint a Council, nothing could be done." In December, 1703, he writes to the secretary of state, that he "had communicated the Queen's requisitions to the assembly relative to Pemaquid, and the settlement of salaries—but though he had used all possible methods, he found it impossible to move that sort of men, who love not the Crown and Government of England to any manner of obedience." About this time, the copy of a letter written by Paul Dudley, son of the governor, who was then attorney general, was made public, in which he made the offensive declaration, that "this country will never be worth living in for lawyers and gentlemen, till the charter is taken away." Hutchinson says the governor had no rest for the first seven years.*

At the general election in May, 1703, Governor Dudley negatived five of the newly elected counsellors—men of probity, influence and popularity—but whose course towards him, in the revolution of 1689, he could not so far overlook, as to admit them among his confidential advisers. Thomas Oakes, a representative from Boston, and a popular leader of the opposition, was this year

* Hutchinson, ii. 140.

chosen speaker of the house. The governor negatived the choice. He was then chosen to the council, when Dudley negatived him there also. He was for many years, representative from Boston, and in 1705, was again chosen speaker. Dudley negatived the choice, and ordered the house to choose another person, but they refused. These proceedings, of course, rendered the governor very unpopular with the people. The belief was also becoming somewhat general, encouraged by the scandals of his enemies, that he was secretly encouraging an illicit trade with the French possessions in North America—a charge which does not seem to have had any foundation.

In July, 1702, Gov. Dudley visited all the eastern frontiers as far as Pemaquid, taking with him such gentlemen of the general court as he thought proper, where he met the delegates from the Indian tribes, and confirmed the treaties which had been formerly made. Queen Anne had already declared war against France, and the colonies soon became again involved in a French and Indian war. To keep the eastern Indians at peace, Governor Dudley in June, 1703, held another conference with the chiefs, who assured him that they had no thought of breaking the peace, which "should continue as long as the sun and moon." In six weeks after, they attacked all the settlements from Casco to Wells, burning and destroying all before them. Governor Dudley, during this painful struggle, appears to have laboured with great earnestness to prosecute the war, and protect the people from their enemies. The war continued until the treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, was known in America, when the eastern Indians proposed to treat of peace, and Governor

Dudley finally concluded a treaty with them at Portsmouth, on the 13th July.*

From his first arrival as governor, Dudley had shown a fond regard for the interests of his *Alma Mater*, and President Quincy, in his elaborate History of Harvard University, classes Gov. Dudley among the greatest benefactors of the college. "Of all the statesmen, who have been instrumental in promoting the interests of Harvard University, Joseph Dudley was most influential in giving its constitution a permanent character." When, however, near the close of his career, the trustees of the college refused to make a son of the governor their treasurer, the corporation incurred his resentment, and that of the family.

The demise of Queen Anne occurred in 1714. This event rendered the tenure of Governor Dudley's office precarious—his influence declined, and he seems to have gathered his robes about him to quit the stage. He met the Assembly for the last time in May, 1715, but made no speech, as was his wont. He was superseded in November, of that year, by Governor Shute.

Gov. Dudley's administration was popular in New Hampshire. Beside his attention to the general interests of the province, and his care for its defence against the Indians, he had the particular merit of favoring the views of the people who were opposed to Allen's claim; and they made him amends, by promoting in the assembly addresses to the Queen, defending his character when it was attacked, and praying for his continuance in office, when petitions were presented for his removal. A good harmony subsisted between the governor and

* Penhallow's Indian Wars, 72—80.

people, and between the two branches of the legislature of the province, during the whole of his administration.* The general feeling in his favor was evinced in 1707, when a petition from Massachusetts to the Queen against the governor, was read before the general assembly in New Hampshire. The council and representatives in full assembly, *nemine contradicente*, voted that some of the charges were scandalous, unheard of, and false reproaches; and they drew up an address to the Queen, in which they justified his administration from all those calumnies, and prayed his continuance in the government.†

Governor Dudley, as one of the original grantees of the town of Oxford, Massachusetts, conceived the project of forming there a settlement of French Protestants, who were looking for safety by flight to other countries, on the revocation of the edict of Nantz.‡ A correspon-

* John Usher, who was lieutenant governor of New Hampshire under Dudley, furnishes a key to the good understanding between the governor and the people of New Hampshire. In a letter written in January, 1704, to the Board of Trade and Plantations, he says that "Dudley, *in consideration of £160 per annum, allows a Republican party to govern*, and every one against a Crown government, in places of trust." In a previous letter to the Board, dated Dec. 1703, Usher complains of the bad state of the government of New Hampshire—"which will not be happy unless a Governor is sent, who, without regard to money, will enforce the prerogative, and curb their anti-monarchical principles." Sampson Sheafe, then collector of the customs at New Castle, in Feb. 1704, wrote the Board of Trade, that "Usher had come to a ticklish government, as the people are of an ungovernable spirit, and, notwithstanding their pretensions, are against monarchical government." [From copies of Records in Plantation Office, London, in possession of Col. Peter Force, Washington. D. C.]

† In June, 1706, a petition was presented to the Queen for the removal of Governor Dudley, on the charge of mal-administration of the government and of being secretly concerned with the smugglers. It appears that he had granted permits to some of those traders to carry contraband articles to Port Royal. This was the source of many suspicions against him. The general court of Massachusetts, however, passed a vote in Nov. 1707, expressing their belief that Mr. Dudley was innocent of the charge. Felt, 344. Hutchinson, ii. 145.

‡ Henry IV. of France, on the 13 April, 1598, signed at Nantz, an edict, granting "perpetual and inviolable liberty of conscience to the Protestants." This edict was revoked by Louis XIV. on the 8 Oct. 1685

dence took place between some of the leading Protestants at Rochelle, and the proprietors of Oxford, which resulted in the settlement of that town in 1686, by thirty Huguenot families, who had escaped from France.*

On leaving office, Governor Dudley retired to his estate in Roxbury, where he died on the 2d April, 1720, in the 73d year of his age. "He was buried, (says the Boston News-Letter,) on the 8th, in the sepulchre of his father, with all the honors and respect his country was capable of doing him. He was a man of rare endowments and shining accomplishments, a singular honor to his country. He was early its darling, always its ornament, and in age its crown. The scholar, the divine, the philosopher, and the lawyer, all met in him." Hutchinson says, "he applied himself with the greatest diligence to the business of his station. The affairs of the war, and other parts of his administration, were conducted with good judgment. In economy, he excelled, both in public and private life."

Such is the judgment of a contemporary, and of the early historian of Massachusetts, respecting the second Governor Dudley. Bancroft, with the added lights of historical investigation, comes to this stern estimate: "The character of Dudley was that of profound selfishness. He possessed prudence and the inferior virtues, and was as good a governor as one could be, who loved neither freedom nor his native land. His grave is among strangers; his memory has perished from among those whose interests he flattered, and is preserved only in the country of his birth. He who loved himself more than free-

* See an interesting memoir of the French Protestants of Massachusetts, by the late Dr. Holmes, in 2d vol. 3d series Mass. Hist. Collections.

dom or his country, is left without one to palliate his selfishness."*

Governor Dudley married, in 1668, Rebecca, daughter of major-general Edward Tyng, of Boston, afterwards of Dunstable. She survived the governor about two years, and died 21 Sept., 1722. Their children were,

1. *Thomas*, born 26 February, 1670, graduated at Harvard College in 1685.

2. *Edward*, born 4 September, 1671, died in January, 1683.

3. *Paul*, born 3 September, 1675, graduated at H. C. in 1690, and died at Roxbury, 21 January, 1751, aged 75. He finished his law studies at the Temple, London; was appointed attorney general of the province, and afterwards chief justice. He was a learned and pious man, and founder of the Dudleian Lecture at Harvard College. A member of the Royal Society of London, several valuable articles from his pen are found among their published transactions.

4. *Samuel*, born in September, 1677.

5. *John*, born 28 February, 1679.

6. *Rebecca*, born in 1681, married 15 Sept. 1702, to Samuel Sewall, son of Chief Justice Sewall, and proprietor of a large estate in Brookline, where he died of paralysis in 1751, aged 73.

7. *Catharine*, who died young. 8. *Anne*.

9. *William*, born 20 Oct. 1686, graduated at H. C. in 1704, was a colonel of militia, and member of the council.

10. *Daniel*, born 4 February, 1689.

11. *Catharine*, 2d; and 12. *Mary*.

* Bancroft, iii. 100.

X. SIR EDMUND ANDROS.

Sir Edmund Andros, "Seigneur of Sausmares," as he styled himself,* and "a poor Knight of Guernsey," as he is called by Oldmixon, was a native of Guernsey, where he was born in 1632. His family is represented to have been wealthy and respectable, and Edmund was secured a commission in the army, in which he afterwards obtained the rank of major. Circumstances had introduced him to the notice of the Duke of York, who took him under his protection; and his connection with that prince, led to his subsequent employment in America.

The treaty of Westminster, of 9 February, 1674, restoring to England the possession of her American territories, the Duke of York obtained from Charles II. a renewal of his patent, for the same territory which had been conveyed to him in 1664. This patent was dated 29th June, and two days thereafter the Duke appointed Major Andros, Governor of his territories in America. In May, 1674, Andros was empowered by a royal order to raise 100 soldiers in London, besides officers, and transport them to New York, to garrison the fort there, of which he was to have command. On the 31st October, 1674, Andros arrived at New York, received the surrender of the territory from the Dutch authorities, and re-established the former government of the Duke.

* In a grant of land, or confirmation of a prior grant, to Richard Smith, on Long Island, dated 25 March, 1677, Andros styles himself, "*Edmund Andros, Esquire*, Seigneur of Sausmares, Lt. & Gov. Genl." &c.

One of the first acts of his administration, was to arraign Captain Manning, who on the 28th July, 1673, treacherously surrendered the English fort at New York to the Dutch, whose invading fleet had come to anchor off Staten Island. Manning escaped the punishment of death, but was publicly disgraced,—Andros in this case exhibiting almost the only act of lenity recorded of him towards an offender, by using his influence with the court martial to avert the sentence of death.

The territory conferred on the Duke, by his charter, comprehended not only New York, but the greater portion of the whole coast to the north.* The charter itself went so far as to sanction whatever ordinance the Duke of York, or his agents, might establish, and in regard to justice and legislation, (says Bancroft,) Andros, the governor, was left to his own conscience and his employer. He entered at once, upon the execution of all his powers.

Not content with jurisdiction in civil and military affairs, Governor Andros extended his supervision over the moral and religious conduct of the people. Some

* The grant, in terms, was as follows: "All that part of the main land of New England, beginning at a certain place called or known by the name of St. Croix, next adjoining to New Scotland, in America, and from thence extending along the seacoast, unto a certain place called Pemaquie, or Pemequid, and so up the river thereof, to the furthest head of the same, as it tendeth northward; extending from thence to the river of Kimbequin, and so upwards, by the shortest course, to the river of Canada, northward; and also all that island or islands commonly called by the several name or names of Meitiwacks, or Long Island, situate and being towards the west of Cape Cod, and the narrow Higansetts, abutting upon the main land between the two rivers, then called and known by the several names of Connecticut and Hudson's river, together also with all the said river called Hudson's river, and all the land from the west side of Connecticut river to the east side of Delaware bay, and also all those several islands called and known by the names of Martin's vineyard, or Nantucks, or otherwise Nantucket."

shallow enthusiasts in that day, as sometimes happens in the present, making loud professions of personal and exclusive righteousness, Andros, on the 15 Feb. 1675, issued a warrant for the arrest and imprisonment of one of them, named John Gerrits, "for pretending to extraordinary sanctity"—pretending that Christ abided in him, "and endeavouring to instil these notions into the minds of others, particularly some married women," &c. The next day, he issued a warrant to arrest another, named Peter Ellet, "for reporting that he had seen sights or visions over the city, or fort, to the great uneasiness of the public mind."

He next interfered in a religious dispute, which had sprung up at Albany. A Catholic clergyman, who had been recommended to Andros by the Duke of York, was by the governor stationed at Albany. The Dutch minister at that place disputed his right to administer the sacrament, as he had not the approval of the Classis of Amsterdam. A bitter controversy arose. The Albany magistrates, taking the part of their minister, imprisoned the catholic priest; whereupon Andros ordered his immediate release, and summoned the magistrates before him at New York. Warrants were issued against them, and Leisler, who afterwards figured in the history of the province, refusing to comply with the order, was thrust into prison. Finding, after a time, that he was beginning to lose ground in attempting to enforce an ecclesiastical jurisdiction, Andros finally gave over the further prosecution of this matter, and turned his attention to other portions of the territory claimed by the Duke.

He now required the submission of the inhabitants of Long Island, and of the whole country west of the

Connecticut river. The people of the eastern part of Long Island at first resisted his demand, but they finally submitted to his authority.

The people of Connecticut resolved to maintain their independence of the Duke of York, as their charter was of prior date to that of the Duke. Detachments of militia were therefore ordered to New-London and Saybrook, the troops at Saybrook being placed under the command of Capt. Thomas Bull, of Hartford.

Early in July, 1675, the people of Saybrook were surprised by the appearance of Major Andros, with an armed force, in the Sound, making directly for the fort. They had received no intelligence of the hostile expedition of Andros, and having no instructions from the governor, were undecided what course to take, when at a critical juncture Capt. Bull with his company arrived, and preparations were at once made for the defence of the fort and town. The assembly met at Hartford on the 9th of July, and immediately drew up a protest against the proceedings of Andros, which they sent by express to Saybrook, with instructions to Capt. Bull to propose to Andros a reference of the dispute to commissioners.

On the 11th, Major Andros, with several armed sloops drew up before the fort, hoisted the king's flag on board, and demanded a surrender of the fortress and town. Captain Bull immediately raised his majesty's colors in the fort, and arranged his men in the best manner possible. The major did not like to fire on the king's colors, and perceiving that, should he attempt to reduce the town by force, it would in all likelihood be a bloody affair, he judged it expedient not to fire upon the troops.

Early in the morning of the 12th of July, Andros desired that he might have permission to land on the shore, for the purpose of an interview with the ministers and chief officers of the town. He probably flattered himself that if he could obtain a foothold upon the soil, and then read the Duke's patent, and his own commission, to the people, it would make a serious impression upon them, and that he would be able to gain by artifice that which he could never accomplish by force of arms. He was allowed to come on shore with his suite. Captain Bull and his officers, with the officers and gentlemen of the town, met him at his landing, and informed him that they had, at that instant, received instructions to tender him a treaty, and to refer the whole matter in controversy to commissioners, capable of determining it, according to law and justice. Major Andros rejected the proposal at once, and forthwith commanded, in his majesty's name, that the Duke's patent, and the commission which he had received from his royal highness, should be read. Captain Bull, comprehending at once the artifice of Andros, commanded him, in his majesty's name, to forbear the reading. And when his clerk attempted to persist in reading, Captain Bull repeated his command, with such energy of voice and manner, as convinced the Major that it might not be altogether safe for him to proceed.

The Yankee captain, having succeeded in silencing the valiant representative of the Duke, next informed him that he had a communication to deliver from the assembly, and he then read the protest. Governor Andros, affecting to be well pleased with the bold and soldier-like appearance of his opponent, asked, "What is your

name?" He replied, "My name is Bull, Sir." "Bull!" exclaimed the governor, "It is a pity that your horns are not tipped with silver." Finding that he could make no impression upon the officers or people, and that the legislature of the colony were determined to defend themselves, in the possession of their chartered rights, Andros prudently gave up his design of seizing the fort. The militia of the town courteously guarded him to his boat, and going on board, he soon sailed for New York, and Connecticut was no more troubled by his presence, or interference, until after the accession of James the Second.

Andros, acting in the spirit of his master, discouraged even the mention of an assembly, and proceeded to levy customs, and to establish ordinances, without the consent of the people. The Puritans of Long Island, however, were so unanimous in opposition, claiming a representation as an inalienable birthright, that Andros at length advised the Duke of York to concede to them legislative franchises. The reply of James, marks the spirit of the man: "I cannot (says he) but suspect assemblies would be of dangerous consequence, nothing being more known than the aptness of such bodies to assume to themselves many privileges, which prove destructive to, or very often disturb, the peace of government, when they are allowed." The people, however, continued to urge their right as British subjects to a representation, and in October, 1683, under Governor Dongan, the successor of Andros, after an unwearied struggle of thirty years, an assembly was convened, chosen by the people themselves, who until this time had been allowed no share in the government.

During the year 1680, Philip Carteret, as the deputy of Sir George Carteret, resumed the government of East Jersey. He was a popular chief magistrate. He encouraged a direct trade with England, unincumbered with the customs exacted by Andros at the port of New York. The commerce of New York was thus placed in jeopardy; and Andros, disregarding the patent of the Duke of York to Sir George, undertook to claim that the ships of New Jersey should pay tribute at New York. The people of Jersey resisted, and Carteret was imprisoned by order of Andros; but finally released by the verdict of a jury. Andros then attempted to intimidate the government of New Jersey, by the royal patent to the Duke. But the firmness of the legislature preserved her independence. While this controversy was going on, Andros had been to England and returned. The rights of New Jersey had been confirmed by the English tribunals; and New York, presenting for the time the rare spectacle of free trade, as a consequence was left without a revenue. Andros returned to England, in May, 1682, and was succeeded in the government of New York by Thomas Dongan, in September of the same year.*

The Duke of York succeeded to the throne in Feb. 1685, under the title of James the Second; and on the 3d June, 1686, appointed Sir Edmund Andros, who had been knighted on his return from New York, as Governor of all the New England colonies, excepting Connecticut. Chalmers says, "there was a great new seal appoint-

* Though Colonel Dongan was appointed to the government of New York on the 30th Sept. 1682, he did not arrive in New York until the 27th August, 1683.—Smith, i. 66, ed. 1829.

ed for New England, under the administration of Andros, which was honored with a remarkable motto: *Nunquam libertas gratior extat.*" Hume, speaking of the colonies, says, "King James recalled the charters, by which their liberties were secured; and he sent over governors vested with absolute powers."

Governor Andros arrived at Nantasket on the 19th December, 1686, in the Kingfisher 50 gun ship, landed at Boston on the 20th, and the same day published his commission.* "He was received," says Chalmers, "with a satisfaction in proportion only as he was less dreaded than Kirke."† Andros held his first Council on the 30th December, and commenced with fair professions; but soon violated them, and proved himself a fit and willing instrument of tyranny. He evidently entered upon the discharge of the duties of his office with a strong prejudice against the people of Massachusetts, and exhibited his arbitrary temper by removing from office the magistrates under the old charter, and overturning most of the institutions of the first settlers of New England.

The last records of the State, under the old charter, appear to be of May 12th, 1686. Such was the rigor of his government, that the people were universally dissatisfied. They despised him and his confidential associates. So sensible was he of this, that, by some means at this day unknown, he or his Secretary Randolph, des-

* The Commission to Andros is published, from an authentic copy, in Force's Tracts, vol. IV. No. 8.

† Colonel Kirke, afterwards so infamously distinguished by the cruelties which he practised upon the adherents of the ill-fated Duke of Monmouth, had actually been appointed in June, 1684, by Charles II., as Governor of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, and New Plymouth; but the death of the King annulled the appointment.

troyed or carried away all the records of his administration, and there is now no trace of them, or even a single paper relative thereto, left in the office of the Secretary of State at Boston.

Andros was authorized by his commission, to appoint and remove the members of his council; and with their consent, to make laws, impose taxes, and control the militia of the country. He was also empowered to grant lands on such terms, and subject to such quit-rents, as should be approved by the King. The council at first consisted of forty or more persons, but after a short time a few only acted with the governor, and seven being sufficient for a board, he took care to select such as were likely to prove themselves his most devoted adherents.

A series of despotic measures ensued. The press was placed under the censorship of his secretary and instrument, the notorious Randolph. Personal liberty was disregarded, and none were permitted to leave the province without license from the governor. Magistrates alone were permitted to solemnize marriages, and marriages were not allowed, until bonds with sureties were executed to the governor, to be forfeited if any lawful impediment should afterwards appear. Enormous exactions were made in the shape of fees, particularly in matters of probate. The people were only allowed to vote for municipal officers; and the vote by ballot was abolished. And when the people of Lynn remonstrated, Andros told them plainly, "There is no such thing as a town in the whole country." He gave out that all titles to land were annulled; and when Indian deeds were produced, he declared them to be "no better than the scratch of a bear's paw." Landholders were obliged again

to pay for lands which they had quietly held for forty or fifty years. A tax of a penny in the pound and a poll-tax of twenty pence was laid. The towns generally resisted its payment, and the people of Ipswich published a protest against the exaction, as being contrary to law, for which the most conspicuous amongst them were imprisoned, and fined, one of whom was the intrepid John Wise, the minister of the town, who was suspended from his ministerial functions, fined £50, and compelled to give bonds for good behavior.*

The first episcopal society in Boston had been formed in June, 1686, by Edward Randolph and ten others, and they had obtained permission to use a room in the town hall for public worship. When Andros arrived, he determined to obtain, by favor or force, a more suitable place. The archbishop of Canterbury had suggested that one of the congregational meeting-houses might be obtained for episcopalian worship, by way of compromise with the clergy of that sect, in exchange for liberty of conscience. But when this proposition was made known to the Boston clergy, they answered with one voice, that they "could not consent that any of their meeting-houses should be used for Common Prayer worship." They also refused to have their bells tolled for episcopal meet-

* Andros, returning from an expedition into Maine, in March, 1689, calling upon Rev. Mr. Higginson of Salem, inquired by "what title the colonists presumed to hold their lands?" Higginson replied, "by the rights of occupation and of purchase from the natives." Andros said "the lands were the King's, because he had given them only by a charter, which the colonists had violated, and thus forfeited." Higginson added, that "the King himself had no other than a Popish right to New England, but that protestants denied the validity of such a grant." Andros, at length, growing warm, said "Either you are his subjects, or his rebels!"—intimating that if the people would not take out new patents and pay rents, they should be treated as rebels. Felt's Annals, 290.

ings. On the evening of December 22, Mr. Mather and Mr. Willard waited on the governor at his lodgings, and "thoroughly discoursed his excellency about the meeting-houses, in great plainness, showing they could not consent to his demands." The governor, either from an unwillingness to wound their feelings too rudely, or from a fear of displaying his power too suddenly, seemed to say that he would not impose upon them what was manifestly so disagreeable. And so the matter was suffered to rest, but for a short time only. On the 23d of March, 1687, the governor sent Mr. Randolph for the keys of the south meeting house, now called the Old South, in order that the Episcopalians might have prayer there. A committee of six, of whom Chief Justice Sewall was one, thereupon waited upon his Excellency, and earnestly represented to him that the house was their own private property, and to repeat that they could not consent to part with it to such use as had been required. This was on Wednesday. The following Friday, which was Good Friday, Sir Edmund Andros sent to command the sexton of the South Church to open the doors and ring the bell, for the service of the Church of England. The sexton, though he had resolved not to do so, was persuaded or intimidated into compliance, and the Governor and his party took possession of the house, where the episcopal service was afterwards regularly performed until he left the province.*

In relation to this matter, which excited so much feeling among the people of Boston at the time, it may be said, that if Andros had never done any thing worse than introduce the Episcopal mode of worship,

* Greenwood's Hist. King's Chapel, Boston, p. 38.

his name would not have been covered with so much obloquy. The Puritans of 1686, had as little charity for their christian brethren of the Church of England, as they had previously shewn for the Baptists and Quakers. Hutchinson mentions that this feeling was carried so far, that a deacon of the South Church actually interfered and prevented the burial of one Lilly, according to the form prescribed in the burial service of the Church. What would have been the reflections of the worthy deacon, could he have foreseen, that in less than a century, his own Church would be indebted to the liberality of King's Chapel for the privilege of worship? While the British, in the Revolutionary War, made use of the Old South for a riding school, or circus, the South congregation were received with welcome at King's Chapel, and mingled with their Episcopalian brethren in worship at that sanctuary.

On the 12th January, 1687, Andros published his commission at Providence, dissolved the government of Rhode Island, broke its seal, and assumed the administration.

The colony of Connecticut, as has already been stated, was not originally included in Andros's commission. Supplementary instructions were, however, issued by the King, under date of the 13th September, and on the 22d of December, Governor Andros wrote to Governor Treat, of Connecticut, that he was "particularly empowered and authorized to receive the surrender of the charter" of that colony.

Connecticut for some time evaded his demands. But on the 13th June, 1687, he sent his Secretary, Randolph, to Connecticut, with a threatening message, which that

government disregarding, Andros, with his suite, and some sixty regular troops, repaired in October to Hartford, where the assembly was then in session. Appearing before that body, Governor Andros declared the government to be dissolved, and demanded the surrender of the charter. The assembly was slow to surrender the charter, or to adopt any motion to bring it about. The tradition is, that Governor Treat represented the great expense and hardships of the colonists, in planting the country; the blood and treasure which they had expended in defending it, both against the savages and foreigners; the hardships and dangers to which he himself had been exposed for that purpose; and that it was giving up his life, to surrender the patent and privileges so dearly bought, and so long enjoyed. The important affair was debated at large, and kept in suspense until the shades of evening had descended, when the charter was brought, and laid upon the table, where the assembly was sitting. By this time, great numbers of people, sufficiently bold to undertake whatever enterprise might be necessary or expedient, were assembled. The lights were all at once extinguished, though no disorder or confusion prevailed; and when re-lighted, the charter had disappeared. William Wadsworth, of Hartford, stealing noiselessly through the crowd, had taken away the cherished patent, which he concealed in the hollow of an oak, which is yet standing to confirm the tale. Sir Edmund assumed the government, on the 31st October, 1687, and calling for the records of the colony, wrote the word "FINIS," at the close of the proceedings.

Returning to Boston, Governor Andros continued his course of arbitrary measures there, and directed the ra-

pacity of his Secretary to the settlements in Maine; but that territory had already been subjected to official pillage. In the spring of 1688, Andros, at the head of a body of seven hundred men, proceeded to the Penobscot, against the Eastern Indians, who retired on his approach, and his only trophy was the plunder of the house and fort of the Baron de St. Castine.*

In March, 1688, a new commission was issued by the King, adding New York and the Jerseys to the jurisdiction of Andros, and on the twenty-eighth of July, the order to Governor Dongan, of New York, to deliver up the seal of the province to Andros, was read in the provincial council, and placed upon the records. But an important change in the affairs of England and her colonies was near at hand.

In addition to the real grievances under which the people of New England labored, their fears were excited. They believed Andros to be a papist; that he had hired the Indians, and supplied them with ammunition, to destroy their frontier settlements; and that he was preparing to betray the country into the hands of the French.† At the same time, the large strides that King

* In the summer of 1841, a quantity of silver coins, of different denominations, and varying in date from 1641 to 1682, was found at Johnson's point, near the site of the old fort, and residence of the Baron Castine, supposed to have been deposited by him and his followers near the time when his settlement was destroyed.

† "Revolution in New England Justified," pages 29, 40. Justice to Sir Edmund Andros requires it to be stated in reply to the allegations in "Revolution in New England Justified," that he sent a letter to the Justices of the Court of New Hampshire, concerning trading with the Indians, whereupon it was, probably in pursuance of the instructions contained in it, at a private or special session, holden on the 28 January, 1688-9, by his Majesty's Justices, "Ordered, that no person within this Province (of New Hampshire) presume to trade with, furnish, or supply, any Indian or Indians (particularly those of Penniçook) with any ammunition, instruments of war, goods, provisions, or

James the Second had been making towards the establishment of popery and despotism, excited the most terrible apprehensions.

The news of the landing of the Prince of Orange in England, reached Boston on the 4th of April, 1689. Andros was so excited with alarm at the news, that he imprisoned the messenger, (John Winslow,*) who brought a copy of the Prince's declaration to Boston, and published a proclamation commanding all persons to be in readiness to oppose "any invasion from Holland," which proclamation was utterly disregarded.

The patience of the people had long since been exhausted. They now resolved upon striking a decisive blow. On the morning of the 18th of April, the town of Boston was in arms, and the people from the country poured in, to the assistance of the capital. The insurrection was general. The citizens were unanimous in their determination to overthrow the existing government. Early in the morning, the boys were seen running along the streets of Boston, armed with clubs, encouraging one another to fight by the sides of their fathers, who were gathered in arms in various parts of the city. The captain of the Rose frigate was one of the first seized and confined, and the arrest of others followed. The drums began to beat a general summons to the multitude to gather near the fort, when Andros sent a messenger re-

any thing whatsoever. And whosoever can give any information of any person or persons that have already supplied and furnished the said Indians with ammunition, or instruments of war, they are desired forthwith to give notice thereof to the next Justice of the Peace, that they may be secured, and proceeded against with all severity." Records of the Court of Quarter Sessions, held at Great Island, New Hampshire, in 1688-9.

* See p. 133, of this volume.

questing four of the ministers to come to him at the fort, to act as mediators between him and the people. The ministers did not consider it safe to do so, and declined. By this time the multitude had secured all the obnoxious persons about town, and Andros was summoned to surrender.* The frigate, now commanded by its lieutenant, made preparations for battle, but the commander, who was in custody, sent him word to forbear, as all who had been arrested would be put to death, should he fire upon the people. Andros now endeavoured to escape on board the frigate, but his retreat had already been cut off by the multitude, who were approaching on both sides of the fort. The lower battery was deserted by the regulars, who fled up the hill into the fort; and such was their panic at the appearance of the multitude before them, that, though the cannons were charged with grape, they did not fire a gun. The people marched up to the mouths of the cannon. Capt. John Nelson, a merchant of Boston, entered the fort, and made the second demand for Andros to surrender. Sir Edmund, finding resistance useless, surrendered to Capt. Nelson, and was conducted under guard to the house of John Usher. Here he remained for a short time, until the people began to clamor for his imprisonment in a place of greater security. Nothing would satisfy them but binding the Governor with cords, and carrying him to a safe place. Capt. Daniel Fisher, of Dedham, whose father had suffered great indignity from Andros, was soon seen among the crowd, leading the pale and trembling Sir Edmund by the collar of his coat, from the house of Usher, back to Fort Hill. The revolution was complete. A declaration, defending

* See pp. 385—387, of this volume.

the insurrection, was publicly read; the old magistrates were reinstated as a Council of Safety; and the venerable Governor Bradstreet was made their president. On the 29th May, William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen at Boston.*

Andros and his accomplices, in the meantime, remained in confinement, until the pleasure of the king and queen could be made known. Andros on one occasion managed to elude the vigilance of his keepers, and escaped, but was soon after taken in Rhode Island, and again conducted to prison.† On the 30th of July, William III. issued an order for the immediate conveyance of Andros, Randolph and others to England, "to answer what may be objected against them." The order was not received until near the close of the year, and in February, 1690, they were sent home to England.

In considering their case, the king was placed in an awkward dilemma. If he condemned the conduct of Andros, and sanctioned the proceedings of the colonists, it might be used as an argument and precedent in favor of future insurrections. On the other hand, to approve the course of Andros, and censure the acts of the people, would be condemning the very same course which had produced the revolution in England, and elevated himself to the throne.‡ The case was therefore summarily disposed of. The colonists were confirmed in their

* See Byfield's "Account of the Late Revolution in New England;" and "Revolution in New England Justified." [Both these rare tracts are re-printed, from originals, in the 4th volume of Force's Tracts.] Compare also Hutchinson's Colony of Massachusetts Bay, 373—382, and Bancroft, ii. 447.

† Byfield, in his Account of the Revolution, says Andros attempted "to escape in women's apparel, and passed two guards, and was stopped at the third, being discovered by his shoes, not having changed them."

‡ See extracts from letter of Elisha Cooke, in Hutchinson's Colony of Mass. Bay, 394.

rights. Andros was released, and though generally regarded as a bad man and magistrate, he still contrived to retain a degree of influence at home.

In 1692, a little more than two years after his disgrace at Boston, he was appointed by William III. governor of the province of Virginia, in which office he remained until he was superseded by Nicholson, in 1698. Andros arrived in Virginia in Feb. 1692. Beverly, Burk, and other historians of that colony, represent him to have been actuated in his administration by a sound judgment and liberal policy—to have been exact, diligent and methodical in the management of business, and of great public generosity. Beverly says he was "a great encourager of manufactures. He also gave particular marks of favor towards the propagation of cotton, afterwards so much neglected. He was a great lover of method—caused all the loose and torn records in the public offices, which were of any value, to be transcribed into new books—took measures for their preservation, and for reducing them to such order that they could at once be referred to. The public offices were burnt in October, 1698, just before his term of office expired, but the papers were saved. By great diligence, he got them all properly arranged before he left the government. He made offers to rebuild the public edifice at his own expense in part, and would have done so, had he not been superseded."* Whether Andros, in his last government in America, found a people in spirit more congenial with his own, or, what is more probable, had learned wisdom from misfortune, it is certain that few governors of Virginia were more generally beloved. He returned to

* Beverly, sec. 142, p. 90. Burk, ii. 316.

England in 1699, was governor of the Island of Guernsey, from 1704 to 1706, and died in London in February, 1714, Douglas says, "at a very advanced age." He was 82, at the time of his death. His wife died at Boston, according to Sewall, in February, 1688.*

History has done no more than justice to Andros, in stamping him with the character of a tyrant. Oldmixon, in 1741, said he "was a man of as mean a character as fortune," and that it was a matter of amazement that such a man should have been continued in office after the revolution. Smith, the historian of New York, says of Andros, that "he knew no law but the will of his master, and Kirke and Jeffries were not fitter instruments than he to execute the despotic projects of James II."

The family of Andros is one of the most ancient upon the Island, and descendants were living in Guernsey and Alderney, as late as 1798. John Andros, the ancestor of Governor Andros, was, from 1582 to 1607, one of the twelve jurats or judges, who, with the bailiff, composed the Royal Court of the Island—an office which continued in some of the family name down to as late a period as 1705. Amice Andros, the father of Sir Edmund, was bailiff of the Island from 1660 to his death, on the 7th April, 1674, æt. 64. In the inscription upon a mural

* There is something striking in the few words of Judge Sewall's description of what he witnessed at Lady Andros's funeral. "Between 4 and 5, Feb. 10th, I went to the funeral of the Lady Andros, having been invited by the clark of the South Company. Between 7 and 8, (lychns [torches] illuminating the cloudy air) the corpse was carried into the herse drawn by six horses, the soldiers making a guard from the governor's house down the Prison Lane to the South meeting-house; there taken out and carried in at the western door, and set in the alley before the pulpit, with six mourning women by it. House made light with candles and torches. There was a great noise and clamor to keep people out of the house, that they might not rush in too soon. I went home."—*MS.* Diary of Judge Sewall.

monument in the church of St. Martin's, Guernsey, over the remains of Amice Andros, Esq. he is styled "Seigneur of Sausmares and Jerbourg, Hereditary Steward of the Island, Lieutenant of Ceremonies in the Courts of Charles I. and II., Judge of the Royal Court of Guernsey, and Major General of the Forces of the Isle," &c. After his death, the office of bailiff was filled by his son, Edmund Andros, until his departure for New York, in August, 1674. The Seigniory or Lordship of Sausmares, is of Norman origin and great antiquity in the Island. The fief became vested in the family of Andros, by intermarriages with that of Sausmares.

The fief or manor of Anneville, granted by Henry VIII., to Nicholas Fachin, remained for some time in that family, and then descended to that of Andros, who possessed it in 1675. It consisted of some 27 farms and tenants.

The late major general Brock, of the British army, who fell in the battle of Queenstown, U. C. 13th Oct. 1812, was a descendant of the Andros family.

END OF VOLUME FIRST.

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