



Of Plymouth Plantation

By William Bradford

Edited by Leslie Reid

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Editor's Note

Reading seventeenth-century early modern English is daunting, and this is my attempt to render my ancestor William Bradford's manuscript as easy to read as possible.

I transcribed his handwriting using the State Library of Massachusetts' online and printed facsimiles of the original manuscript. I cross-referenced questionable words with The Project Gutenberg transcription and edits by Samuel Eliot Morison (1952), Caleb Johnson (2006), and The Colonial Society of Massachusetts (2020).

My editing choices include modernizing the spelling and punctuation, shortening the paragraphs, and spelling out abbreviations. Except for dates, Bible verses, and most monetary values, I spelled out numbers of two words or less and used ordinals when appropriate. While Bradford denoted pounds, both monetary and weight, with "li" (*libra*), I used the British pound sign for money and spelled out pounds for weight.

Everything in parentheses is from Bradford. He frequently used parenthetical phrases, which I italicized simply to keep me engaged as a reader. He also wrote side notes in his manuscript. I used parentheses within the text body for the side notes that referred to his own passages. For those

that referred to passages written by others, I used footnotes.

Everything in brackets is mine. I placed them within the text to define archaic and obscure words, translate foreign phrases, and insert words for better comprehension.

I transcribed Bradford's manuscript because I learn better by writing than reading. I'm sharing my work with the hope that others might find it helpful.

Acknowledgments

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Thank you to Melony Carey for the Latin translations. She taught Latin at my high school, and if I had known I would be contacting her for help all these years later, I would have taken Latin instead of German.

I'm indebted to several anonymous Dutch redditors for the Dutch translation, which was trickier because one or more words are no longer in use.

Thank you to my mom, Sherry Thompson Crow, for her love of family history, for discovering our Mayflower lineages to Bradford, Howland, Tilley, and Warren, and for helping me proofread.

Finally, thank you to my husband, Bill, for his patience while I worked on this project. He happens to descend from Brewster and Doty, and on most days, he had the forbearance of the former.

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Of Plymouth Plantation



And first of the occasion and inducements thereunto, the which that I may truly unfold, I must begin at the very root and rise of the same. The which I shall endeavor to manifest in a plain style with singular regard unto the simple truth in all things, at least as near as my slender judgment can attain the same.

1 Chapter



It is well known unto the godly and judicious how ever since the first breaking out of the light of the gospel in our honorable nation of England (*which was the first of nations whom the Lord adorned therewith after that gross darkness of popery which had covered and overspread the Christian world*), what wars and oppositions ever since Satan hath raised, maintained, and continued against the saints from time to time in one sort or other. Sometimes by bloody death and cruel torments; other whiles imprisonments, banishments, and other hard usages, as being loath his kingdom should go down, the truth prevail, and the churches of God revert to their ancient purity and recover their primitive order, liberty, and beauty.

But when he could not prevail by these means against the main truths of the gospel but that they began to take rooting in many places, being watered with the blood of the martyrs and blessed from heaven with a gracious increase, he then began to take him to his ancient stratagems used of old against the first Christians. That when by the bloody and barbarous persecutions of the heathen emperors, he could not stop and subvert the course of the gospel but that it speedily overspread with a wonderful celerity [speed] the then best-known parts of the world, he then began to sow errors, heresies, and wonderful dissensions amongst the professors [those who openly profess] themselves (*working upon their pride and ambition, with other corrupt passions incident to all mortal men; yea, to the saints themselves, in some measure*).

By which woeful effects followed, as not only bitter contentions and heart-burnings, schisms, with other horrible confusions, but Satan took occasion and advantage thereby to foist in a number of vile ceremonies with many unprofitable canons and decrees which have since been as snares to many poor and peaceable souls even to this day.

So as in the ancient times, the persecutions by the heathen and their emperors was not greater than [that] of the Christians one against other, the Ariens and other their complices against the orthodox and true Christians, as witnesseth

Socrates [of Constantinople] in his second book. His words are these: The violence truly (*saith he*) was no less than that of old, practiced towards the Christians when they were compelled and drawn to sacrifice to idols. For many endured sundry [several] kinds of torment, often rackings [pulling apart by the limbs] and dismembering of their joints, confiscating of their goods, some bereaved of their native soil, others departed this life under the hands of the tormentor, and some died in banishment and never saw their country again, etc.

The like [same] method Satan hath seemed to hold in these later times since the truth began to spring and spread after the great defection made by Antichrist, that man of sin. For to let pass the infinite examples in sundry [several] nations and several places of the world and instance in our own, when as that old serpent could not prevail by those fiery flames and other his cruel tragedies, which he (*by his instruments*) put in ure [practice] everywhere in the days of Queen Mary and before, he then began another kind of war and went more closely to work not only to oppugn [attack] but even to ruinate and destroy the kingdom of Christ by more secret and subtle means by kindling the flames of contention and sowing the seeds of discord and bitter enmity amongst the professors [those who openly profess] (*and seeming reformed*) themselves.

For when he could not prevail (*by the former means*) against the principal doctrines of faith, he bent his force against the holy discipline and outward regiment of the kingdom of Christ by which those holy doctrines should be conserved and true piety maintained amongst the saints and people of God.

Mr. [John] Foxe recordeth how that besides those worthy martyrs and confessors which were burned in Queen Mary's days and otherwise tormented, many (*both students and others*) fled out of the land to the number of eight hundred and became several congregations at Wesel, Frankfort, Basel, Emden, Marksburg, Strasbourg, and Geneva, etc. Amongst whom (*but especially those at Frankfort*) began that bitter war of contention and persecution about the ceremonies and service book and other popish and anti-Christian stuff, the plague of England to this day (*which are like the high places in Israel which the prophets cried out against and were their ruin*), which the better part sought (*according to the purity of the gospel*) to root out and utterly to abandon. And the other part (*under veiled pretenses*), for their own ends and advancements, sought as stiffly to continue, maintain, and defend, as appeareth by the discourse thereof published in print, Anno 1575 (*a book that deserves better to be known and considered*).

The one side labored to have the right worship of God and discipline of Christ established in the

church according to the simplicity of the gospel, without the mixture of men's inventions, and to have and to be ruled by the laws of God's Word, dispensed in those offices and by those officers of pastors, teachers, and elders, etc., according to the Scriptures.

The other party (*though under many colors and pretenses*) endeavored to have the episcopal dignity (*after the popish manner*) with their large power and jurisdiction still retained, with all those courts, canons, and ceremonies together with all such livings, revenues, and subordinate officers, with other such means as formerly upheld their anti-Christian greatness and enabled them with lordly and tyrannous power to persecute the poor servants of God.

This contention was so great as neither the honor of God, the common persecution, nor the mediation of Mr. Calvin and other worthies of the Lord in those places could prevail with those thus episcopally-minded. But they proceeded by all means to disturb the peace of this poor persecuted church, even so far as to charge (*very unjustly and ungodly, yet prelate-like*) some of their chief opposers with rebellion and high treason against the emperor and other such crimes.

And this contention died not with Queen Mary nor was left beyond the seas. But at her death, these people returning into England under

gracious Queen Elizabeth [and] many of them being preferred to bishoprics and other promotions according to their aims and desires, that inveterate hatred against the holy discipline of Christ in His church hath continued to this day. Insomuch that for fear it should prevail, all plots and devices have been used to keep it out, incensing the queen and state against it as dangerous for the commonwealth and that it was most needful that the fundamental points of religion should be preached in those ignorant and superstitious times, and [that] to win the weak and ignorant, they might retain divers [several] harmless ceremonies. And though it were to be wished that divers [several] things were reformed, yet this was not a season for it.

And many the like [same], to stop the mouths of the more godly to bring them over to yield to one ceremony after another and one corruption after another, by these wiles beguiling some and corrupting others, till at length, they began to persecute all the zealous professors [those who openly profess] in the land (*though they knew little what this discipline meant*) both by word and deed if they would not submit to their ceremonies and become slaves to them and their popish trash, which have no ground in the Word of God but are relics of that man of sin.

And the more the light of the gospel grew, the more they urged their subscriptions to these corruptions. So as (*notwithstanding all their*

former pretenses and fair colors) they, whose eyes God had not justly blinded, might easily see whereto these things tended. And to cast contempt the more upon the sincere servants of God, they opprobriously and most injuriously gave unto and imposed upon them that name of Puritans, which is said the Novatians, out of pride, did assume and take unto themselves.

And lamentable it is to see the effects which have followed. Religion hath been disgraced, the godly grieved, afflicted, persecuted, and many exiled. Sundry [several] have lost their lives in prisons and other ways. On the other hand, sin hath been countenanced; ignorance, profaneness, and atheism increased, and the papists encouraged to hope again for a day.

This made that holy man Mr. [William] Perkins cry out in his exhortation to repentance upon Zephaniah 2: Religion (*saith he*) hath been amongst us this thirty-five years, but the more it is published, the more it is contemned [treated with contempt] and reproached of many, etc. Thus, not profaneness nor wickedness but religion itself is a byword, a mockingstock [object of ridicule], and a matter of reproach.

So that in England, at this day, the man or woman that begins to profess religion and to serve God must resolve with himself to sustain mocks and injuries even as though he lived amongst the

enemies of religion. And this, common experience hath confirmed and made too apparent.

[INSERTED—] A late observation, as it were, by the way, worthy to be noted.

Full little did I think that the downfall of the bishops, with their courts, canons, and ceremonies, etc., had been so near when I first began these scribbled writings (*which was about the year 1630 and so pieced up at times of leisure afterward*) or that I should have lived to have seen or heard of the same. But it is the Lord's doing and ought to be marvelous in our eyes!

Every plant which mine heavenly father hath not planted (*saith our Savior*) shall be rooted up. Matthew 15:13.

I have snared thee, and thou art taken, O Babel (*bishops*), and thou wast not aware: thou art found, and also caught, because thou hast striven against the Lord. Jeremiah 50:24.

But will they needs strive against the truth, against the servants of God; what, and against the Lord himself? Do they provoke the Lord to anger? Are they stronger than He? I Corinthians 10:22.

No, no, they have met with their match. Behold, I come unto thee, O proud man, saith the Lord God of hosts: for thy day is come, even the time that I will visit thee. Jeremiah 50:31.

May not the people of God now say (*and these poor people among the rest*): The Lord hath brought forth our righteousness: come, let us declare in Zion the work of the Lord our God. Jeremiah 51:10.

Let all flesh be still before the Lord: for He is raised up out of His holy place. Zachariah 2:13.

In this case, these poor people may say (*among the thousands of Israel*), When the Lord brought again the captivity of Zion, we were like them that dream. Psalm 126:1.

The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we rejoice. Verse 3.

They that sow in tears, shall reap in joy. They went weeping, and carried precious seed: but they shall return with joy, and bring their sheaves. Verses 5-6.

Do you not now see the fruits of your labors, O all the servants of the Lord that have suffered for His truth, and have been faithful witnesses of the same, and the little handful amongst the rest, the least amongst the thousands of Israel? You have not only had a seed time, but many of you have seen the joyful harvest; should you not then rejoice, yea, and again rejoice, and say Hallelujah, salvation, and glory, and honor, and power be to the Lord our God. For true and righteous are his judgments. Revelation 19:1-2.

But thou wilt ask what is the matter? What is done? Why, art thou a stranger in Israel, that thou shouldest not know what is done? Are not those Jebusites overcome that have vexed the people of Israel so long, even holding Jerusalem till David's days and been as thorns in their sides so many ages, and now began to scorn that any David should meddle with them? They began to fortify their tower as that of the old Babylonians, but those proud Anakims are thrown down, and their glory laid in the dust.

The tyrannous bishops are ejected, their courts dissolved, their canons forceless, their service cashiered, their ceremonies useless and despised, their plots for popery prevented, and all their superstitions discarded and returned to Rome from whence they came, and the monuments of idolatry rooted out of the land. And the proud and profane supporters and cruel defenders of these (*as bloody papists and wicked atheists and their malignant consorts*) [are] marvelously overthrown. And are not these great things? Who can deny it?

But who hath done it? Who, even He that sitteth on the white horse, who is called faithful and true, and judgeth and fighteth righteously. Revelation 19:11.

Whose garments are dipped in blood and His name was called the Word of God. Verse 13.

For He shall rule them with a rod of iron, for it is He that treadeth the winepress of the fierceness and wrath of God Almighty. And He hath upon his garment, and upon his thigh, a name written, The King of Kings and Lord of Lords. Verses 15-16. Anno Dom: 1646. Hallelujah. —

But that I may come more near my intendment.

When as by the travail and diligence of some godly and zealous preachers and God's blessing on their labors, as in other places of the land, so in the north parts, many became enlightened by the Word of God and had their ignorance and sins discovered [revealed] unto them and began by His grace to reform their lives and make conscience of their ways. The work of God [was] no sooner manifest in them, but presently, they were both scoffed and scorned by the profane multitude, and the ministers urged with the yoke of subscription or else must be silenced.

And the poor people were so vexed with apparitors [court officers] and pursuants [prosecutors] and the commissary courts, as truly their affliction was not small. Which notwithstanding, they bore sundry [several] years with much patience till they were occasioned (*by the continuance and increase of these troubles and other means which the Lord raised up in those days*) to see further into things by the light of the Word of God.

How not only these base and beggarly ceremonies were unlawful, but also that the lordly and tyrannous power of the prelates [bishops] ought not to be submitted unto, which thus (*contrary to the freedom of the gospel*) would load and burden men's consciences and, by their compulsive power, make a profane mixture of persons and things in the worship of God. And that their offices and callings, courts and canons, etc., were unlawful and anti-Christian, being such as have no warrant in the Word of God but the same that were used in popery and still retained.

Of which a famous author thus writeth in his Dutch commentaries at the coming of King James into England: The new king (*saith he*) found there established the reformed religion according to the reformed religion of King Edward the VI, retaining or keeping still the spiritual state of the bishops, etc., after the old manner, much varying and differing from the reformed churches in Scotland, France, and the Netherlands, Emden, Geneva, etc., whose reformation is cut or shaped much nearer the first Christian churches, as it was used in the apostles' times.

So many therefore (*of these professors [those who openly profess]*) as saw the evil of these things (*in these parts*) and whose hearts the Lord had touched with heavenly zeal for His truth, they shook off this yoke of anti-Christian bondage and, as the Lord's free people, joined themselves (*by a covenant of the Lord*) into a church estate in the

fellowship of the gospel to walk in all His ways made known or to be made known unto them (*according to their best endeavors*), whatsoever it should cost them, the Lord assisting them. And that it cost them something, this ensuing history will declare.

These people became two distinct bodies or churches and, in regard of distance of place, did congregate severally, for they were of sundry [several] towns and villages, some in Nottinghamshire, some of Lincolnshire, and some of Yorkshire where they border nearest together. In one of these churches (*besides others of note*) was Mr. John Smyth, a man of able gifts and a good preacher, who afterwards was chosen their pastor. But these, afterwards falling into some errors in the Low Countries [the Netherlands], there (*for the most part*), buried themselves and their names.

But in this other church (*which must be the subject of our discourse*), besides other worthy men, was Mr. Richard Clyfton, a grave and revered preacher who, by his pains and diligence, had done much good and under God had been a means of the conversion of many. And also that famous and worthy man Mr. John Robinson, who afterwards was their pastor for many years till the Lord took him away by death. Also, Mr. William Brewster, a reverent man who afterwards was chosen an elder of the church and lived with them till old age.

But after these things, they could not long continue in any peaceable condition but were hunted and persecuted on every side. So as their former afflictions were but as flea-bitings in comparison of these which now came upon them. For some were taken and clapped up in prison. Others had their houses beset and watched night and day and hardly escaped their hands. And the most were fain to flee and leave their houses and habitations and the means of their livelihood. Yet these and many other sharper things which afterward befell [happened to] them were no other than they looked for and therefore were the better prepared to bear them by the assistance of God's grace and spirit.

Yet seeing themselves thus molested and that there was no hope of their continuance there, by a joint consent, they resolved to go into the Low Countries [the Netherlands], where they heard was freedom of religion for all men. As also how sundry [several] from London and other parts of the land had been exiled and persecuted for the same cause and were gone thither and lived at Amsterdam and in other places of the land.

So after they had continued together about a year and kept their meetings every Sabbath in one place or other, exercising the worship of God amongst themselves notwithstanding all the diligence and malice of their adversaries, they seeing they could no longer continue in that condition, they resolved to get over into Holland

as they could, which was in the year 1607 and 1608, of which more at large in the next chapter.

2 Chapter



Of their departure into Holland and their troubles thereabout, with some of the many difficulties they found and met withal

Anno 1608

Being thus constrained to leave their native soil and country, their lands and livings, and all their friends and familiar acquaintance, it was much and thought marvelous [overwhelming] by many. But to go into a country they knew not (*but by hearsay*), where they must learn a new language and get their livings they knew not how, it being a dear place and subject to the miseries of war, it was by many thought an adventure almost desperate, a case

intolerable, and a misery worse than death. Especially seeing they were not acquainted with trades nor traffic (*by which that country doth subsist*) but had only been used to a plain country life and the innocent trade of husbandry [farming]. But these things did not dismay them (*though they did sometimes trouble them*), for their desires were set on the ways of God and to enjoy His ordinances. But they rested on His providence and knew whom they had believed.

Yet this was not all. For though they could not stay, yet were they not suffered to go, but the ports and havens were shut against them so as they were fain to seek secret means of conveyance and to bribe and fee the mariners and give extraordinary rates for their passages. And yet were they oftentimes betrayed (*many of them*) and both they and their goods intercepted and surprised [overtaken] and thereby put to great trouble and charge, of which I will give an instance or two and omit the rest.

There was a large company of them purposed 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 they accordingly would all attend in readiness. So, after long waiting and large expenses (*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 there rifled and ransacked them, searching them to their shirts for money, yea, even the women funder [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 catchpole officers rifled and stripped of their money, books, and much other goods, they were presented to the magistrates, and messengers [were] sent to inform the lords of the council of them and so they were committed to ward [prison]. Indeed, the magistrates used [treated] them courteously and showed 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 were still kept in prison and bound over to the assizes [periodic court sessions].

The next spring after, there was another attempt made by some of these and others to get over at another place. And it so fell out that they light of [discovered] a Dutchman at Hull having a ship of his own belonging to Zeeland [a Dutch province]. 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 [public-use land] 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 [sailboat], 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, [they] prevailed with the seamen to put into a creek hard by [nearby], where they lay on ground at low water.

The next morning, the ship came, but they were fast [firmly beached] and could not stir [move] till about noon. In the meantime, the shipmaster (*perceiving how the matter was*) sent his boat to be getting the men aboard whom he saw ready, walking about the shore. But after the first boatful was got aboard and she was ready to go for more, the master espied a great company (*both horse and foot*) with bills [polearm weapons with hooked blades] and guns and other weapons (*for the country was raised to take them*). The Dutchman, seeing that, swore his country's oath sacrament and, having the wind fair, weighed his anchor, hoisted sails, and away.

But the poor men which were got aboard were in great distress for their wives and children which they saw thus to be taken and were left destitute of their helps. And themselves also not having a cloth to shift them with more than they had on their backs and some scarce a penny about them, all they had being aboard the bark [sailboat]. It drew tears from their eyes, and anything they had, they would have given to have been ashore again. But all in vain; there was no remedy.

They must thus sadly part and afterward endured a fearful storm at sea, being fourteen days or more before they arrived at their port, in seven whereof they neither saw sun, moon, nor stars and were driven near the coast of Norway, the mariners themselves often despairing of life. And once, with shrieks and cries, [they] gave over all as if the ship had been foundered in the sea and they [were] sinking without recovery.

But when man's hope and help wholly failed, the Lord's power and mercy appeared in their recovery, for the ship rose again and gave the mariners courage again to manage her. And if modesty would suffer me, I might declare with what fervent prayers they cried unto the Lord in this great distress (*especially some of them*) even without any great distraction when the water ran into their mouths and ears, and the mariners cried out, "We sink, we sink!" They cried (*if not with miraculous, yet with a great height or degree of divine faith*), "Yet Lord, thou canst save! Yet Lord,

thou canst save!" with such other expressions as I will forbear.

Upon which the ship did not only recover, but shortly after, the violence of the storm began to abate, and the Lord filled their afflicted minds with such comforts as everyone cannot understand and, in the end, brought them to their desired haven where the people came flocking, admiring their deliverance, the storm having been so long and sore [severe] in which much hurt had been done, as the master's friends related unto him in their congratulations.

But to return to the others where we left.

The rest of the men that were in greatest danger made shift to escape away before the troop could surprise [overtake] them, those only staying that best might to be assistant unto the women. But pitiful it was to see the heavy case of these poor women in this distress. What weeping and crying on every side, some for their husbands that were carried away in the ship, as is before related; others not knowing what should become of them and their little ones; others again melted in tears, seeing their poor little ones hanging about them, crying for fear and quaking with cold.

Being thus apprehended, they were hurried from one place to another and from one justice to another till, in the end, they knew not what to do with them. For to imprison so many women and

innocent children for no other cause (*many of them*) but that they must 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. For all were wearied and tired with them, though in the meantime, they (*poor souls*) endured misery enough. And thus, in the end, necessity forced a way for them.

But that I be not tedious in these things, I will omit the rest, though I might relate many other notable passages and troubles which they endured and underwent in these their wanderings and travels, both at land and sea. But I haste to other things. Yet I may not omit the fruit that came hereby. For by these so public troubles in so many eminent places, their cause became famous and occasioned many to look into the same, and their godly carriage and Christian behavior was such as left a deep impression in the minds of many.

And though some few shrunk at these first conflicts and sharp beginnings (*as it was no marvel*), yet many more came on with fresh courage and greatly animated others. And in the end, notwithstanding all these storms of

opposition, they all got over at length, some at one time and some at another, and some in one place and some in another, and met together again according to their desires, with no small rejoicing

3 Chapter



*Of their settling in Holland and their
manner of living and entertainment there*

Being now come into the Low Countries [The Netherlands], they saw many goodly and fortified cities strongly walled and guarded with troops of armed men. Also, they heard a strange and uncouth language and beheld the different manners and customs of the people with their strange fashions and attires, all so far differing from that of their plain country villages (*wherein they were bred and had so long lived*) as it seemed they were come into a new world. But these were not the things they much looked on or long took up their thoughts, for they had other work in hand and another kind of war to wage and maintain.

For though they saw fair and beautiful cities flowing with abundance of all sorts of wealth and riches, yet it was not long before they saw the grime and grisly face of poverty coming upon them like an armed man with whom they must buckle [prepare for action] and encounter and from whom they could not flee. But they were armed with faith and patience against him and all his encounters, and though they were sometimes foiled, yet by God's assistance, they prevailed and got the victory.

Now when Mr. Robinson, Mr. Brewster, and other principal members were come over (*for they were of the last and stayed to help the weakest over before them*), such things were thought on as were necessary for their settling and best ordering of the church affairs. And when they had lived at Amsterdam about a year, Mr. Robinson (*their pastor*) and some others of best discerning, seeing how Mr. John Smith and his company was already fallen into contention with the church that was there before them and no means they could use would do any good to cure the same and also that the flames of contention were likely to break out in that ancient church itself (*as afterwards lamentably came to pass*), which things they, prudently foreseeing, thought it was best to remove before they were any way engaged with the same, though they well knew it would be much to the prejudice of their outward estates,

both at present and in likelihood in the future, as indeed, it proved to be.

THEIR REMOVAL TO LEIDEN

For these and some other reasons, they removed to Leiden, a fair and beautiful city and of a sweet situation but made more famous by the university wherewith it is adorned, in which (*of late*) had been so many learned men. But wanting that traffic by [the] sea which Amsterdam enjoys, it was not so beneficial for their outward means of living and estates. But being now here pitched, they fell to such trades and employments as they best could, valuing peace and their spiritual comfort above any other riches whatsoever. And at length, they came to raise a competent and comfortable living but with hard and continual labor.

Being thus settled (*after many difficulties*), they continued many years in a comfortable condition, enjoying much sweet and delightful society and spiritual comfort together in the ways of God under the able ministry and prudent government of Mr. John Robinson and Mr. William Brewster, who was an assistant unto him in the place of an elder, unto which he was now called and chosen by the church. So as, they grew in knowledge and other gifts and graces of the spirit of God and lived together in peace and love and holiness.

And many came unto them from divers [various] parts of England so as they grew a great congregation. And if at any time any differences arose or offenses broke out (*as it cannot be but sometime there will, even amongst the best of men*), they were ever so met with and nipped in the head betimes [early] or otherwise so well composed as still love, peace and communion was continued. Or else the church [was] purged of those that were incurable and incorrigible when, after much patience used, no other means would serve, which seldom came to pass.

Yea, such was the mutual love and reciprocal respect that this worthy man had to his flock and his flock to him that it might be said of them, as it once was of that famous emperor Marcus Aurelius and the people of Rome, that it was hard to judge whether he delighted more in having such a people or they in having such a pastor. His love was great towards them, and his care was always bent for their best good, both for soul and body. For besides his singular abilities in divine things (*wherein he excelled*), he was also very able to give directions in civil affairs and to foresee dangers and inconveniences. By which means he was very helpful to their outward estates and so was every way as a common father unto them.

And none did more offend him than those that were close and cleaving to themselves and retired from the common good. As also, such as would be stiff and rigid in matters of outward order and

inveigh against the evils of others and yet be remiss in themselves and not so careful to express a virtuous conversation.

They, in like manner, had ever a reverent regard unto him and had him in precious estimation, as his worth and wisdom did deserve. And though they esteemed him highly whilst he lived and labored amongst them, yet much more after his death when they came to feel the want of his help and saw (*by woeful experience*) what a treasure they had lost, to the grief of their hearts and wounding of their souls. Yea, such a loss as they saw could not be repaired, for it was as hard for them to find such another leader and feeder in all respects as for the Taborites to find another Zizka. And though they did not call themselves orphans (*as the other did*) after his death, yet they had cause as much to lament (*in another regard*) their present condition and after usage.

But to return.

I know not but it may be spoken to the honor of God and without prejudice to any that such was the true piety, the humble zeal, and fervent love of this people (*whilst they thus lived together*) towards God and His ways and the single-heartedness and sincere affection one towards another, that they came as near the primitive pattern of the first churches as any other church of these later times have done, according to their rank and quality.

But seeing it is not my purpose to treat of the several passages that befell [happened to] this people whilst they thus lived in the Low Countries [The Netherlands] (*which might worthily require a large treatise of itself*) but to make way to show the beginning of this plantation, which is that I aim at, yet because some of their adversaries did (*upon the rumor of their removal*) cast out slanders against them as if that state [Holland] had been weary of them and had rather driven them out (*as the heathen historians did feign of Moses and the Israelites when they went out of Egypt*) than that it was their own free choice and motion, I will therefore mention a particular or two to show the contrary and the good acceptation they had in the place where they lived.

And first, though many of them were poor, yet there was none so poor but if they were known to be of that congregation, the Dutch (*either bakers or others*) would trust them in any reasonable matter when they wanted money because they had found by experience how careful they were to keep their word and saw them so painful and diligent in their callings. Yea, they would strive to get their custom [business] and to employ them above others in their work for their honesty and diligence.

Again, the magistrates of the city, about the time of their coming away or a little before, in the public place of justice, gave this commendable

testimony of them (*in the reproof of the Walloons, who were of the French church in that city*). These English (*said they*) have lived amongst us now this twelve years, and yet we never had any suit or accusation come against any of them, but your strifes and quarrels are continual, etc.

In these times also were the great troubles raised by the Arminians who, as they greatly molested the whole state, so this city in particular (*in which was the chief university*) so as there were daily and hot disputes in the schools thereabout. And as the students and other learned were divided in their opinions herein, so were the two professors or divinity readers themselves, the one daily teaching for it; the other against it. Which grew to that pass that few of the disciples of the one would hear the other teach.

But Mr. Robinson, though he taught thrice a week himself and wrote sundry [several] books besides his manifold pains otherwise, yet he went constantly to hear their readings and heard the one as well as the other. By which means he was so well grounded in the controversy and saw the force of all their arguments and knew the shifts of the adversary. And being himself very able, none was fitter to buckle [prepare for action] with them than himself, as appeared by sundry [several] disputes. So as he began to be terrible [a challenge] to the Arminians, which made Episcopius (*the Arminian professor*) to put forth

his best strength and set forth sundry [several] theses, which by public dispute he would defend against all men.

Now Poliander, the other professor, and the chief preachers of the city desired Mr. Robinson to dispute against him [Episcopius], but he was loath, being a stranger. Yet the other did importune [persistently beg] him and told him that such was the ability and nimbleness of the adversary that the truth would suffer if he did not help them. So as he condescended and prepared himself against the time, and when the day came, the Lord did so help him to defend the truth and foil this adversary, as he put him to an apparent nonplus [unsure what to say] in this great and public audience. And the like he did a second or third time upon such like occasions. The which, as it caused many to praise God that the truth had so famous victory, so it procured him much honor and respect from those learned men and others which loved the truth.

Yea, so far were they from being weary of him and his people or desiring their absence, as it was said by some (*of no mean [inferior] note*), that were it not for giving offense to the state of England, they would have preferred him otherwise, if he would, and allowed them some public favor. Yea, when there was speech of their removal into these parts, sundry [several] of note and eminency of that nation would have had

them come under them and, for that end, made them large offers.

Now, though I might allege many other particulars and examples of the like [same] kind to show the untruth and unlikelihood of this slander, yet these shall suffice, seeing it was believed of few, being only raised by the malice of some who labored their disgrace.

The 4 Chapter



Showing the reasons and causes of their removal

After they had lived in this city about some eleven or twelve years (*which is the more observable, being the whole time of that famous truce between that state and the Spaniards*) and sundry [several] of them were taken away by death, and many others began to be well-stricken in years (*the grave mistress of experience having taught them many things*), those prudent governors, with sundry [several] of the sagest members, began both deeply to apprehend their present dangers and wisely to foresee the future and think of timely remedy. In the agitation of their thoughts and much discourse of things hereabout, at length, they began to incline

to this conclusion of removal to some other place. Not out of any newfangledness or other such like giddy humor by which men are oftentimes transported to their great hurt and danger, but for sundry [several] weighty and solid reasons, some of the chief of which I will here briefly touch.

And first, they saw and found by experience the hardness of the place and country to be such as few in comparison would come to them and fewer that would bide it out and continue with them. For many that came to them and many more that desired to be with them could not endure that great labor and hard fare with other inconveniences which they underwent and were contented with. But though they loved their persons, approved their cause, and honored their sufferings, yet they left them, as it were, weeping as Orpah did her mother-in-law, Naomi, or as those Romans did Cato in Utica who desired to be excused and borne with, though they could not all be Catos.

For many, though they desired to enjoy the ordinances of God in their purity and the liberty of the gospel with them, yet (*alas*) they admitted of bondage with danger of conscience rather than to endure these hardships. Yea, some preferred and chose the prisons in England rather than this liberty in Holland with these afflictions. But it was thought that if a better and easier place of living could be had, it would draw many and take away these discouragements. Yea, their pastor

would often say that many of those who both wrote and preached now against them, if they were in a place where they might have liberty and live comfortably, they would then practice as they did.

Secondly, they saw that though the people generally bore all these difficulties very cheerfully and with a resolute courage being in the best and strength of their years, yet old age began to steal on many of them (*and their great and continual labors, with other crosses and sorrows, hastened it before the time*). So as it was not only probably thought but apparently seen that within a few years more, they would be in danger to scatter (*by necessities pressing them*) or sink under their burdens or both. And therefore, according to the divine proverb that a wise man seeth the plague when it cometh and hideth himself, Proverbs 22:3, so they, like skillful and beaten soldiers, were fearful either to be entrapped or surrounded by their enemies so as they should neither be able to fight nor flee. And therefore thought it better to dislodge betimes [early] to some place of better advantage and less danger if any such could be found.

Thirdly, as necessity was a taskmaster over them, so they were forced to be such not only to their servants but, in a sort, to their dearest children, the which as it did not a little wound the tender hearts of many a loving father and mother. So it produced likewise sundry [several] sad and

sorrowful effects. For many of their children that were of best dispositions and gracious inclinations (*having learned to bear the yoke in their youth*) and willing to bear part of their parents' burden were oftentimes so oppressed with their heavy labors that though their minds were free and willing, yet their bodies bowed under the weight of the same and became decrepit in their early youth, the vigor of nature being consumed in the very bud, as it were.

But that which was more lamentable and of all sorrows most heavy to be borne was that many of their children, by these occasions (*and the great licentiousness of youth in that country*) and the manifold temptations of the place, were drawn away by evil examples into extravagant and dangerous courses, getting the reins off their necks and departing from their parents. Some became soldiers, others took upon them far voyages by sea, and other[s] some worse courses tending to dissoluteness and the danger of their souls, to the great grief of their parents and dishonor of God, so that they saw their posterity would be in danger to degenerate and be corrupted.

Lastly (*and which was not least*), a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation (*or at least to make some way thereunto*) for the propagating and advancing the gospel of the kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world. Yea, though they should be but

even as stepping stones unto others for the performing of so great a work. These and some other like reasons moved them to undertake this resolution of their removal, the which they afterward prosecuted with so great difficulties, as by the sequel will appear.

The place they had thoughts on was some of those vast and unpeopled countries of America which are fruitful and fit for habitation, being devoid of all civil inhabitants, where there are only savage and brutish men which range up and down little otherwise than the wild beasts of the same. This proposition being made public and coming to the scanning of all, it raised many variable opinions amongst men and caused many fears and doubts amongst themselves.

Some, from their reasons and hopes conceived, labored to stir up and encourage the rest to undertake and prosecute the same. Others, again out of their fears, objected against it and sought to divert from it, alleging many things and those neither unreasonable nor unprobable, as that it was a great [considerable] design and subject to many unconceivable perils and dangers. As besides the casualties of the seas (*which none can be freed from*), the length of the voyage was such as the weak bodies of women and other persons worn out with age and travail (*as many of them were*) could never be able to endure.

And yet if they should, the miseries of the land which they should be exposed unto would be too hard to be borne and likely, some or all of them together, to consume and utterly to ruinate them. For there, they should be liable to famine and nakedness and the want in a manner of all things. The change of air, diet, and drinking of water would infect their bodies with sore [severe] sicknesses and grievous diseases.

And also, those which should escape or overcome these difficulties should yet be in continual danger of the savage people who are cruel, barbarous, and most treacherous, being most furious in their rage and merciless where they overcome. Not being content only to kill and take away life, but delight to torment men in the most bloody manner that may be, flaying some alive with the shells of fishes, cutting off the members and joints of others by piecemeal and, broiling on the coals, eat[ing] the collops of their flesh in their sight whilst they live, with other cruelties [too] horrible to be related. And surely it could not be thought but the very hearing of these things could not but move the very bowels of men to grate within them and make the weak to quake and tremble.

It was funder [further] objected that it would require greater sums of money to furnish such a voyage (*and to fit them with necessaries*) than their consumed estates would amount to, and yet they must as well look to be seconded with supplies as

presently to be transported. Also, many precedents of ill success and lamentable miseries befallen [having happened to] others in the like [same] designs were easy to be found and not forgotten to be alleged, besides their own experience in their former troubles and hardships in their removal into Holland and how hard a thing it was for them to live in that strange place, though it was a neighbor country and a civil and rich commonwealth.

It was answered that all great and honorable actions are accompanied with great difficulties and must be both enterprised [undertaken] and overcome with answerable courages. It was granted the dangers were great but not desperate. The difficulties were many but not invincible. For though there were many of them likely, yet they were not certain. It might be sundry [several] of the things feared might never befall [happen]. Others, by provident care and the use of good means, might, in a great measure, be prevented. And all of them (*through the help of God*), by fortitude and patience, might either be borne or overcome.

True it was that such attempts were not to be made and undertaken without good ground and reason, not rashly or lightly, as many have done for curiosity or hope of gain, etc. But their condition was not ordinary. Their ends were good and honorable, their calling lawful and urgent,

and therefore, they might expect the blessing of God in their proceeding.

Yea, though they should lose their lives in this action, yet might they have comfort in the same, and their endeavors would be honorable. They lived here but as men in exile and in a poor condition, and as great miseries might possibly befall [happen to] them in this place [Holland]. For the twelve years of truce were now out, and there was nothing but beating of drums and preparing for war, the events whereof are always uncertain. The Spaniard might prove as cruel as the savages of America. And the famine and pestilence as sore [severe] here as there and their liberty less to look out for remedy. After many other particular things answered and alleged on both sides, it was fully concluded by the major part to put this design in execution and to prosecute it by the best means they could.

The 5 Chapter



*Showing what means they used for
preparation to the weighty voyage*

And first, after their humble prayers unto God for his direction and assistance and a general conference held hereabout, they consulted what particular place to pitch upon and prepare for. Some (*and none of the meanest [least eminent]*) had thoughts and were earnest for Guiana or some of those fertile places in those hot climates. Others were for some parts of Virginia, where the English had already made entrance and beginning.

Those for Guiana alleged that the country was rich, fruitful, and blessed with a perpetual spring and a flourishing greenness where vigorous nature brought forth all things in abundance and

plenty without any great labor or art of man. So as it must needs make the inhabitants rich, seeing less provisions of clothing and other things would serve than in more colder and less fruitful countries must be had. As also, that the Spaniards (*having much more than they could possess*) had not yet planted there nor anywhere very near the same.

But to this, it was answered that out of [without] question, the country was both fruitful and pleasant and might yield riches and maintenance to the possessors more easily than the other. Yet other things considered, it would not be so fit for them. And first, that such hot countries are subject to grievous diseases and many noisome [unpleasant] impediments, which other more temperate places are freer from and would not so well agree with our English bodies. Again, if they should there live and do well, the jealous Spaniard would never suffer them long but would displant or overthrow them as he did the French in Florida who were seated further [further] from his richest countries, and the sooner because they should have none to protect them. And their own strength would be too small to resist so potent an enemy and so near a neighbor.

On the other hand, for Virginia, it was objected that if they lived among the English which were there planted or so near them as to be under their government, they should be in as great danger to be troubled and persecuted for the cause of

religion as if they lived in England, and it might be worse. And if they lived too far off, they should neither have succor [help] nor defense from them.

But at length, the conclusion was to live as a distinct body by themselves under the general government of Virginia and, by their friends, to sue to His Majesty that he would be pleased to grant them freedom of religion. And that this might be obtained, they were put in good hope (*by some great persons of good rank and quality*) that were made their friends.

Whereupon two were chosen and sent into England (*at the charge of the rest*) to solicit this matter who found the Virginia Company very desirous to have them go thither and willing to grant them a patent with as ample privileges as they had or could grant to any and to give them the best furderance [furtherance] they could. And some of the chief of that company doubted not to obtain their suit of the king for liberty in religion and to have it confirmed under the king's broad seal, according to their desires.

But it proved a harder piece of work than they took it for. For though many means were used to bring it about, yet it could not be effected. For there were divers [several] of good worth [who] labored with the king to obtain it (*amongst whom was one of his chief secretaries, Sir Robert Naunton*), and some other wrought with the

archbishop to give way thereunto, but it proved all in vain.

Yet thus far, they prevailed in sounding His Majesty's mind that he would connive [deliberately look the other way] at them and not molest them (*provided they carried themselves peaceably*). But to allow or tolerate them by his public authority under his seal, they found it would not be. And this was all the chief of the Virginia Company or any other of their best friends could do in the case. Yet they persuaded them to go on, for they presumed they should not be troubled. And with this answer, the messengers returned and signified what diligence had been used and to what issue things were come.

But this made a damp in the business and caused some distraction. For many were afraid that if they should unsettle themselves and put off their estates and go upon these hopes, it might prove dangerous and but a sandy foundation. Yea, it was thought they might better have presumed hereupon without making any suit at all than, having made it, to be thus rejected.

But some of the chiefest thought otherwise and that they might well proceed hereupon and that the King's Majesty was willing enough to suffer them without molestation, though for other reasons, he would not confirm it by any public act. And furdernore [furthermore], if there was

no security in this promise intimated, there would be no great certainty in a funder [further] confirmation of the same. For if afterwards there should be a purpose or desire to wrong them, though they had a seal as broad as the house floor, it would not serve the turn, for there would be means anew found to recall or reverse it. Seeing therefore the course was probable, they must rest herein on God's providence, as they had done in other things.

Upon this resolution, other messengers were dispatched to end with the Virginia Company as well as they could and to procure a patent with as good and ample conditions as they might by any good means obtain, as also to treat and conclude with such merchants and other friends as had manifested their forwardness to provoke to and adventure in this voyage. For which end, they had instructions given them upon what conditions they should proceed with them or else to conclude nothing without further advice. And here, it will be requisite to insert a letter or two that may give light to these proceedings.

A copy of letter from Sir Edwin Sandys, directed to Mr. John Robinson and Mr. William Brewster.

After my hearty salutations,

The agents of your congregation, Robert Cushman and John Carver, have been in communication with divers [several] select gentlemen of His Majesty's

Council for Virginia and, by the writing of seven articles subscribed with your names, have given them that good degree of satisfaction which hath carried them on with a resolution to set forward your desire in the best sort that may be for your own and the public good. Divers [various] particulars, whereof, we leave to their faithful report, having carried themselves here with that good discretion as is both to their own and their credit from whence they came.

And whereas being to treat for a multitude of people, they have requested further time to confer with them that are to be interested in this action about the several particularities which in the prosecution thereof will fall out considerable. It hath been very willingly assented to, and so they do now return unto you.

If, therefore, it may please God so to direct your desires as that on your parts there fall out no just impediments, I trust, by the same direction, it shall likewise appear that on our part all forwardness to set you forward shall be found in the best sort which, with reason, may be expected.

And so I betake [leave] you with this design (which I hope verily is the work of God), to the gracious protection and blessing of the Highest. Your very loving friend,

EDWIN SANDYS
London, November 12, Anno 1617

Their answer was as followeth.

Right Worshipful,

Our humble duties remembered in our own, our messengers', and our church's name, with all thankful acknowledgment of your singular love expressing itself as otherwise, so more specially in your great care and earnest endeavor of our good in this weighty business about Virginia. Which the less able we are to requite, we shall think ourselves the more bound to commend in our prayers unto God for recompense, whom as for the present you rightly behold in our endeavors, so shall we not be wanting on our parts (the same God assisting us) to return all answerable fruit and respect unto the labor of your love bestowed upon us.

We have (with the best speed and consideration withal that we could) set down our requests in writing, subscribed (as you willed) with the hands of the greatest part of our congregation, and have sent the same unto the council by our agent and a deacon of our church, John Carver, unto whom we have also requested a gentleman of our company to adjoin himself. To the care and discretion of which two, we do refer the prosecuting of the business.

Now we persuade ourselves, Right Worshipful, that we need not provoke your godly and loving mind to any further or more tender care of us since you have pleased so far to interest us in yourself that, under God, above all persons and things in the

world, we rely upon you, expecting the care of your love, counsel of your wisdom, and the help and countenance of your authority. Notwithstanding, for your encouragement in the work so far as probabilities may lead, we will not forbear to mention these instances of inducement.

1. We verily believe and trust the Lord is with us, unto whom and whose service we have given ourselves in many trials, and that He will graciously prosper our endeavors according to the simplicity of our hearts therein.

2. Secondly, we are well weaned from the delicate milk of our mother country and inured to the difficulties of a strange and hard land, which yet, in a great part, we have, by patience, overcome.

3. Thirdly, the people are, for the body of them, [as] industrious and frugal, we think we may safely say, as any company of people in the world.

4. Fourthly, 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 do hold ourselves straitly tied to all care of each other's good and of the whole by everyone and so mutually.

[INSERTED—] O sacred bond, whilst inviolably preserved! How sweet and precious were the fruits that flowed from the same? But when this fidelity decayed, then their ruin approached. O

that these ancient members had not died or been dissipated (*if it had been the will of God*) or else that this holy care and constant faithfulness had still lived and remained with those that survived and were in times afterwards added unto them.

But (*alas*) that subtle serpent hath slyly wound in himself under fair pretenses of necessity and the like to untwist those sacred bonds and ties and, as it were, insensibly, by degrees, to dissolve (*or in good measure*) to weaken the same. I have been happy in my first times to see and, with much comfort, to enjoy the blessed fruits of this sweet communion. But it is now a part of my misery in old age to find and feel the decay and want thereof (*in a great measure*) and, with grief and sorrow of heart, to lament and bewail the same. And for others' warning and admonition (*and my own humiliation*), do I here note the same. —

5. Lastly, it is not with us as with other men whom small things can discourage or small discontentments cause to wish themselves at home again. We know our entertainment in England and in Holland. We shall much prejudice both our arts and means by removal who (if we should be driven to return) we should not hope to recover our present helps and comforts, neither indeed look ever (for ourselves) to attain unto the like [same] in any other place during our lives, which are now drawing towards their periods [ends].

These motives we have been bold to tender unto you, which you in your wisdom may also impart to any other our worshipful friends of the council with you, of all whose godly disposition and loving towards our despised persons we are most glad and shall not fail by all good means to continue and increase the same. We will not be further troublesome, but do, with the renewed remembrance of our humble duties to Your Worship and (so far as in modesty we may be bold) to any other of our well-willers of the council with you, we take our leaves, committing your persons and counsels to the guidance and direction of the Almighty. Yours much bounden in all duty,

John Robinson

William Brewster

Leiden, December 15, Anno 1617

For further light in these proceedings, see some other letters and notes as followeth.

The copy of a letter sent to Sir John Wolstenholme:

Right Worshipful:

With due acknowledgment of our thankfulness for your singular care and pains in the business of Virginia for our and (we hope) the common good, we do remember our humble duties unto you and have sent enclosed (as is required) a further explanation of our judgments in the three points

specified by some of His Majesty's Honorable Privy Council. And though it be grievous unto us that such unjust insinuations are made against us, yet we are most glad of the occasion of making our just purgation [clearing oneself of accusation or crime] unto so honorable personages.

The declarations we have sent enclosed, the one more brief and general, which we think the fitter to be presented; the other something more large and in which we express some small accidental differences, which if it seem good unto you and other of our worshipful friends, you may send instead of the former.

Our prayers unto God is that Your Worshipful may see the fruit of your worthy endeavors, which on our parts we shall not fail to furder [further] by all good means in us. And so praying that you would please, with the convenientest speed that may be, to give us knowledge of the success of the business with His Majesty's Privy Council and, accordingly, what your further pleasure is, either for our direction or furtherance in the same. So we rest Your Worship's in all duty,

*John Robinson
William Brewster*

Leiden, January 27, Anno 1617, Old Style

The first brief note was this.

Touching the Ecclesiastical ministry, namely of pastors for teaching, elders for ruling, and deacons for distributing the church's contribution, as also for the two sacraments, baptism and the Lord's Supper, we do wholly and in all points agree with the French reformed churches, according to their public confession of faith.

The oath of Supremacy we shall willingly take if it be required of us and that convenient satisfaction be not given by our taking the oath of Allegiance.

*John Robinson
William Brewster*

The second was this.

Touching the Ecclesiastical ministry, etc., as in the former, we agree in all things with the French reformed churches according to their public confession of faith, though some small differences be [are] to be found in our practices, not at all in the substance of the things, but only in some accidental circumstances.

- 1. As first, their ministers do pray with their heads covered; ours uncovered.*
- 2. We chose none for governing elders but such as are able to teach, which ability they do not require.*
- 3. Their elders and deacons are annual or, at most, for two or three years; ours perpetual.*

4. *Our elders do administer their office in admonitions and excommunications for public scandals publicly and before the congregation; theirs more privately and in their consistories [council meetings].*

5. *We do administer baptism only to such infants as whereof the one parent, at the least, is of some church, which some of their churches do not observe, though in it, our practice accords with their public confession and the judgment of the most learned amongst them.*

Other differences worthy mentioning, we know none in these points. Then, about the oath, as in the former [note]. Subscribed,

*John Robinson
William Brewster*

Part of another letter from him that delivered these.

London, February 14, 1617

Your letter to Sir John Wolstenholme I delivered almost as soon as I had it to his own hands and stayed with him [for] the opening and reading. There were two papers enclosed. He read them to himself, as also the letter, and in the reading, he spake to me (and said), "Who shall make them?" viz. the ministers.

I answered His Worship that the power of making was in the church, to be ordained by the imposition of hands by the fittest instruments they had. It must either be in the church or from the pope, and the pope is Antichrist. "Ho," said Sir John, "what the pope holds good (as in the Trinity), that we do well to assent to. But," said he, "we will not enter into dispute now."

And as for your letters, he would not show them at any hand lest he should spoil all. He expected you should have been of the archbishop's mind for the calling of ministers, but it seems you differed. I could have wished to have known the contents of your two enclosed at which he stuck so much, especially the larger.

I asked His Worship what good news he had for me to write tomorrow. He told me very good news, for both the King's Majesty and the bishops have consented. He said he would go to Mr. Chancellor, Sir Fulke Greville, as this day, and next week I should know more.

I met Sir Edward Sandys on Wednesday night. He wished me to be at the Virginia Court the next Wednesday, where I purpose to be. Thus, loath to be troublesome at present, I hope to have somewhat next week of certainty concerning you. I commit you to the Lord. Yours,

Sabine Staesmore

These things being long in agitation and messengers passing to and again about them, after all their hopes, they were long delayed by many rubs that fell in the way. For at the return of these messengers into England, they found things far otherwise than they expected. For the Virginia Council was now so disturbed with factions and quarrels amongst themselves as no business could well go forward. The which may the better appear in one of the messenger's letters as followeth.

To his loving friends, etc.,

I had thought long since to have writ unto you but could not effect that which I aimed at, neither can yet set things as I wished. Yet notwithstanding, I doubt not but Mr. B[rewster] hath written to Mr. Robinson. But I think myself bound also to do something lest I be thought to neglect you.

The main hindrance of our proceedings in the Virginia business is the dissensions and factions (as they term it) amongst the Council and Company of Virginia, which are such as that ever since we came up, no business could, by them, be dispatched. The occasion of this trouble amongst them is for that a while since, Sir Thomas Smith, repining at his many offices and troubles, wished the Company of Virginia to ease him of his office in being treasurer and governor of the Virginia Company. Whereupon the company took occasion to dismiss him and chose Sir Edwin Sandys [as] treasurer and governor of the company, he having sixty voices, Sir John

Wostenholme sixteen voices, and Alderman Johnson twenty-four.

But Sir Thomas Smith, when he saw some part of his honor lost, was very angry and raised a faction to cavil [make petty objections] and contend about the election and sought to tax Sir Edwin with many things that might both disgrace him and also put him by his office of governor. In which contentions they yet stick and are not fit nor ready to intermeddle in any business, and what issue things will come to, we are not yet certain.

It is most like Sir Edwin will carry it away, and if he do, things will go well in Virginia. If otherwise, they will go ill enough. Always, we hope in some two or three court days, things will settle. Mean space [meanwhile], I think to go down into Kent and come up again about fourteen days or three weeks hence except [unless] either by these aforesaid contentions or by the ill tidings from Virginia we be wholly discouraged, of which tidings I am now to speak.

Captain Argall is come home this week (he, upon notice of the intent of the council, came away before Sir George Yeardley came there, and so there is no small dissension). But his tidings are ill, though his person be welcome. He saith Mr. Blackwell's ship came not there till March, but going towards winter, they had still nor[th]west winds which carried them to the southward beyond their course. And the master of the ship and some six of the

mariners dying, it seemed they could not find the bay till after long seeking and beating about. Mr. Blackwell is dead, and Mr. Maggner, the captain. Yea, there are dead, he saith, 130 persons one and other in that ship. It is said there was in all an 180 persons in the ship, so as they were packed together like herrings. They had amongst them the flux [dysentery] and also want of fresh water, so as it is here rather wondered at that so many are alive than that so many are dead.

The merchants here say it was Mr. Blackwell's fault to pack so many in the ship. Yea, and there were great mutterings and repinings amongst them and upbraiding of Mr. Blackwell for his dealing and disposing of them. When they saw how he had disposed of them and how he insulted over them, yea, the streets at Gravesend rung of their extreme quarrellings, crying out one of another, "Thou hast brought me to this," and "I may thank thee for this."

Heavy news it is, and I would be glad to hear how far it will discourage. I see none here discouraged much but rather [the] desire to learn to beware by other men's harms and to amend that wherein they have failed.

As we desire to serve one another in love, so take heed of being enthralled by any imperious person, especially if they be discerned to have an eye to themselves. It doth often trouble me to think that in this business, we are all to learn and none to teach. But better so than to depend upon such teachers as

Mr. Blackwell was. Such a stratagem he once made for Mr. Johnson and his people at Emden, which was their subversion. But though he there cleanly (yet dishonestly) plucked his neck out of the collar, yet at last, his foot is caught.

Here are no letters come. The ship [that] Captain Argall came in is yet in the west parts; all that we hear is but his reports. It seemeth he came away secretly. The ship that Mr. Blackwell went in will be here shortly. It is as Mr. Robinson once said. He thought we should hear no good of them.

Mr. B[rewster] is not well at this time. Whether he will come back to you or go into the north, I yet know not. For myself, I hope to see an end of this business ere I come, though I am sorry to be thus from you. If things had gone roundly forward, I should have been with you within these fourteen days.

I pray God direct us and give us that spirit which is fitting for such a business. Thus, having summarily pointed at things which Mr. Brewster (I think) hath more largely writ of to Mr. Robinson, I leave you to the Lord's protection. Yours in all readiness, etc.

*Robert Cushman
London, May 8, Anno 1619*

A word or two by way of digression touching this Mr. Blackwell. He was an elder of the church at Amsterdam, a man well known of most of them.

He declined from the truth with Mr. Johnson and the rest and went with him when they parted asunder in that woeful manner which brought so great dishonor to God, scandal to the truth, and outward ruin to themselves in this world. But I hope, notwithstanding (*through the mercies of the Lord*), their souls are now at rest with Him in the heavens and that they are arrived in the haven of happiness, though some of their bodies were thus buried in the terrible seas and others sunk under the burden of bitter afflictions.

He, with some others, had prepared for to go to Virginia. And he (*with sundry [several] godly citizens*), being at a private meeting (*I take it a fast*) in London, being discovered, many of them were apprehended, whereof Mr. Blackwell was one. But he so glozed [explained away] with the bishops and either dissembled or flatly denied the truth which formerly he had maintained, and not only so but very unworthily betrayed and accused another godly man (*who had escaped*) that so he might slip his own neck out of the collar and, to obtain his own freedom, brought others into bonds.

Whereupon he so won the bishop's favor (*but lost the Lord's*) as he was not only dismissed but, in open court, the archbishop gave him great applause and his solemn blessing to proceed in his voyage. But if such events follow the bishop's blessing, happy are they that miss the same. It is

much better to keep a good conscience and have the Lord's blessing, whether in life or death.

But see how the man thus apprehended by Mr. Blackwell's means writ to a friend of his:

Right dear friend and Christian brother Mr. Carver,

I salute you and yours in the Lord, etc. As for my own present condition, I doubt not but you well understand it ere this by our brother Masterson, who should have tasted of the same cup had his place of residence and his person been as well known as myself. Somewhat, I have written to Mr. Cushman how the matter still continues.

I have petitioned twice to Mr. Sherives and once to my Lord Coke and have used such reasons to move them to pity that if they were not overruled by some others, I suppose I should soon gain my liberty, as that I was a young man living by my credit, indebted to divers [several] in our city, living at more than ordinary charges in a close and tedious prison, besides great rents abroad, all my business lying still, my only servant lying lame in the country, my wife being also great with child. And yet no answer till the lords of His Majesty's Council gave consent.

Howbeit Mr. Blackwell, a man as deep in this action as I, was delivered at a cheaper rate with a great deal less ado, yea, with an addition of the archbishop's blessing? I am sorry for Mr.

Blackwell's weakness. I wish it may prove no worse. But yet he and some others of them, before their going, were not sorry but thought it was for the best that I was nominated. Not because the Lord sanctifies evil to good, but that the action was good, yea, for the best. One reason I well remember he used was because this trouble would increase the Virginia plantation in that now people began to be more generally inclined to go. And if he had not nominated some such as I, he had not been free, being it was known that divers [several] citizens besides themselves were there.

I expect an answer shortly what they intend concerning me. I purpose to write to some others of you, by whom you shall know the certainty. Thus, not having further at present to acquaint you withal, commending myself to your prayers, I cease and commit you and us all to the Lord. From my chamber in Wodstreet Compter. Your friend and brother in bonds,

*Sabin Staesmore
September 4, Anno 1618*

But thus much, by the way, which may be of instruction and good use.

But at last, after all these things (*and their long attendance*), they had a patent granted them and confirmed under the company's seal. But these divisions and distractions had shaken off many of their pretended friends and disappointed them of

much of their hoped-for and proffered means. By the advice of some friends, this patent was not taken in the name of any of their own, but in the name of Mr. John Wincob (*a religious gentleman then belonging to the Countess of Lincoln*), who intended to go with them. But God so disposed as he never went nor they ever made use of this patent, which had cost them so much labor and charge, as by the sequel will appear.

This patent, being sent over for them to view and consider, as also the passages about the propositions between them and such merchants and friends as should either go or adventure with them, and especially with those (*Mr. Thomas Weston, etc.*) on whom they did chiefly depend for shipping and means whose proffers had been large, they were requested to fit and prepare themselves with all speed. A right emblem it may be of the uncertain things of this world; that when men have toiled themselves for them, they vanish into smoke.

The 6 Chapter



*Concerning the agreements and articles
between them and such merchants and
others as adventured moneys; with other
things falling out about making their
provisions*

Upon the receipt of these things by one of their messengers, they had a solemn meeting and a day of humiliation to seek the Lord for His direction, and their pastor took this text, I Samuel 23:3-4: And David's men said unto him, see, we be afraid here in Judah, how much more if we come to Keilah against the host of the Phillistines? Then David asked counsel of the Lord again, etc. From which text, he taught many things very aptly and befitting their present occasion and condition, strengthening them

against their fears and perplexities and encouraging them in their resolutions. After which, they concluded both what number and what persons should prepare themselves to go with the first.

For all that were willing to have gone could not get ready for their other affairs in so short a time. Neither if all could have been ready had there been means to have transported them all together. Those that stayed, being the greater number, required the pastor to stay with them, and indeed for other reasons, he could not then well go, and so it was the more easily yielded unto. The other[s] then desired the Elder Mr. Brewster to go with them, which was also condescended unto.

It was also agreed on by mutual consent and covenant that those that went should be an absolute church of themselves, as well as those that stayed, seeing [that] in such a dangerous voyage and a removal to such a distance, it might come to pass they should (*for the body of them*) never meet again in this world. Yet with this proviso that as any of the rest came over to them or of the other returned upon occasion, they should be reputed as members without any further dismissal or testimonial. It was also promised to those that went first, by the body of the rest, that if the Lord gave them life and means and opportunity, they would come to them as soon as they could.

About this time, whilst they were perplexed with the proceedings of the Virginia Company and the ill news from thence about Mr. Blackwell and his company, and making inquiry about the hiring and buying of shipping for their voyage, some Dutchmen made them fair offers about going with them. Also, one Mr. Thomas Weston, a merchant of London, came to Leiden about the same time (*who was well acquainted with some of them and a furtherer of them in their former proceedings*). Having much conference with Mr. Robinson and other of the chief of them, [Weston] persuaded them to go on (*as it seems*) and not to meddle with the Dutch or too much to depend on the Virginia Company. For if that failed, if they came to resolution, he and such merchants as were his friends (*together with their own means*) would set them forth, and they should make ready and neither fear want of shipping nor money, for what they wanted should be provided.

And (*not so much for himself*) as for the satisfying of such friends as he should procure to adventure in this business, they were to draw such articles of agreement and make such propositions as might the better induce his friends to venture. Upon which (*after the former conclusion*), articles were drawn and agreed unto and were shown unto him and approved by him and afterwards by their messenger (*Mr. John Carver*) sent into England, who, together with Robert Cushman, were to receive the moneys and make provision

both for shipping and other things for the voyage, with this charge not to exceed their commission but to proceed according to the former articles. Also, some were chosen to do the like [same] for such things as were to be prepared there. So those that were to go prepared themselves with all speed and sold off their estates and (*such as were able*) put in their moneys into the common stock, which was disposed by those appointed for the making of general provisions.

About this time also, they had heard both by Mr. Weston and others that sundry [several] honorable lords had obtained a large grant from the king for the more northerly parts of that country, derived out of the Virginia patent and wholly secluded from their government and to be called by another name, viz. New England. Unto which, Mr. Weston and the chief of them began to incline [that] it was best for them to go, as for other reasons, so chiefly for the hope of present profit to be made by the fishing that was found in that country.

But as in all businesses, the acting part is most difficult, especially where the work of many agents must concur. So it was found in this. For some of those that should have gone in England fell off and would not go. Other merchants and friends that had offered to adventure their moneys withdrew and pretended many excuses, some disliking they went not to Guiana. Others again would adventure nothing except [unless]

they went to Virginia. Some again (*and those that were most relied on*) fell in utter dislike with Virginia and would do nothing if they went thither. In the midst of these distractions, they of Leiden who had put off their estates and laid out their moneys were brought into a great strait, fearing what issue these things would come to. But at length, the generality was swayed to this latter opinion.

But now, another difficulty arose. For Mr. Weston and some other[s] that were for this course, either for their better advantage or rather for the drawing on of others as they pretended, would have some of those conditions altered that were first agreed on at Leiden to which the two agents sent from Leiden (*or at least one of them who is most charged with it*) did consent, seeing else that all was like to be dashed and the opportunity lost and that they which had put off their estates and paid in their moneys were in hazard to be undone. They presumed to conclude with the merchants on those terms in some things contrary to their order and commission and without giving them notice of the same. Yea, it was concealed lest it should make any furder [further] delay, which was the cause afterward of much trouble and contention.

It will be meet I here insert these conditions, which are as followeth.

ANNO 1620, JULY 1

1. *The adventurers and planters do agree that every person that goeth, being aged sixteen years and upward, be rated at £10, and £10 to be accounted a single share.*

2. *That he that goeth in person and furnisheth himself out with £10, either in money or other provisions, be accounted as having £20 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 together the space of seven years (except [unless] some unexpected impediment do cause the whole company to agree otherwise), during which time all profits and benefits that are got by trade, traffic, trucking [exchanging one commodity for another], working, fishing, or any other means of any person or persons, remain still in the common stock until the division.*

4. *That at their coming there, they chose out such a number of fit persons as may furnish their ships and boats for fishing upon the sea, employing the rest in their several faculties upon the land as building houses, tilling and planting the ground, 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 [personal possessions], be equally divided betwixt the adventurers and planters; which done, every*

man shall be free from other of them of any debt or detriment concerning this adventure.

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

7. He that shall carry his wife and children or servants shall be allowed for every person now aged sixteen years and upward a single share in the division; or if he provide them necessaries, a double share; or if they be between ten year[s] 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 the age of ten years have no other share in the division but fifty acres of unmanured [untilled] land.

9. That such persons as die before the seven years be expired, their executors to have their part or share at the division, proportionably to the time of their life in the colony.

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

The chief and principal differences between these and the former conditions stood in these two points. That the houses and lands improved, especially gardens and home lots, should remain

undivided wholly to the planters at the seven years' end. Secondly, that they should have had two days in a week for their own private employment for the more comfort of themselves and their families, especially such as had families. But because letters are by some wise men counted the best part of histories, I shall show their grievances hereabout by their own letters, in which the passages of things will be more truly discerned.

A letter of Mr. Robinson's to John Carver, June 14, 1620, New Style.

My dear friend and brother,

Whom with yours I always remember in my best affection and whose welfare I shall never cease to commend to God by my best and most earnest prayers. You do thoroughly understand by our general letters the estate of things here, which indeed is very pitiful, especially by want of shipping and not seeing means likely, much less certain of having it provided, though withal there be great want of money and means to do needful things.

Mr. Pickering, you know before this, will not defray a penny here, though Robert Cushman presumed of I know not how many £100 from him and I know not whom. Yet it seems strange that we should be put to him to receive both his and his partners' adventure, and yet Mr. Weston writ unto him that in regard of it, he hath drawn upon him a £100

more. But there is in this some mystery, as indeed it seems there is in the whole course. Besides, whereas divers [several] are to pay in some parts of their moneys yet behind, they refuse to do it till they see shipping provided or a course taken for it. Neither do I think is there a man here [that] would pay anything if he had again his money in his purse.

You know right well we depended on Mr. Weston alone and upon such means as he would procure for this common business, and when we had in hand another course with the Dutchmen, [we] broke it off at his motion and upon the conditions by him shortly after propounded. He did this in his love, I know, but things appear not answerable from him hitherto. That he should have first have put in his moneys is thought by many to have been but fit. But that, I can well excuse, he being a merchant and having use of it to his benefit, whereas others, if it had been in their hands, would have consumed it. But that he should not but have had either shipping ready before this time or at least certain means and course and the same known to us for it or have taken other order otherwise cannot in my conscience be excused.

I have heard that when he hath been moved in the business, he hath put it off from himself and referred it to the others and would come to George Morton and enquire news of him about things as if he had scarce been some accessory unto it. Whether he hath failed of some helps from others which he expected and so be not well able to go through with

things or whether he hath feared lest you should be ready too soon and so increase the charge of shipping above that is meet or whether he have thought by withholding to put us upon straits, thinking that thereby Mr. Brewer and Mr. Pickering would be drawn by importunity [persistent begging] to do more, or what other mystery is in it, we know not. But sure we are that things are not answerable to such an occasion.

Mr. Weston makes himself merry [laughs to himself] with our endeavors about buying a ship, but we have done nothing in this but with good reason (as I am persuaded), nor yet that I know in anything else, save in these two. The one [is] that we employed Robert Cushman, who is known (though a good man and of special abilities in his kind, yet) most unfit to deal for other men by reason of his singularity and too great indifference for any conditions. And for (to speak truly) that, we have had nothing from him but terms and presumptions. The other [is] that we have so much relied (by implicit faith, as it were) upon generalities without seeing the particular course and means for so weighty an affair set down unto us.

For shipping, Mr. Weston (it should seem) is set upon hiring, which yet I wish he may presently effect. But I see little hope of help from hence if so it be. Of Mr. Brewer, you know what to expect. I do not think Mr. Pickering will engage, except in the course of buying, in former letters specified.

About the conditions, you have our reasons for our judgments of what is agreed. And let this specially be borne in mind that the greatest part of the colony is like to be employed constantly not upon dressing their particular [own] land and building houses but upon fishing, trading, etc., so as the land and house will be but a trifle for advantage to the adventurers. And yet the division of it [is] a great discouragement to the planters, who would with singular care make it comfortable with borrowed hours from their sleep.

The same consideration of common employment constantly by the most is a good reason not to have the two days in a week denied the few planters for private use, which yet is subordinate to common good. Consider also how much unfit that you and your likes must serve a new apprenticeship of seven years and not a day's freedom from task. Send me word what persons are to go, who of useful faculties [in one's right mind] and how many and particularly of everything. I know you want not a mind. I am sorry you have not been at London all this while, but the provisions could not want you. Time will suffer me to write no more. Fare you and yours well, always in the Lord, in whom I rest. Yours to use,

John Robinson

Another letter from sundry [several] of them at the same time to their loving friends John Carver and Robert Cushman, these, etc.

Good Brethren,

After salutations, etc. We received divers [several] letters at the coming of Mr. Nash and our pilot, which is a great encouragement unto us and for whom we hope aftertimes [in the future] will minister occasion of praising God. And indeed, had you not sent him, many would have been ready to faint and go back, partly in respect of the new conditions which have been taken up by you (which all men are against) and partly in regard of our own inability to do any one of those many weighty businesses you refer to us here.

For the former whereof, whereas Robert Cushman desires reasons for our dislike, promising thereupon to alter the same or else saying we should think he hath no brains, we desire him to exercise them therein, referring him to our pastor's former reasons and them to the censure of the godly wise. But our desires are that you will not entangle yourselves and us in any such unreasonable courses as those are, viz. that the merchants should have the half of men's houses and lands at the dividend and that persons should be deprived of the two days in a week agreed upon, yea, every moment of time for their own particular.

By reason whereof we cannot conceive why any should carry servants for their own help and comfort, for that we can require no more of them than all men one of another. This, we have only by relation from Mr. Nash and not from any writing of

your own and therefore hope you have not proceeded far in so great a thing without us. But requiring you not to exceed the bounds of your commission, which was to proceed upon the things or conditions agreed upon and expressed in writing (at your going over about it), we leave it. Not without marveling that yourself (as you write), knowing how small a thing troubleth our consultations and how few, as you fear, understands the business aright, should trouble us with such matters as these are, etc.

Salute Mr. Weston from us, in whom we hope we are not deceived. We pray you make known our estate unto him, and if you think good, show him our letters. At least tell him (that under God) we much rely upon him and put our confidence in him and, as yourselves well know, that if he had not been an adventurer with us, we had not taken it in hand, presuming that if he had not seen means to accomplish it, he would not have begun it. So we hope [that] in our extremity, he will so far help us as our expectation be no way made frustrate concerning him. Since therefore, good brethren, we have plainly opened the state of things with us in this matter, you will, etc.

Thus, beseeching the Almighty, who is all-sufficient to raise us out of this depth of difficulties to assist us herein, raising such means by His providence and fatherly care for us, His poor children and servants, as we may with comfort behold the hand of our God for good towards us in this, our business, which we

undertake in His name and fear, we take leave and remain your perplexed yet hopeful brethren,

Samuel Fuller, Edward Winslow, William Bradford,

Isaac Allerton

June 10, New Style, Anno 1620

A letter of Robert Cushman's to them:

Brethren,

I understand by letters (and passages) that have come to me that there are great discontents and dislikes of my proceedings amongst you. Sorry I am to hear it, yet content to bear it, as not doubting but that partly by writing and more principally by word when we shall come together, I shall satisfy any reasonable man. I have been persuaded by some, especially this bearer, to come and clear things unto you, but as things now stand, I cannot be absent one day except [unless] I should hazard all the voyage. Neither conceive I any great good would come of it. Take then (brethren) this as a step to give you content.

First, for your dislike of the alteration of one clause in the conditions, if you conceive it right, there can be no blame lie on me at all. For the articles first brought over by John Carver were never seen of any of the adventurers here except Mr. Weston. Neither did any of them like them because of that clause nor Mr. Weston himself, after he had well considered it. But as at the first there was £500

withdrawn by Sir George Farrer and his brother upon that dislike, so all the rest would have withdrawn (Mr. Weston excepted) if we had not altered that clause.

Now, whilst we at Leiden conclude[d] upon points as we did, we reckoned without our host, which was not my fault. Besides, I showed you by a letter the equity of that condition and our inconveniences, which might be set against all Mr. Robinson's inconveniences, that without the alteration of that clause, we could neither have means to get thither nor supply whereby to subsist when we were there.

Yet notwithstanding all those reasons which were not mine but other men's wiser than myself, without answer to any one of them, here cometh over many querimonies [grievances] and complaints against me of lording it over my brethren and making conditions fitter for thieves and bondslaves than honest men, and that of my own head, I did what I list. And at last, a paper of reasons framed against that clause in the conditions which, as they were delivered [to] me open, so my answer is open to you all. And first, as they are no other but inconveniences such as a man might frame twenty as great on the other side and yet prove nor disprove nothing by them, so they miss and mistake both the very ground of the article and nature of the project.

1. For first, it is said that if there had been no division of houses and lands, it had been better for the poor.

[ANSWER:] True, and that showeth the inequality of the condition. We should more respect him that ventureth both his money and his person than him that ventureth but his person only.

2. Consider whereabouts we are not giving alms but furnishing a storehouse. No one shall be poorer than another for seven years, and if any be rich, none can be poor. At the least, we must not in such business cry, "Poor, poor, mercy, mercy!" Charity hath its life in wraks [misfortune, affliction, or ruin], not in ventures you are, by this most, in a hopeful pity of making. Therefore, complain not before you have need.

3. This will hinder the building of good and fair houses, contrary to the advice of politics.

ANSWER: So we would have it our purpose is to build for the present such houses as, if need be, we may with little grief set afire and run away by the light. Our riches shall not be in pomp but in strength. If God send us riches, we will employ them to provide more men, ships, munition, etc. You may see it amongst the best politics that a commonwealth is readier to ebb than to flow when once fine houses and gay [fine] clothes come up.

4. The government may prevent excess in building.

ANSWER: *But if it be on all men beforehand resolved on to build mean [modest] houses, the government labor is spared.*

5. *All men are not of one condition.*

ANSWER: *If by condition you mean wealth, you are mistaken. If you mean by condition qualities, then I say he that is not content [that] his neighbor shall have as good a house, fare, means, etc., as himself is not of a good quality. Secondly, such retired persons as have any only to themselves are fitter to come where catching is than closing and are fitter to live alone than in any society, either civil or religious.*

6. *It will be of little value, scarce worth £5.*

ANSWER: *True, it may be not worth half £5. If then so small a thing will content them, why strive we thus about it and give them occasion to suspect us to be worldly and covetous? I will not say what I have heard since these complaints came first over.*

7. *Our friends with us that adventure mind not their own profit, as did the old adventurers.*

ANSWER: *Then they are better than we, who for a little matter of profit are ready to draw back, and it is more apparent brethren look to it that make profit your main end. Repent of this, else go not, lest you be like Jonas to Tarshish. Secondly, though some of them mind not their profit, yet others do mind it, and why not as well as we? Ventures are*

made by all sorts of men, and we must labor to give them all content if we can.

8. It will break the course of community, as may be showed by many reasons.

ANSWER: That is but said, and I say again [that] it will best foster communion, as may be showed by many reasons.

9. Great profit is like to be made by trucking [exchanging one commodity for another], fishing, etc.

ANSWER: As it is better for them, so for us. For half is ours, besides our living still upon it, and if such profit in that way come, our labor shall be the less on the land, and our houses and lands must and will be of less value.

10. Our hazard is greater than theirs.

ANSWER: True, but do they put us upon it? Do they urge or egg us? Hath not the motion and resolution been always in ourselves? Do they, any more than in seeing us resolute if we had means, help us to means upon equal terms and conditions? If we will not go, they are content to keep their moneys. Thus, I have pointed at a way to loose those knots, which I hope you will consider seriously and let me have no more stir about them.

Now furder [further], I hear a noise of slavish conditions by me made. But surely this is all that I

have altered, and [the] reasons I have sent you. If you mean it of the two days in a week for particular, as some insinuate, you are deceived. You may have three days in a week for me if you will. And when I have spoken to the adventurers of times of working, they have said they hope we are men of discretion and conscience and so fit to be trusted ourselves with that. But indeed, the ground of our proceedings at Leiden was mistaken, and so here is nothing but tottering every day, etc.

As for them of Amsterdam, I had thought they would as soon have gone to Rome as with us, for our liberty is to them as ratsbane [rat poison] and their rigor as bad to us as the Spanish Inquisition. If any practice of mine discourage them, let them yet draw back. I will undertake they shall have their money again presently paid here.

Or if the company think me to be the Jonas, let them cast me off before we go. I shall be content to stay with goodwill, having but the clothes on my back. Only let us have quietness and no more of these clamors. Full little did I expect these things which are now come to pass, etc. Yours,

Robert Cushman

But whether this letter of his ever came to their hands at Leiden, I well know not. I rather think it was stayed by Mr. Carver and kept by him, forgiving offense. But this which follows was

there received, both which I thought pertinent to recite.

Another of his [Cushman] to the aforesaid, June 11, 1620:

Salutations, etc.

I received your letter yesterday by John Turner, with another the same day from Amsterdam by Mr. W., savoring of the place whence it came. And indeed, the many discouragements I find here, together with the demurs and retirings there, had made me to say I would give up my accounts to John Carver and, at his coming, acquaint him fully with all courses and so leave it quit with only the poor clothes on my back.

But gathering up myself by further consideration, I resolved yet to make one trial more and to acquaint Mr. Weston with the fainted state of our business. And though he hath been much discontented at something amongst us of late which hath made him often say that save for his promise, he would not meddle at all with the business anymore, yet considering how far we were plunged into matters and how it stood both on our credits and undoing, at the last, he gathered up himself a little more and, coming to me two hours after, he told me he would not yet leave it.

And so advising together, we resolved to hire a ship and have took liking of one till Monday about sixty

last [720-barrel capacity], for a greater we cannot get except it be too great. But a fine ship it is. And seeing our near friends there are so strait-laced, we hope to assure her without troubling them any further. And if the ship fall too small, it fitteth well that such as stumble at straws already may rest them there awhile lest worse blocks come in the way ere seven years be ended. If you had beaten this business so thoroughly a month ago and writ to us as now you do, we could thus have done much more conveniently. But it is as it is.

I hope our friends there, if they be quitted of the ship hire, will be induced to venture the more. All that I now require is that salt and nets may there be bought, and for all the rest, we will here provide it. Yet if that will not be, let them but stand for it a month or two, and we will take order to pay it all. Let Mr. Reynolds tarry there and bring the ship to Southampton. We have hired another pilot here, one Mr. Clark, who went last year to Virginia with a ship of kine [cattle].

You shall hear distinctly by John Turner, who I think shall come hence on Tuesday night. I had thought to have come with him to have answered to my complaints, but I shall learn to pass little for their censures. And if I had more mind to go and dispute and expostulate with them than I have care of this weighty business, I were like them who live by clamors and jangling.

But neither my mind nor my body is at liberty to do much, for I am fettered with business and had rather study to be quiet than to make answer to their exceptions. If men be set on it, let them beat the air [flail away at nothing]. I hope such as are my sincere friends will not think but I can give some reason of my actions. But of your mistaking about the matter and other things tending to this business, I shall next inform you more distinctly.

Mean space [meanwhile], entreat our friends not to be too busy in answering matters before they know them. If I do such things as I cannot give reasons for, it is like you have set a fool about your business, and so turn the reproof to yourselves and send another and let me come again to my combs [wool combing].

But setting aside my natural infirmities, I refuse not to have my cause judged both of God and all indifferent men, and when we come together, I shall give account of my actions here. The Lord, who judgeth justly without respect of persons, see into the equity of my cause and give us quiet, peaceable, and patient minds in all these turmoils and sanctify unto us all crosses whatsoever. And so I take my leave of you all, in all love and affection.

*I hope we shall get all here ready in fourteen days.
Your poor brother,*

*Robert Cushman
June 11, 1620*

Besides these things, there fell out a difference amongst those three that received the moneys and made the provisions in England. For besides these two formerly mentioned sent from Leiden for this end, viz. Mr. Carver and Robert Cushman, there was one chosen in England to be joined with them to make the provisions for the voyage. His name was Mr. Martin. He came from Billericay in Essex, from which parts came sundry [several] others to go with them, as also from London and other places. And therefore, it was thought meet and convenient by them in Holland that these strangers that were to go with them should appoint one thus to be joined with them, not so much for any great need of their help as to avoid all suspicion or jealousy of any partiality.

And indeed, their care for giving offense, both in this and other things afterward, turned to great inconvenience unto them, as in the sequel will appear. But however, it showed their equal and honest minds. The provisions were, for the most part, made at Southampton, contrary to Mr. Weston's and Robert Cushman's mind (*whose counsels did most concur in all things*). A touch of which things I shall give in a letter of his to Mr. Carver, and more will appear afterward.

To his loving friend Mr. John Carver, these, etc.

Loving friend,

I have received from you some letters full of affection and complaints, and what it is you would have of me, I know not. For your crying out, "Negligence, negligence, negligence," I marvel why so negligent a man was used in the business. Yet know you that all that I have power to do here shall not be one hour behind, I warrant you.

You have reference to Mr. Weston to help us with money more than his adventure, where he protesteth but for his promise, he would not have done anything. He saith we take a heady course and is offended that our provisions are made so far off, as also that he was not made acquainted with our quantity of things. And saith that in now being in three places [Leiden, London, and Amsterdam] so far remote, we will, with going up and down and wrangling and expostulating, pass over the summer before we will go. And to speak the truth, there is fallen already amongst us a flat schism, and we are readier to go to dispute than to set forward a voyage.

I have received from Leiden, since you went, three or four letters directed to you, though they only concern me. I will not trouble you with them. I always feared the event of the Amsterdammers striking in with us. I trow [believe] you must excommunicate me or else you must go without their company or we shall want no quarreling but let them pass. We have reckoned, it should seem, without our host.

And counting upon a 150 persons, there cannot be found above £1200 and odd moneys of all the ventures you can reckon, besides some cloth, stockings, and shoes which are not counted, so we shall come short at least £300 or £400. I would have had something shortened at first of beer and other provisions in hope of other adventurers, and now we could have both in Amsterdam and Kent beer enough to serve our turn, but now we cannot accept it without prejudice.

You fear we have begun to build and shall not be able to make an end. Indeed, our courses were never established by counsel. We may therefore justly fear their standing. Yea, there was a schism amongst us three at the first. You wrote to Mr. Martin to prevent the making of the provisions in Kent, which he did, and set down his resolution how much he would have of everything without respect to any counsel or exception. Surely he that is in a society and yet regards not counsel may better be a king than a consort.

To be short, if there be not some other disposition settled unto than yet is, we that should be partners of humility and peace shall be examples of jangling and insulting. Yet your money which you there must have, we will get provided for you instantly. Five hundred pounds, you say, will serve. For the rest which here and in Holland is to be used, we may go scratch for it. For Mr. Crabe,¹ of whom you

¹ BRADFORD'S SIDE NOTE: *He was a minister.*

write, he hath promised to go with us. Yet I tell you I shall not be without fear till I see him shipped, for he is much opposed. Yet I hope he will not fail.

Think the best of all, and bear with patience what is wanting, and the Lord guide us all. Your loving friend,

*Robert Cushman
London, June 10, Anno 1620*

I have been the larger in these things and so shall crave leave in some like passages following (*though in other things I shall labor to be more contract*), that their children may see with what difficulties their fathers wrestled in going through these things in their first beginnings and how God brought them along notwithstanding all their weaknesses and infirmities. As also, that some use may be made hereof in aftertimes [the future] by others in such like weighty employments. And herewith, I will end this chapter.

The 7 Chapter



Of their departure from Leiden and other things thereabout, with their arrival at Southampton, where they all met together and took in their provisions

At length, after much travail and these debates, all things were got ready and provided. A small ship (*of some sixty tun*) [the *Speedwell*] was bought and fitted in Holland, which was intended as to serve to help to transport them so to stay in the country and attend upon fishing and such other affairs as might be for the good and benefit of the colony when they came there. Another was hired at London of burden about nine score [the *Mayflower*], and all other things got in readiness.

So being ready to depart, they had a day of solemn humiliation, their pastor taking his text from Ezra 8:21: And there at the river, by Ahava, I proclaimed a fast, that we might humble ourselves before our God, and seek of him a right way for us, and for our children, and for all our substance.

Upon which he spent a good part of the day very profitably and suitable to their present occasion. The rest of the time was spent in powering out prayers to the Lord with great fervency, mixed with abundance of tears. And the time being come that they must depart, they were accompanied with most of their brethren out of the city unto a town sundry [several] miles off called Delfshaven, where the ship lay ready to receive them.

So they left that goodly and pleasant city which had been their resting place near twelve years, but they knew they were pilgrims and looked not much on those things but lift up their eyes to the heavens, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits. When they came to the place, they found the ship and all things ready. And such of their friends as could not come with them followed after them, and sundry [several] also came from Amsterdam to see them shipped and to take their leave of them. That night was spent with little sleep by the most but with friendly entertainment and Christian discourse and other real expressions of true Christian love.

The next day (*the wind being fair*), they went aboard and their friends with them, where truly doleful was the sight of that sad and mournful parting. To see what sighs and sobs and prayers did sound amongst them, what tears did gush from every eye and pithy speeches pierced each heart, that sundry [several] of the Dutch strangers that stood on the key as spectators could not refrain from tears. Yet comfortable and sweet it was to see such lively and true expressions of clear and unfeigned love. But the tide (*which stays for no man*) calling them away that were thus loath to depart, their reverend pastor, falling down on his knees (*and they all with him*) with watery cheeks, commended them with most fervent prayers to the Lord and His blessing. And then with mutual embraces and many tears, they took their leaves one of another, which proved to be the last leave to many of them.

Thus, hoisting sail with a prosperous wind (*this was about twenty-second of July*), they came in short time to Southampton, where they found the bigger ship come from London lying ready with all the rest of their company. After a joyful welcome and mutual congratulations with other friendly entertainments, they fell to parley about their business, how to dispatch with the best expedition, as also with their agents about the alteration of the conditions. Mr. Carver pleaded he was employed here at Hampton and knew not well what the other had done at London.

Mr. Cushman answered he had done nothing but what he was urged to, partly by the grounds of equity and more especially by necessity. Otherwise, all had been dashed and many undone. And in the beginning, he acquainted his fellow agents herewith who consented unto him and left it to him to execute and to receive the money at London and send it down to them at Hampton, where they made the provisions. The which he accordingly did, though it was against his mind and some of the merchants that they were there made.

And for giving them notice at Leiden of this change, he could not, well in regard of the shortness of the time. Again, he knew it would trouble them and hinder the business which was already delayed overlong in regard of the season of the year, which he feared they would find to their cost. But these things gave not content at present.

Mr. Weston likewise came up from London to see them dispatched and to have the conditions confirmed, but they refused and answered him that he knew right well that these were not according to the first agreement. Neither could they yield to them without the consent of the rest that were behind. And indeed, they had a special charge when they came away from the chief of

those that were behind not to do it. At which he was much offended and told them they must then look to stand on their own legs. So he returned in displeasure, and this was the first ground of discontent between them.

And whereas there wanted well near £100 to clear things at their going away, he would not take order to disburse a penny, but let them shift as they could. So they were forced to sell off some of their provisions to stop this gap, which was some three or four score firkins [fifty-six-pound barrels] of butter, which commodity they might best spare, having provided too large a quantity of that kind. Then they writ a letter to the merchants and adventurers about the differences concerning the conditions, as followeth.

August 3, Anno 1620

Beloved Friends,

Sorry we are that there should be occasion of writing at all unto you, partly because we ever expected to see the most of you here, but especially because there should any difference at all be conceived between us. But seeing it falleth out that we cannot confer together, we think it meet (though briefly) to show you the just cause and reason of our differing from those articles last made by Robert Cushman without our commission or knowledge. And though he might propound good ends to himself, yet it no way justifies his doing it.

Our main difference is in the fifth and ninth article[s] concerning the dividing or holding of house and lands, the enjoying whereof some of yourselves well know was one special motive amongst many other[s] to provoke us to go. This was thought so reasonable that when the greatest of you in adventure [Weston] (whom we have much cause to respect), when he propounded conditions to us freely of his own accord, he set this down for one. A copy whereof we have sent unto you with some additions then added by us which, being liked on both sides and a day set for the payment of moneys, those of Holland paid in theirs.

After that, Robert Cushman, Mr. Peirce, and Mr. Martin brought them into a better form and wrote them in a book now extant [still existing]. And upon Robert's showing them and delivering Mr. Mullins a copy thereof under his hand (which we have), he paid in his money. And we of Holland had never seen [any] other before our coming to Hampton but only as one got for himself a private copy of them. Upon sight whereof, we manifested utter dislike but had put off our estates and were ready to come, and therefore, [it] was too late to reject the voyage.

Judge therefore, we beseech you, indifferently of things, and if a fault have been committed, lay it where it is and not upon us, who have more cause to stand for the one than you have for the other. We never gave Robert Cushman commission to make any one article for us but only sent him to receive

moneys upon articles before agreed on and to further the provisions till John Carver came and to assist him in it.

Yet since you conceive yourselves wronged as well as we, we thought meet to add a branch to the end of our ninth article as will almost heal that wound of itself, which you conceive to be in it. But that it may appear to all men that we are not lovers of ourselves only but desire also the good and enriching of our friends who have adventured your moneys with our persons, we have added our last article to the rest, promising you again by letters in the behalf of the whole company that if large profits should not arise within the seven years, that we will continue together longer with you if the Lord give a blessing.²

This, we hope, is sufficient to satisfy any in this case, especially friends, since we are assured that if the whole charge was divided into four parts, three of them will not stand upon it, neither do regard it, etc. We are in such a strait at present as we are forced to sell away £60 worth of our provisions to clear the Haven and withal put ourselves upon great extremities, scarce having any butter, no oil, not a sole to mend a shoe, nor every man a sword to his side, wanting many muskets, much armor, etc.

² BRADFORD'S SIDE NOTE: *It was well for them that this was not accepted.*

And yet we are willing to expose ourselves to such imminent dangers as are like to ensue and trust to the good providence of God, rather than His name and truth should be evil spoken of for us. Thus, saluting all of you in love and beseeching the Lord to give a blessing to our endeavor and keep all our hearts in the bonds of peace and love, we take leave and rest,

*Yours, etc.
Aug. 3, 1620*

It was subscribed with many names of the chiefest of the company.

At their parting, Mr. Robinson wrote a letter to the whole company which, though it hath already been printed, yet I thought good here likewise to insert it, as also a brief letter writ at the same time to Mr. Carver in which the tender love and godly care of a true pastor appears.

My Dear Brother,

I received enclosed in your last letter the note of information which I shall carefully keep and make use of, as there shall be occasion. I have a true feeling of your perplexity of mind and toil of body, but I hope that you, who have 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 have been great enough) cannot oppress you, though they press you.

As the Apostle speaks: 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 godly and wise brethren for the bearing of part of your burthen [burden] who also will not admit into their hearts the least thought of suspicion of any the least negligence, at least presumption, to have been in you, whatsoever they think in others.

Now what shall I say or write unto you and your goodwife [missus], my loving sister? Even only this. I desire (and always shall) unto you from the Lord as unto my own soul and assure yourself that my heart is with you and that I will not forslow [delay] my bodily coming at the first opportunity.

I have written a large letter to the whole and am sorry I shall not rather speak than write to them and the more, considering the want of a preacher, which I shall also make some spur to my hastening after you. I do ever commend my best affection unto you, which if I thought you made any doubt of, I would express in more and the same more ample and full words. And the Lord, in whom you trust and whom you serve ever in this business and journey, guide you with His hand, protect you with His wing, and show you and us His salvation in the end and bring us in the meanwhile together in the

place desired if such be His goodwill for His Christ's sake. Amen. Yours, etc.

*John Robinson
July 27, 1620*

This was the last letter that Mr. Carver lived to see from him. The other follows.

Loving Christian Friends,

I do heartily and in the Lord salute you all, as being they with whom I am present in my best affection and most earnest longings after you, though I be constrained for a while to be bodily absent from you. I say constrained, God knowing how willingly and much rather than otherwise I would have borne my part with you in this first brunt were I not by strong necessity held back for the present.

Make account of me, in the meanwhile, as of a man divided in myself with great pain and as (natural bonds set aside) having my better part with you. And though I doubt not but in your godly wisdoms you both foresee and resolve upon that which concerneth your present state and condition both severally and jointly, yet have I thought it but my duty to add some further spur of provocation unto them who run already, if not because you need it, yet because I owe it in love and duty.

And first, as we are daily to renew our repentance with our God, especially for our sins known and generally for our unknown trespasses, so doth the

Lord call us in a singular manner upon occasions of such difficulty and danger as lieth upon you to a both more narrow search and careful reformation of your ways in His sight lest He, calling to remembrance our sins forgotten by us or unrepented of, take advantage against us and, in judgment, leave us for the same to be swallowed up in one danger or other.

Whereas on the contrary, sin being taken away by earnest repentance and the pardon thereof from the Lord sealed up unto a man's conscience by His spirit, great shall be His security and peace in all dangers, sweet His comforts in all distresses with happy deliverance from all evil, whether in life or in death.

Now next after this heavenly peace with God and our own consciences, we are carefully to provide for peace with all men what in us lieth, especially with our associates and for the watchfulness [that] must be had that we neither at all in ourselves do give, no, nor easily take offense being given by others. Woe be unto the world for offenses, for though it be necessary (considering the malice of Satan and man's corruption) that offenses come, yet woe unto the man or woman, either, by whom the offense cometh, saith Christ, Matthew 18:7.

And if offenses, in the unseasonable use of things in themselves indifferent, be more to be feared than death itself, as the apostle teacheth, I Corinthians 9:15, how much more in things simply evil, in

which neither honor of God nor love of man is thought worthy to be regarded. Neither yet is it sufficient that we keep ourselves, by the grace of God, from giving offense except [unless] withal we be armed against the taking of them when they be given by others. For how imperfect and lame is the work of grace in that person who wants charity to cover a multitude of offenses, as the scriptures speak.

Neither are you to be exhorted to this grace only upon the common grounds of Christianity, which are that persons ready to take offense either want charity to cover offenses or wisdom duly to weigh human frailty or, lastly, are gross [large] though close [secret] hypocrites, as Christ our Lord teacheth, Matthew 7:1-2-3. As indeed, in my own experience, few or none have been found which sooner give offense than such as easily take it. Neither have they ever proved sound and profitable members in societies which have nourished this touchy humor.

But besides these, there are divers [several] motives provoking you above others to great care and conscience this way. As first, you are, many of you, strangers as to the persons, so to the infirmities one of another, and so stand in need of more watchfulness this way lest when such things fall out in men and women as you suspected not, you be inordinately affected with them, which doth require at your hands much wisdom and charity for the

covering and preventing of incident offenses that way.

And lastly, your intended course of civil community will minister continual occasion of offense and will be as fuel for that fire except [unless] you diligently quench it with brotherly forbearance. And if taking of offense causelessly or easily at men's doings be [is] so carefully to be avoided, how much more heed is to be taken that we take not offense at God Himself, which yet we certainly do so oft as we do murmur at His providence in our crosses or bear impatiently such afflictions as wherewith He pleaseth to visit us. Store up, therefore, patience against the evil day, without which we take offense at the Lord Himself in His holy and just works.

A fourth thing there is carefully to be provided for to wit [is] that with your common employments, you join common affections truly bent upon the general good, avoiding as a deadly plague of your both common and special comfort all retiredness of mind for proper advantage and all singularly affected any manner of way. Let every man repress in himself and the whole body in each person, as so many rebels against the common good, all private respects of men's selves not sorting with the general conveniency.

And as men are careful not to have a new house shaken with any violence before it be well settled and the parts firmly knit, so be you, I beseech you, brethren, much more careful that the house of God,

which you are and are to be, be not shaken with unnecessary novelties or other oppositions at the first settling thereof.

Lastly, whereas you are become a body politic using amongst yourselves civil government and are not furnished with any persons of special eminency above the rest to be chosen by you into office of government, let your wisdom and godliness appear not only in choosing such persons as do entirely love and will promote the common good but also in yielding unto them all due honor and obedience in their lawful administrations. Not beholding in them the ordinariness of their persons but God's ordinance for your good. Not being like the foolish multitude who more honor the gay coat [fine clothes] than either the virtuous mind of the man or glorious ordinance of the Lord.

But you know better things and that the image of the Lord's power and authority, which the magistrate beareth, is honorable in how[ever] mean [lacking eminence] persons soever. And this duty you both may the more willingly and ought the more conscionably to perform because you are, at least for the present, to have only them for your ordinary governors which yourselves shall make choice of for that work.

Sundry [several] other things of importance I could put you in mind of, and of those before mentioned in more words, but I will not so far wrong your godly minds as to think you heedless of these

things, there being also divers [several] among you so well able to admonish both themselves and others of what concerneth them.

These few things, therefore, and the same in few words I do earnestly commend unto your care and conscience, joining therewith my daily incessant prayers unto the Lord that He who hath made the heavens and the earth, the sea and all rivers of waters, and whose providence is over all His works, especially over all His dear children for good, would so guide and guard you in your ways as inwardly by His Spirit, so outwardly by the hand of His power, as that both you and we also, for and with you, may have after matter of praising His name all the days of your and our lives. Fare you well in Him, in whom you trust and in whom I rest. An unfeigned well-willer of your happy success in this hopeful voyage,

John Robinson

This letter, though large, yet being so fruitful in itself and suitable to their occasion, I thought meet to insert in this place.

All things being now ready and every business dispatched, the company was called together and this letter read amongst them, which had good acceptation with all and afterfruit [outcome] with many. Then they ordered and distributed their company for either ship as they conceived for the best and chose a governor and two or three

assistants for each ship to order the people by [on] the way and see to the disposing of their provisions and such like affairs. All which was not only with the liking of the masters of the ships but according to their desires. All which being done, they set sail from thence about the fifth of August. But what befell [happened to] them further upon the coast of England will appear in the next chapter.

The 8 Chapter



Of the troubles that befell them on the coast and at sea, being forced, after much trouble, to leave one of the ships and some of their company behind them

Being thus put to sea, they had not gone far, but Mr. Reynolds, the master of the lesser ship, complained that he found his ship so leak[y] as he durst [dared] not put further to sea till she was mended. So the master of the bigger ship (*called Mr. Jones*) being consulted with, they both resolved to put into Dartmouth and have her there searched and mended, which accordingly was done to their great charge and loss of time and a fair wind. She was here thoroughly searched from stem to stern. Some leaks were found and mended, and now it was conceived by

the workmen and all that she was sufficient, and they might proceed without either fear or danger.

So with good hopes from hence, they put to sea again, conceiving they should go comfortably on, not looking for any more lets [obstructions] of this kind. But it fell out otherwise. For after they were gone to sea again above one hundred leagues without the Lands End, holding company together all this while, the master of the small ship complained his ship was so leak[y] as he must bear up or sink at sea, for they could scarce free her with much pumping.

So they came to consultation again and resolved both ships to bear up back again and put into Plymouth, which accordingly was done. But no special leak could be found, but it was judged to be the general weakness of the ship and that she would not prove sufficient for the voyage. Upon which it was resolved to dismiss her and part of the company and proceed with the other ship, the which (*though it was grievous and caused great discouragement*) was put in execution.

So after they had took out such provision as the other ship could well stow and concluded both what number and what persons to send back, they made another sad parting, the one ship going back for London, and the other was to proceed on her voyage. Those that went back were, for the most part, such as were willing so to do, either out of some discontent or fear they conceived of

the ill success of the voyage, seeing so many crosses befall [occur] and the year time so far spent. But others, in regard of their own weakness and charge of many young children, were thought least useful and most unfit to bear the brunt of this hard adventure, unto which work of God and judgment of their brethren they were contented to submit. And thus, like Gideon's army, this small number was divided, as if the Lord, by this work of His providence, thought these few too many for the great work He had to do.

But here, by the way, let me show how afterward it was found that the leakiness of this ship was partly by being overmasted and too much pressed with sails. For after she was sold and put into her old trim, she made many voyages and performed her service very sufficiently, to the great profit of her owners. But more especially by the cunning and deceit of the master and his company (*who were hired to stay a whole year in the country*), and now fancying dislike and fearing want of victuals [food], they plotted this stratagem to free themselves, as afterwards was known and by some of them confessed.

For they apprehended that the greater ship (*being of force and in whom most of the provisions were stowed*), she would retain enough for herself, whatsoever became of them or the passengers. And indeed, such speeches had been cast out by some of them. And yet besides other

encouragements, the chief of them that came from Leiden went in this ship to give the master content. But so strong was self-love and his fears as he [shipmaster] forgot all duty and former kindnesses and dealt thus falsely with them, though he pretended otherwise.

Amongst those that returned was Mr. Cushman and his family, whose heart and courage was gone from them before (*as it seems*), though his body was with them till now he departed, as may appear by a passionate letter he writ to a friend in London from Dartmouth whilst the ship lay there a-mending. The which, besides the expressions of his own fears, it shows much of the providence of God working for their good beyond man's expectation and other things concerning their condition in these straits. I will here relate it. And though it discover [reveal] some infirmities in him (*as who under temptation is free*), yet after this, he continued to be a special instrument for their good and to do the offices of a loving friend and faithful brother unto them and partaker of much comfort with them. The letter is as followeth.

To his loving friend Edwin Sandys at Heneage House in The Dukes Place, these, etc.

Dartmouth, August 17, Anno 1620

Loving friend,

My most kind remembrance to you and your wife, with loving E. M., etc., whom in this world I never look to see again. For besides the imminent dangers of this voyage, which are no less than deadly, an infirmity of body hath seized me which will not in all likelihood leave me till death. What to call it, I know not, but it is a bundle of lead, as it were, crushing my heart more and more these fourteen days, as that although I do the actions of a living man, yet I am but as dead. But the will of God be done.

Our pinnace [two-masted ship] will not cease leaking, else I think we had been halfway at Virginia. Our voyage hither hath been as full of crosses as ourselves have been of crookedness. We put in here to trim her, and I think, as others also, if we had stayed at sea but three or four hours more, she would have sunk right down. And though she was twice trimmed at Hampton, yet now she is open and leaky as a sieve, and there was a board a man might have pulled off with his fingers, two foot long, where the water came in as at a mole hole.

We lay at Hampton seven days in fair weather waiting for her, and now we lie here waiting for her in as fair a wind as can blow and so have done these four days and are like to lie four more. And by that time, the wind will happily turn as it did at Hampton. Our victuals [food] will be half eaten up, I think, before we go from the coast of England, and if our voyage last long, we shall not have a month's victuals [food] when we come in the country.

Near £700 hath been bestowed at Hampton, upon what, I know not. Mr. Martin³ saith he neither can nor will give any account of it, and if he be called upon for accounts, he crieth out of unthankfulness for his pains and care, that we are suspicious of him, and flings away and will end nothing. Also, he so insulteth over our poor people with such scorn and contempt as if they were not good enough to wipe his shoes. It would break your heart to see his dealing and the mourning of our people. They complain to me, and, alas, I can do nothing for them. If I speak to him, he flies in my face as mutinous and saith no complaints shall be heard or received but by himself and saith they are forward and waspish, discontented people, and I do ill to hear them.

There are others that would lose all they have put in or make satisfaction for what they have had, that they might depart. But he will not hear them nor suffer them to go ashore lest they should run away. The sailors also are so offended at his ignorant boldness in meddling and controlling in things he knows not what belongs to as that some threaten to mischief him. Others say they will leave the ship and go their way. But at the best, this cometh of it, that he makes himself a scorn and laughingstock unto them.

³ BRADFORD'S SIDE NOTE: *He was governor in the bigger ship and Mr. Cushman assistant.*

As for Mr. Weston, except [unless] grace do greatly sway with him, he will hate us ten times more than ever he loved us for not confirming the conditions. But now, since some pinches have taken them, they begin to revile the truth and say Mr. Robinson was in the fault who charged them never to consent to those conditions nor choose me into office, but indeed appointed them to choose them they did choose.⁴ But he and they will rue too late, they may now see, and all be ashamed when it is too late that they were so ignorant, yea, and so inordinate in their courses.

I am sure as they were resolved not to seal those conditions, I was not so resolute at Hampton to have left the whole business except [unless] they would seal them. And better the voyage to have been broken off then than to have brought such misery to ourselves, dishonor to God, and detriment to our loving friends as now it is like to do. Four or five of the chief of them which came from Leiden came resolved never to go on those conditions.

And Mr. Martin, he said he never received no [any] money on those conditions, he was not beholden to the merchants for a penny, they were bloodsuckers, and I know not what. Simple man, he indeed never made any conditions with the merchants nor ever spake with them. But did all that money fly to Hampton, or was it his own? Who will go and lay out money so rashly and lavishly as he did and

⁴ BRADFORD'S SIDE NOTE: *I think he was deceived in these things.*

never know how he comes by it or on what conditions?

Secondly, I told him of the alteration long ago, and he was content. But now he domineers and said I had betrayed them into the hands of slaves, he is not beholden to them, [and] he can set out two ships himself to a voyage. When, good man? He hath but £50 in, and if he should give up his accounts, he would not have a penny left him, as I am persuaded, etc.⁵

Friend, if ever we make a plantation, God works a miracle, especially considering how scant we shall be of victuals [food] and, most of all, un-united amongst ourselves and devoid of good tutors and regiment. Violence will break all. Where is the meek and humble spirit of Moses? And of Nehemiah, who re-edified the walls of Jerusalem and the state of Israel? Is not the sound of Rehoboam's brags daily here amongst us? Have not the philosophers and all wise men observed that even in settled commonwealths, violent governors bring either themselves or people or both to ruin? How much more in the raising of commonwealths when the mortar is yet scarce tempered that should bind the walls?

If I should write to you of all things which promiscuously forerun our ruin, I should overcharge my weak head and grieve your tender heart. Only

⁵ BRADFORD'S SIDE NOTE: *This was found true, afterward.*

this, I pray you prepare for evil tidings of us every day. But pray for us instantly. It may be the Lord will be yet entreated one way or other to make for us.

I see not in reason how we shall escape even the gasping of hunger-starved persons, but God can do much, and His will be done. It is better for me to die than now for me to bear it, which I do daily and expect it hourly, having received the sentence of death both within me and without me. Poor William King and myself do strive who shall be meat first for the fishes, but we look for a glorious resurrection, knowing Christ Jesus after the flesh no more. But looking unto the joy that is before us, we will endure all these things and account them light in comparison of that joy we hope for.

Remember me in all love to our friends as if I named them, whose prayers I desire earnestly and wish again to see, but not till I can with more comfort look them in the face. The Lord give us that true comfort which none can take from us. I had a desire to make a brief relation of our estate to some friend. I doubt not but your wisdom will teach you seasonably to utter things as hereafter you shall be called to it. That which I have written is true and many things more which I have forborne. I write it as upon my life and last confession in England. What is of use to be spoken of presently, you may speak of it, and what is fit to conceal, conceal. Pass by my weak manner, for my head is weak and my

*body feeble. The Lord make me strong in Him and
keep both you and yours. Your loving friend,*

*Robert Cushman
Dartmouth, August 17, 1620*

These being his conceptions and fears at
Dartmouth, they must needs be much stronger
now at Plymouth.

The 9 Chapter



Of their voyage and how they passed the sea, and their safe arrival at Cape Cod

September 6. These troubles being blown over and now all being compact together in one ship, they put to sea again with a prosperous wind which continued divers [several] days together, which was some encouragement unto them. Yet, according to the usual manner, many were afflicted with seasickness.

And I may not omit here a special work of God's providence. There was a proud and very profane young man, one of the seamen of a lusty [strong], able body, which made him the more haughty. He would always be contemning [treating with contempt] the poor people in their sickness and cursing them daily with grievous execrations

[condemnations] and did not let [suffer] to tell them that he hoped to help to cast half of them overboard before they came to their journey's end and to make merry with what they had. And if he were by any gently reprov'd, he would curse and swear most bitterly. But it pleas'd God, before they came half seas over, to smite this young man with a grievous disease of which he died in a desperate manner, and so was himself the first that was thrown overboard. Thus, his curses light on his own head, and it was an astonishment to all his fellows, for they not'd it to be the just hand of God upon him.

After they had enjoy'd fair winds and weather for a season, they were encounter'd many times with crosswinds and met with many fierce storms, with which the ship was shroudly shaken and her upper works made very leaky. And one of the main beams in the midships was bow'd and crack'd, which put them in some fear that the ship could not be able to perform the voyage. So some of the chief of the company (*perceiving the mariners to fear the sufficiency of the ship, as appeared by their mutterings*), they enter'd into serious consultation with the master and other officers of the ship to consider in time of the danger and rather to return than to cast themselves into a desperate and inevitable peril. And truly, there was great distraction and difference of opinion amongst the mariners themselves. Fain would they do what could be

done for their wages' sake (*being now half the seas over*), and on the other hand, they were loath to hazard their lives too desperately.

But in examining of all opinions, the master and others affirmed they knew the ship to be strong and firm underwater. And for the buckling of the main beam, there was a great iron screw the passengers brought out of Holland which would raise the beam into his place. The which being done, the carpenter and master affirmed that, with a post put under it, set firm in the lower deck and otherwise bound, he would make it sufficient. And as for the decks and upper works, they would caulk them as well as they could, and though with the working of the ship, they would not long keep staunch, there would otherwise be no great danger if they did not overpress her with sails. So they committed themselves to the will of God and resolved to proceed.

In sundry [several] of these storms, the winds were so fierce and the seas so high as they could not bear a knot of sail but were forced to hull [drift] for divers [several] days together. And in one of them, as they thus lay at hull in a mighty storm, a lusty [strong] young man (*called John Howland*), coming upon some occasion above the gratings, was, with a seel [roll] of the ship, thrown into sea. But it pleased God that he caught hold of the top-sail halliards which hung overboard and ran out at length. Yet he held his hold (*though he was sundry [several] fathoms*

underwater) till he was hauled up by the same rope to the brim of the water and then, with a boat hook and other means, got into the ship again and his life saved. And though he was something ill with it, yet he lived many years after and became a profitable member both in church and commonwealth.

In all this voyage, there died but one of the passengers, which was (*William Butten*) a youth servant to Samuel Fuller, when they drew near the coast. But to omit other things (*that I may be brief*), after long beating at sea, they fell with that land which is called Cape Cod, the which being made and certainly known to be it, they were not a little joyful. After some deliberation had amongst themselves and with the master of the ship, they tacked about and resolved to stand for the southward (*the wind and weather being fair*) to find some place about Hudson's River for their habitation.

But after they had sailed that course about half the day, they fell amongst dangerous shoals and roaring breakers, and they were so far entangled therewith as they conceived themselves in great danger. And the wind shrinking [shrieking] upon them withal, they resolved to bear up again for the cape and thought themselves happy to get out of those dangers before night overtook them, as by God's providence they did. And the next day, they got into the cape harbor, where they rid in safety.

A word or two, by the way, of this cape. It was thus first named by Captain Gosnold and his company, Anno 1602 (*because they took much of the [cod] fish there*), and after, by Captain Smith, was called Cape James. But it retains the former name amongst seamen. Also, that point which first showed those dangerous shoals unto them, they called Point Care and Tucker's Terror. But the French and Dutch to this day call it Malabar [meaning *bruiser*], by reason of those perilous shoals and the losses they have suffered there.

Being thus arrived in a good harbor and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees and blessed the God of heaven who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean and delivered them from all the perils and miseries thereof, again to set their feet on the firm and stable earth, their proper element. And no marvel if they were thus joyful, seeing wise Seneca was so affected with sailing a few miles on the coast of his own Italy, as he affirmed that he had rather remain twenty years on his way by land than pass by sea to any place in a short time, so tedious and dreadful was the same unto him.

But here, I cannot but stay and make a pause and stand half amazed at this poor people's present condition. And so I think will the reader, too, when he well considers the same. Being thus past the vast ocean and a sea of troubles before in their preparation (*as may be remembered by that which went before*), they had now no friends to welcome

them nor inns to entertain or refresh their weatherbeaten bodies, no houses or much less towns to repair to, to seek for succor [help]. It is recorded in Scripture (*Acts 28*) as a mercy to the apostle and his shipwrecked company that the barbarians showed them no small kindness in refreshing them. But these savage barbarians, when they met with them (*as after will appear*), were readier to fill their sides full of arrows than otherwise.

And for the season, it was winter, and they that know the winters of that country know them to be sharp and violent and subject to cruel and fierce storms, dangerous to travel to known places, much more to search an unknown coast. Besides, what could they see but a hideous and desolate wilderness full of wild beasts and wild men, and what multitudes there might be of them, they knew not. Neither could they (*as it were*) go up to the top of Pisgah to view from this wilderness a more goodly country to feed their hopes. For which way soever they turned their eyes (*save upward to the heavens*), they could have little solace or content in respect of any outward objects.

For summer being done, all things stand upon them with a weatherbeaten face, and the whole country (*full of woods and thickets*) represented a wild and savage view. If they looked behind them, there was the mighty ocean which they had passed and was now as a main bar and gulf to

separate them from all the civil parts of the world. If it be said they had a ship to succor [help] them, it is true. But what heard they daily from the master and company but that with speed, they should look out a place (*with their shallop [shallow-water boat]*) where they would be at some near distance. For the season was such as he would not stir from thence till a safe harbor was discovered by them where they would be and he might go [enter] without danger. And that victuals [food] consumed apace, but he must and would keep sufficient for themselves [crew] and their return. Yea, it was muttered by some that if they got not a place in time, they [crew] would turn them and their goods ashore and leave them.

Let it also be considered what weak hopes of supply and succor [help] they left behind them that might bear up their minds in this sad condition and trials they were under, and they could not but be very small. It is true, indeed, the affections and love of their brethren at Leiden was cordial and entire towards them, but they had little power to help them or themselves, and how the case stood between them and the merchants at their coming away hath already been declared.

What could now sustain them but the spirit of God and his grace? May not and ought not the children of these fathers rightly say, "Our fathers were Englishmen which came over this great ocean and were ready to perish in this wilderness, but they cried unto the Lord, and He

heard their voice and looked on their adversity,”
etc. (*Deuteronomy 26:5-7*).

Let them therefore praise the Lord because He is good, and His mercies endure forever. Yea, let them which have been redeemed of the Lord show how He hath delivered them from the hand of the oppressor. When they wandered in the desert wilderness out of the way and found no city to dwell in, both hungry and thirsty, their soul was overwhelmed in them. Let them confess before the Lord His loving kindness and His wonderful works before the sons of men (*Psalms 107:1-2, 4-5, 8*).

The 10 Chapter



Showing how they sought out a place of habitation and what befell them thereabout

Being thus arrived at Cape Cod the eleventh of November and necessity calling them to look out a place for habitation (*as well as the master's and mariners' importunity [persistent begging]*), they, having brought a large shallop [shallow-water boat] with them out of England stowed in quarters in the ship, they now got her out and set their carpenters to work to trim her up. But being much bruised and shattered in the ship with foul weather, they saw she would be long in mending. Whereupon a few of them tendered themselves to go by land and discover those nearest places whilst the shallop [shallow-

water boat] was in mending and the rather because as they went into that harbor, there seemed to be an opening some two or three leagues off which the master judged to be a river. It was conceived there might be some danger in the attempt, yet seeing them resolute, they were permitted to go, being sixteen of them well armed under the conduct of Captain Standish, having such instructions given them as was thought meet.

They set forth the fifteenth of November, and when they had marched about the space of a mile by the seaside, they espied five or six persons with a dog coming towards them who were savages, but they [Indians] fled from them and ran up into the woods. And the English followed them, partly to see if they could speak with them and partly to discover if there might not be more of them lying in ambush. But the Indians, seeing themselves thus followed, they again forsook the woods and ran away on the sands as hard as they could. So as they [English] could not come near them but followed them by the track of their feet sundry [several] miles and saw that they had come the same way.

So night coming on, they made their rendezvous and set out their sentinels and rested in quiet that night. And the next morning, [they] followed their track till they had headed a great creek and

so left the sands and turned another way into the woods, but they still followed them by guess, hoping to find their dwellings. But they soon lost both them and themselves, falling into such thickets as were ready to tear their clothes and armor in pieces, but were most distressed for want of drink. But at length, they found water and refreshed themselves, being the first New England water they drunk of and was now, in their great thirst, as pleasant unto them as wine or beer had been in foretimes [the past].

Afterward, they directed their course to come to the other shore, for they knew it was a neck of land they were to cross over, and so, at length, got to the seaside and marched to this supposed river. And by [on] the way, found a pond of clear fresh water and shortly after, a good quantity of clear ground where the Indians had formerly set corn and some of their graves. And proceeding further, they saw new stubble where corn had been set the same year.

Also, they found where lately a house had been, where some planks and a great kettle was remaining and heaps of sand newly-paddled with their hands, which they, digging up, found in them divers [several] fair Indian baskets filled with corn and some in ears, fair and good of divers [various] colors, which seemed to them a very goodly sight (*having never seen any such before*).

This was near the place of that supposed river they came to seek, unto which they went and found it to open itself into two arms with a high cliff of sand in the entrance. But more like to be creeks of salt water than any fresh, for ought they saw, and that there was good harborage for their shallop [shallow-water boat], leaving it further to be discovered by their shallop when she was ready. So their time limited [and] them being expired [tired], they returned to the ship lest they should be in fear of their safety and took with them part of the corn and buried up the rest. And so like the men from Eshcol, [they] carried with them of the fruits of the land and showed their brethren, of which and their return they were marvelously glad and their hearts encouraged.

After this, the shallop [shallow-water boat] being got ready, they set out again for the better discovery of this place, and the master of the ship desired to go himself, so there went some thirty men, but [they] found it to be no harbor for ships but only for boats. There was also found two of their houses covered with mats and sundry [several] of their implements in them, but the people were run away and could not be seen. Also, there was found more of their corn and of their beans of various colors. The corn and beans they brought away, purposing to give them full satisfaction when they should meet with any of them (*as about some six months afterward they did, to their good content*).

And here is to be noted a special providence of God and a great mercy to this poor people. That here, they got seed to plant them corn the next year, or else they might have starved, for they had none nor any likelihood to get any till the season had been past (*as the sequel did manifest*). Neither is it likely they had had this if the first voyage had not been made, for the ground was now all covered with snow and hard frozen. But the Lord is never wanting unto His in their greatest needs. Let His holy name have all the praise.

The month of November being spent in these affairs and much foul weather falling in, the sixth of December, they sent out their shallop [shallow-water boat] again with ten of their principal men and some seamen upon further discovery, intending to circulate that deep bay of Cape Cod. The weather was very cold, and it froze so hard as the spray of the sea lighting on their coats, they were as if they had been glazed. Yet that night betimes [early], they got down into the bottom of the bay, and as they drew near the shore, they saw some ten or twelve Indians very busy about something. They landed about a league or two from them and had much ado to put ashore anywhere, it lay so full of flats.

Being landed, it grew late, and they made themselves a barricade with logs and boughs as well as they could in the time and set out their sentinel and betook [committed] them[selves] to rest and saw the smoke of the fire the savages

made that night. When morning was come, they divided their company, some to coast along the shore in the boat, and the rest marched through the woods to see the land, if any fit place might be for their dwelling. They came also to the place where they saw the Indians the night before and found they had been cutting up a great fish like a grampus, being some two inches thick of fat like a hog, some pieces whereof they had left by the way. And the shallop [shallow-water boat] found two more of these fishes dead on the sands, a thing usual after storms in that place by reason of the great flats of sand that lie off.

So they ranged up and down all that day but found no people nor any place they liked. When the sun grew low, they hastened out of the woods to meet with their shallop [shallow-water boat], to whom they made signs to come to them into a creek hard by [nearby], the which they did at high water. Of which, they were very glad, for they had not seen each other all that day since the morning. So they made them a barricade (*as usually they did every night*) with logs, stakes, and thick pine boughs the height of a man, leaving it open to leeward, partly to shelter them from the cold and wind (*making their fire in the middle and lying round about it*) and partly to defend them from any sudden assaults of the savages if they should surround them.

So being very weary, they betook [committed] them[selves] to rest. But about midnight, they

heard a hideous and great cry, and their sentinel called, "Arm! Arm!" So they bestirred [roused] them[selves] and stood to their arms and shot off a couple of muskets, and then the noise ceased. They concluded it was a company of wolves or such like wild beasts, for one of the seamen told them he had often heard such a noise in Newfoundland. So they rested till about five of the clock in the morning, for the tide and their purpose to go from thence made them bestirring [rousing] betimes [early].

So after prayer, they prepared for breakfast, and it being day dawning, it was thought best to be carrying things down to the boat. But some said it was not best to carry the arms down; others said they would be the readier [if carried to the boat], for they had lapped them up in their coats from the dew. But some three or four would not carry theirs till they went themselves. Yet as it fell out, the water being not high enough, they laid them down on the bank side and came up to breakfast.

But presently, all on the sudden, they heard a great and strange cry, which they knew to be the same voices they heard in the night, though they varied their notes. And one of their company, being abroad, came running in and cried, "Men! Indians! Indians!" And withal, their arrows came flying amongst them.

Their men ran with all speed to recover their arms as, by the good providence of God, they did. In

the meantime, of those that were there ready, two muskets were discharged at them, and two more stood ready in the entrance of their rendezvous but were commanded not to shoot till they could take full aim at them. And the other two charged again with all speed, for there were only four [that] had arms there, and defended the barricade which was first assaulted.

The cry of the Indians was dreadful, especially when they saw their men run out of the rendezvous towards the shallop [shallow-water boat] to recover their arms, the Indians wheeling about upon them. But some, running out with coats of maille [chain mail armor] on and cutlasses in their hands, they soon got their arms and let fly amongst them and quickly stopped their violence.

Yet there was a lusty [strong] man, and no less valiant, stood behind a tree within half a musket shot and let his arrows fly at them. He was seen shoot three arrows, which were all avoided. He stood three shot[s] of a musket till one taking full aim at him and made the bark or splinters of the tree fly about his ears, after which, he gave an extraordinary shriek, and away they went, all of them.

They left some to keep the shallop [shallow-water boat] and followed them about a quarter of a mile and shouted once or twice and shot off two or three pieces [guns] and so returned. This they did

[so] that they might conceive that they were not afraid of them or any way discouraged. Thus, it pleased God to vanquish their enemies and give them deliverance and, by His special providence, so to dispose that not any one of them were either hurt or hit, though their arrows came close by them and on every side [of] them, and sundry [several] of their coats which hung up in the barricade were shot through and through. Afterwards, they gave God solemn thanks and praise for their deliverance and gathered up a bundle of their arrows and sent them into England afterward by the master of the ship and called that place *The First Encounter*.

From hence, they departed and coasted all along but discerned no place likely for harbor. And therefore hastened to a place that their pilot (*one Mr. Coppin, who had been in the country before*) did assure them was a good harbor which he had been in, and they might fetch it before night, of which they were glad, for it began to be foul weather. After some hours sailing, it began to snow and rain, and about the middle of the afternoon, the wind increased, and the sea became very rough, and they broke their rudder. And it was as much as two men could do to steer her with a couple of oars, but their pilot bade them be of good cheer, for he saw the harbor. But, the storm increasing and night drawing on, they bore what sail they could to get in while they could see.

But herewith, they broke their mast in three pieces, and their sail fell overboard in a very grown sea so as they had like to have been cast away. Yet by God's mercy, they recovered themselves and, having the flood with them, struck into the harbor. But when it came to, the pilot was deceived in the place and said the Lord be merciful unto them, for his eyes never saw that place before.

And he and the master mate would have run her ashore in a cove full of breakers before the wind, but a lusty [strong] seaman which steered bade those which rowed [that] if they were men, “about with her [turn the bow through the eye of the wind]” or else they were all cast away, the which they did with speed. So he bid them be of good cheer and row lustily, for there was a fair sound before them, and he doubted not but they should find one place or other where they might ride in safety. And though it was very dark and rained sore [heavily], yet in the end, they got under the lee of a small island and remained there all that night in safety.

But they knew not this to be an island till morning but were divided in their minds. Some would keep [to] the boat for fear they might be amongst the Indians. Others were so weak and cold, they could not endure but got ashore and, with much ado, got fire (*all things being so wet*). And the rest were glad to come to them, for after

midnight, the wind shifted to the northwest, and it froze hard.

But though this had been a day and night of much trouble and danger unto them, yet God gave them a morning of comfort and refreshing (*as usually he doth to His children*). For the next day was a fair sunshining day, and they found themselves to be on an island secure from the Indians, where they might dry their stuff [woolens], fix their pieces [guns], and rest themselves, and gave God thanks for His mercies in their manifold deliverances. And this being the last day of the week, they prepared there to keep the Sabbath.

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

On the fifteenth of December, they weighed anchor to go to the place they had discovered and came within two leagues of it but were fain to bear up again. But the sixteenth day, the wind came fair, and they arrived safe in this harbor and afterwards took better view of the place and resolved where to pitch their dwelling. And the

twenty-fifth day, began to erect the first house for common use to receive them and their goods.

The 2 Book



The rest of this history (if God give me life and opportunity) I shall (for brevity's sake) handle by way of annals, noting only the heads of principal things and passages as they fell in order of time and may seem to be profitable to know or to make use of. And this may be as the second.

The Remainder of Anno 1620



I shall a little return back and begin with a combination made by them before they came ashore, being the first foundation of their government in this place, occasioned partly by the discontented and mutinous speeches that some of the strangers amongst them had let fall from them in the ship. That when they came ashore, they would use their own liberty, for none had power to command them, the patent they had being for Virginia and not for New England, which belonged to another government with which the Virginia Company had nothing to do. And partly that such an act by them done (*this their condition considered*) might be as firm as any patent and, in some respects, more sure.

The form was as followeth.

[MAYFLOWER COMPACT]

In the name of God. Amen. We, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, etc.

Having undertaken, for the glory of God and advancement of the Christian faith and honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civil body politic for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid. And by virtue hereof 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.

After this, they chose, or rather confirmed, Mr. John Carver (*a man godly and well-approved*

amongst them) [as] their governor for that year. And after they had provided a place for their goods or common store (*which were long in unloading for want of boats, foulness of winter weather, and sickness of divers [several]*) and begun some small cottages for their habitation as time would admit, they met and consulted of laws and orders both for their civil and military government as the necessity of their condition did require, still adding thereunto as urgent occasion in several times and as cases did require.

In these hard and difficult beginnings, they found some discontents and murmurings arise amongst some and mutinous speeches and carriages in other[s]. But they were soon quelled and overcome by the wisdom, patience, and just and equal carriage of things by the governor and better part, which clave faithfully together in the main.

But that which was most sad and lamentable was that in two or three months' time, half of their company died, especially in January and February, being the depth of winter and wanting houses and other comforts, being infected with the scurvy and other diseases which this long voyage and their inaccommodate condition had brought upon them. So as there died sometimes two or three of a day in the foresaid time. That of one hundred odd persons, scarce fifty remained.

And of these, in the time of most distress, there was but six or seven sound persons who, to their great commendations be it spoken, spared no pains night nor day but, with abundance of toil and hazard of their own health, fetched them wood, made them fires, dressed them meat, made their beds, washed their loathsome clothes, clothed, and unclothed them. In a word, did all the homely and necessary offices for them which dainty and queasy stomachs cannot endure to hear named. And all this willingly and cheerfully, without any grudging in the least, showing herein their true love unto their friends and brethren, a rare example and worthy to be remembered.

Two of these seven were Mr. William Brewster, their reverend elder, and Myles Standish, their captain and military commander (*unto whom myself and many others were much beholden in our low and sick condition*). And yet the Lord so upheld these persons as in this general calamity they were not at all infected either with sickness or lameness. And what I have said of these, I may say of many others who died in this general visitation and others yet living. That whilst they had health, yea, or any strength continuing, they were not wanting to any that had need of them. And I doubt not but their recompense is with the Lord.

But I may not here pass by another remarkable passage not to be forgotten as this calamity fell among the passengers that were to be left here to

plant and were hasted ashore and made to drink water [so] that the seamen might have the more beer. And one in his sickness (*which was this author himself*) desiring but a small can of beer, it was answered that if he were their own father, he should have none.

The disease began to fall amongst them [crew] also, so as almost half of their company died before they went away and many of their officers and lustiest men, as the boatswain, gunner, three quartermasters, the cook, and others. At which, the master was something stricken and sent to the sick ashore and told the governor he should send for beer for them that had need of it, though he drunk water homeward bound.

But now amongst his company [crew], there was far another kind of carriage in this misery than amongst the passengers. For they that before had been boon companions in drinking and jollity in the time of their health and welfare began now to desert one another in this calamity, saying they would not hazard their lives for them. They should be infected by coming to help them in their cabins and so, after they came to die by it, would do little or nothing for them. But if they died, let them die.

But such of the passengers as were yet aboard showed them what mercy they could, which made some of their hearts relent, as the boatswain (*and some others*), who was a proud young man and

would often curse and scoff at the passengers. But when he grew weak, they had compassion on him and helped him. Then he confessed he did not deserve it at their hands; he had abused them in word and deed. "Oh (*saith he*), you, I now see, show your love like Christians indeed one to another, but we let one another lie and die like dogs."

Another lay cursing his wife, saying if it had not been for her, he had never come [on] this unlucky voyage, and anon [soon] cursing his fellows, saying he had done this and that for some of them. He had spent so much and so much amongst them, and they were now weary of him and did not help him, having need.

Another gave his companion all he had, if he died, to help him in his weakness. He [his companion] went and got a little spice and made him a mess of meat once or twice, and because he died not so soon as he expected, he went amongst his fellows and swore the rogue would cozen [trick] him. He would see him choked before he made him any more meat. And yet the poor fellow died before morning.

All this while, the Indians came skulking about them and would sometimes show themselves aloof off, but when any approached near them, they would run away. And once, they stole away their tools where they had been at work and were gone to dinner.

But about the sixteenth of March, a certain Indian came boldly amongst them and spoke to them in broken English, which they could well understand but marveled at it. At length, they understood by discourse with him that he was not of these parts but belonged to the eastern parts, where some English ships came to fish, with whom he was acquainted and could name sundry [several] of them by their names, amongst whom he had got his language.

He became profitable to them in acquainting them with many things concerning the state of the country in the east parts where he lived, which was afterwards profitable unto them, as also of the people here of their names, number, and strength, of their situation and distance from this place, and who was chief amongst them. His name was Samoset. He told them also of another Indian whose name was Squanto, a native of this place who had been in England and could speak better English than himself.

Being after some time of entertainment and gifts dismissed, awhile after, he came again and five more with him. And they brought again all the tools that were stolen away before and made way for the coming of their great sachem [chief] called Massasoit, who, about four or five days after, came with the chief of his friends and other attendance with the aforesaid Squanto. With whom, after friendly entertainment and some gifts given him, they made a peace with

him (*which hath now continued this twenty-four years*) in these terms.

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

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

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

4. *If any did unjustly war against him, they would aid him. If any did war against them, he should aid them.*

5. *He should send to his neighbors confederates to certify them of this, that they might not wrong them but might be likewise comprised in the conditions of peace.*

6. *That when their men came to them, they should leave their bows and arrows behind them.*

After these things, he returned to his place called Sowams, some forty mile[s] from this place, but Squanto continued with them and was their interpreter and was a special instrument sent of God for their good beyond their expectation. He directed them how to set their corn, where to take fish and to procure other commodities, and was

also their pilot to bring them to unknown places for their profit and never left them till he died.

He was a native of this place and scarce any left alive besides himself. He was carried away with divers [several] others by one Hunt, a master of a ship, who thought to sell them for slaves in Spain. But he got away for England and was entertained by a merchant in London and employed to Newfoundland and other parts and lastly brought hither into these parts by one Mr. Dermer, a gentleman employed by Sir Ferdinando Gorges and others for discovery and other designs in these parts, of whom I shall say something because it is mentioned in a book set forth Anno 1622 by the President and Council for New England that he made the peace between the savages of these parts and the English, of which this plantation (*as it is intimated*) had the benefit. But what a peace it was may appear by what befell [happened to] him and his men.

This Mr. Dermer was here the same year that these people came, as appears by a relation written by him and given me by a friend bearing date June 30, Anno 1620. And they [Mayflower passengers] came in November following, so there was but four month's difference. In which relation to his honored friend, he hath these passages of this very place.

I will first begin (saith he) with that place from whence Squanto, or Tisquantem, was taken away,

which in Captain Smith's map is called Plymouth. And I would that Plymouth had the like [same] commodities. I would that the first plantation might here be seated if there come to the number of fifty persons or upward. Otherwise, at Charlton because there, the savages are less to be feared.

The Pokanokets, which live to the west of Plymouth, bear an inveterate malice to the English and are of more strength than all the savages from thence to Penobscot. Their desire of revenge was occasioned by an English man who, having many of them on board, made a great slaughter with their murderers [breech-loading swivel guns] and small shot when as (they say) they offered no injury on their parts. Whether they were English or no[t], it may be doubted, yet they believe they were, for the French have so possessed them. For which cause, Squanto cannot deny but they would have killed me when I was at Nemasket had he not entreated hard for me.

The soil of the borders of this great bay may be compared to most of the plantations which I have seen in Virginia. The land is of divers [various] sorts. For Patuxet is a hardy but strong soil. Nauset and Satucket are, for the most part, a blackish and deep mold much like that where groweth the best tobacco in Virginia. In the bottom of that great bay is store of cod and bass or mullet, etc.

But above all, he commends Pokanoket for the richest soil and much open ground fit for English grain, etc. Massachusetts is about nine leagues

from Plymouth and situated in the midst between both is full of islands and peninsulas, very fertile, for the most part. With sundry [several] such relations which I forbear to transcribe, being now better known than they were to him.

He was taken prisoner by the Indians at Monomoit (*a place not far from hence, now well known*). He gave them what they demanded for his liberty, but when they had got what they desired, they kept him still and endeavored to kill his men. But he was freed by seizing on some of them and kept them bound till they gave him a canoe's load of corn. Of which, see *Purchas, libro 9, folio 1778*. But this was Anno 1619.

After the writing of the former relation, he came to the Isle of Capawack (*which lies south of this place in the way to Virginia*) and the foresaid Squanto with him, where he, going ashore amongst the Indians to trade as he used to do, was betrayed and assaulted by them and all his men slain but one that kept the boat. But himself got aboard very sore [severely] wounded, and they had cut off his head upon the cuddy [small cabin] of his boat had not the man rescued him with a sword.

And so they got away and made shift to get into Virginia where he died, whether of his wounds or the diseases of the country or both together is uncertain. By all which, it may appear how far these people were from peace and with what

danger this plantation was begun, save as the powerful hand of the Lord did protect them. These things were partly the reason why they [Indians] kept aloof and were so long before they came to the English.

Another reason (*as after themselves made known*) was how, about three years before, a French ship was cast away at Cape Cod, but the men got ashore and saved their lives and much of their victuals [food] and other goods. But after the Indians heard of it, they gathered together from these parts and never left, watching and dogging them till they got advantage and killed them all but three or four, which they kept and sent from one sachem [chief] to another to make sport with and used [treated] them worse than slaves (*of which the foresaid Mr. Dermer redeemed two of them*). And they conceived this ship was now come to revenge it.

Also (*as after was made known*), before they came to the English to make friendship, they got all the powahs [shamans] of the country for three days together in a horrid and devilish manner to curse and execrate [condemn] them with their conjurations, which assembly and service they held in a dark and dismal swamp.

But to return.

The spring now approaching, it pleased God the mortality began to cease amongst them, and the

sick and lame recovered apace, which put, as it were, new life into them, though they had borne their sad affliction with [as] much patience and contentedness as I think any people could do. But it was the Lord which upheld them and had beforehand prepared them, many having long borne the yoke, yea, from their youth.

Many other smaller matters I omit, sundry [several] of them having been already published in a journal made by one of the company and some other passages of journeys and relations already published, to which I refer those that are willing to know them more particularly. And being now come to the twenty-fifth of March, I shall begin the year 1621.

Anno 1621



They now began to dispatch the ship away which brought them over, which lay till about this time or the beginning of April. The reason on their parts why she stayed so long was the necessity and danger that lay upon them, for it was well towards the end of December before she could land anything here or they [were] able to receive anything ashore. Afterwards, the fourteenth of January, the house which they had made for a general rendezvous by casualty fell afire, and some were fain to retire aboard for shelter. Then the sickness began to fall sore [severely] amongst them, and the weather so bad as they could not make much sooner any dispatch.

Again, the governor and chief of them, seeing so many die and fall down sick daily, thought it no

wisdom to send away the ship, their condition considered and the danger they stood in from the Indians, till they could procure some shelter. And therefore thought it better to draw some more charge [expense] upon themselves and friends than hazard all. The master and seamen likewise, though before, they [had] hasted the passengers ashore to be gone. Now, many of their men being dead and of the ablest of them (*as is before noted*), and of the rest, many lay sick and weak, the master durst [dared] not put to sea till he saw his men begin to recover and the heart of winter over.

Afterward, they (*as many as were able*) began to plant their corn, in which service Squanto stood them in great stead, showing them both the manner [of] how to set it and, after, how to dress and tend it. Also, he told them except [unless] they got fish and set with it (*in these old grounds*), it would come to nothing. And he showed them that in the middle of April, they should have store enough come up the brook, by which they began to build, and taught them how to take it and where to get other provisions necessary for them, all which they found true by trial and experience. Some English seed they sowed, as wheat and peas, but it came not to good, either by the badness of the seed or lateness of the season, or both, or some other defect.

In this month of April, whilst they were busy about their seed, their governor (*Mr. John Carver*) came out of the field very sick, it being a

hot day. He complained greatly of his head and lay down, and within a few hours, his senses failed so as he never spoke more till he died, which was within a few days after. Whose death was much lamented and caused great heaviness amongst them, as there was cause. He was buried in the best manner they could, with some volleys of shot by all that bore arms, and his wife, being a weak woman, died within five or six weeks after him.

Shortly after, William Bradford was chosen governor in his stead. And being not yet recovered of his illness in which he had been near the point of death, Isaac Allerton was chosen to be an assistant unto him, who by renewed election every year continued sundry [several] years together, which I here note once for all.

May twelfth was the first marriage in this place, which, according to the laudable custom of the Low Countries [The Netherlands] in which they had lived, was thought most requisite to be performed by the magistrate as being a civil thing upon which many questions about inheritances do depend, with other things most proper to their cognizance and most consonant to the scriptures, Ruth 4, and nowhere found in the gospel to be laid on the ministers as a part of their office.

This decree or law about marriage was published by the States of the Low Countries, Anno 1590, "That those of any religion (*after lawful and open*

publication) coming before the magistrates in the town or statehouse were to be orderly (*by them*) married one to another," Petit's *History*, folio 1029. And this practice hath continued amongst not only them, but hath been followed by all the famous churches of Christ in these parts to this time, Anno 1646.

Having, in some sort, ordered their business at home, it was thought meet to send some abroad to see their new friend Massasoit and to bestow upon him some gratuity to bind him the faster unto them. As also, that hereby they might view the country and see in what manner he lived, what strength he had about him, and how the ways were to his place if at any time they should have occasion.

So the second of July, they sent Mr. Edward Winslow and Mr. Hopkins, with the foresaid Squanto for their guide, who gave him [Massasoit] a suit of clothes and a horseman's coat with some other small things, which were kindly accepted. But they found but short commons [crop land] and came both weary and hungry home, for the Indians used then to have nothing so much corn as they have since the English have stored them with their hoes and seen their industry in breaking up new grounds therewith.

They found his place to be forty miles from hence, the soil good, and the people not many, being

dead and abundantly wasted in the late great mortality which fell in all these parts about three years before the coming of the English wherein thousands of them died. They not being able to bury one another, their skulls and bones were found in many places lying still aboveground where their houses and dwellings had been, a very sad spectacle to behold. But they brought word that the Narragansetts lived but on the other side of that great bay and were a strong people and many in number, living compact together, and had not been at all touched with this wasting plague.

About the later end of this month, one John Billington lost himself in the woods and wandered up and down some five days, living on berries and what he could find. At length, he lit on [discovered] an Indian plantation twenty miles south of this place called Manomet. They conveyed him further off to Nauset among those people that had before set upon the English when they were coasting whilst the ship lay at the cape, as is before noted. But the governor caused him to be inquired for among the Indians, and at length, Massasoit sent word where he was, and the governor sent a shallop [shallow-water boat] for him and had him delivered. Those people also came and made their peace, and they gave full satisfaction to those whose corn they had found and taken when they were at Cape Cod.

Thus, their peace and acquaintance was pretty well established with the natives about them. And there was another Indian called Hobomok come to live amongst them, a proper, lusty [strong] man, and a man of account for his valor and parts amongst the Indians, and continued very faithful and constant to the English till he died.

He and Squanto being gone upon business among the Indians, at their return (*whether it was out of envy to them or malice to the English*), there was a sachem [chief] called Corbitant, allied to Massasoit but never any good friend to the English to this day, met with them at an Indian town called Nemasket, fourteen miles to the west of this place, and began to quarrel with them and offered [threatened] to stab Hobomok. But being a lusty [strong] man, he [Hobomok] cleared himself off him and came running away all sweating and told the governor what had befallen [happened to] him. And he feared they had killed Squanto, for they threatened them both and for no other cause but because they were friends to the English and serviceable unto them.

Upon this, the governor taking counsel, it was conceived not fit to be borne. For if they should suffer their friends and messengers thus to be wronged, they should have none would cleave to them or give them any intelligence or do them service afterwards, but next, they would fall upon themselves. Whereupon it was resolved to send the captain and fourteen men well-armed and to

go and fall upon them in the night. And if they found that Squanto was killed, to cut off Corbitant's head, but not to hurt any but those that had a hand in it. Hobomok was asked if he would go and be their guide and bring them there before day. He said he would and bring them to the house where the man lay and show them which was he.

So they set forth the fourteenth of August and beset the house round. The captain, giving charge to let none pass out, entered the house to search for him. But he was gone away that day, so they missed him but understood that Squanto was alive and that he had only threatened to kill him and made an offer to stab him but did not. So they withheld and did no more hurt, and the people came trembling and brought them the best provisions they had after they were acquainted by Hobomok what was only intended.

There was three sore [severely] wounded which broke out of the house and assayed to pass through the guard. These they brought home with them, and they had their wounds dressed and cured and sent home. After this, they had many congratulations from divers [several] sachems [chiefs] and much firmer peace. Yea, those of the Isles of Capawack sent to make friendship, and this Corbitant himself used the mediation of Massasoit to make his peace but was shy to come near them a long while after.

After this, the eighteenth of September, they sent out their shallop [shallow-water boat] to the Massachusetts with ten men, and Squanto for their guide and interpreter, to discover and view that bay and trade with the natives, the which they performed and found kind entertainment. The people were much afraid of the Tarrantines, a people to the eastward which used to come in harvest time and take away their corn and many times kill their persons. They returned in safety and brought home a good quantity of beaver and made report of the place, wishing they had been there seated (*but it seems the Lord, who assigns to all men the bounds of their habitations, had appointed it for another use*). And thus, they found the Lord to be with them in all their ways and to bless their outgoings and incomings. For which, let His holy name have the praise forever to all posterity.

They began now to gather in the small harvest they had and to fit up their houses and dwellings against winter, being all well recovered in health and strength, and had all things in good plenty. For as some were thus employed in affairs abroad, others were exercised in fishing about cod and bass and other fish, of which they took good store, of which every family had their portion. All the summer, there was no want.

And now began to come in store of fowl as winter approached, of which this place did abound when they came first (*but afterward decreased by*

degrees). And besides waterfowl, there was a great store of wild turkeys, of which they took many, besides venison, etc. Besides, they had about a peck a meal a week to a person, or now since harvest, Indian corn to that proportion, which made many afterwards write so largely of their plenty here to their friends in England, which were not feigned but true reports.

In November about that time, twelvemonth that themselves came, there came in a small ship (*she came the ninth to the cape*) to them unexpected or looked for, in which came Mr. Cushman (*so much spoken of before*) and with him thirty-five persons to remain and live in the plantation, which did not a little rejoice them. And they, when they came ashore and found all well and saw plenty of victuals [food] in every house, were no less glad. For most of them were lusty [strong] young men, and many of them wild enough who little considered whither or about what they went till they came into the harbor at Cape Cod and there saw nothing but a naked and barren place.

They then began to think what should become of them if the people here were dead or cut off by the Indians. They began to consult (*upon some speeches that some of the seamen had cast out*) to take the sails from the yard lest the ship should get away and leave them there. But the master hearing of it gave them good words and told them if anything but well should have befallen [happened to] the people here, he hoped he had

victuals [food] enough to carry them to Virginia, and whilst he had a bit, they should have their part, which gave them good satisfaction.

So they were all landed, but there was not so much as biscuit cake or any other victuals [food] for them (*nay, they were fain to spare the ship some to carry her home*). Neither had they any bedding but some sorry things they had in their cabins, nor pot nor pan to dress any meat in, nor over many clothes, for many of them had brushed away their coats and cloaks at Plymouth as they came. But there was sent over some Birching Lane [cheap, ready-made] suits in the ship out of which they were supplied. The plantation was glad of this addition of strength but could have wished that many of them had been of better condition and all of them better furnished with provisions. But that could not now be helped.

In this ship, Mr. Weston sent a large letter to Mr. Carver, the late governor now deceased, full of complaints and expostulations about former passages at Hampton and the keeping the ship so long in the country and returning her without lading, etc., which for brevity I omit. The rest is as followeth.

Part of Mr. Weston's letter:

I durst [dared] never acquaint the adventurers with the alteration of the conditions first agreed on between us, which I have since been very glad of.

For I am well assured had they known as much as I do, they would not have adventured a halfpenny of what was necessary for this ship. That you sent no lading in the ship is wonderful [astonishing] and worthily distasted. I know your weakness was the cause of it, and I believe more weakness of judgment than weakness of hands. A quarter of the time you spent in discoursing, arguing, and consulting would have done much more, but that is past, etc.

If you mean bona fide to perform the conditions agreed upon, do us the favor to copy them out fair and subscribe them with the principal of your names. And likewise give us account as particularly as you can how our moneys were laid out, and then I shall be able to give them some satisfaction whom I am now forced with good words to shift off.

And consider that the life of the business depends on the lading of this ship, which, if you do to any good purpose that I may be freed from the great sums I have disbursed for the former and must do for the latter, I promise you I will never quit the business, though all the other adventurers should.

We have procured you a charter the best we could, which is better than your former and with less limitation. For anything that is else worth writing, Mr. Cushman can inform you. I pray, write instantly for Mr. Robinson to come to you. And so praying God to bless you with all graces necessary,

both for this life and that to come, I rest your very loving friend,

*Thomas Weston
London, July 6, 1621*

This ship (*called the Fortune*) was speedily dispatched away, being laden with good clapboard [wood planks] as full as she could stow and two hogsheads [sixty-six gallon barrels] of beaver and otter skins, which they got with a few trifling commodities brought with them at first, being altogether unprovided for trade. Neither was there any amongst them that ever saw a beaver skin till they came here and were informed by Squanto. The freight was estimated to be worth near £500.

Mr. Cushman returned back also with this ship, for so Mr. Weston and the rest had appointed him for their better information. And he doubted not, nor themselves neither, but they should have a speedy supply, considering also how by Mr. Cushman's persuasion and letters received from Leiden wherein they willed them so to do. They yielded to the aforesaid conditions and subscribed them with their hands.

But it proved otherwise for Mr. Weston, who had made the large promise in his letter (*as is before noted*) that if all the rest should fall off, yet he would never quit the business but stick to them if they yielded to the conditions and sent some

lading in the ship. And of this, Mr. Cushman was confident and confirmed the same from his mouth and serious protestations to himself before he came. But all proved but wind, for he [Weston] was the first and only man that forsook them, and that before he so much as heard of the return of this ship or knew what was done (*so vain is the confidence in man*). But of this, more in its place.

A letter in answer to his writ to Mr. Carver was sent to him from the governor, of which so much as is pertinent to the thing in hand I shall here insert.

Sir,

Your large letter written to Mr. Carver and dated the sixth of July 1621, I have received the tenth of November, wherein (after the apology made for yourself) you lay many heavy imputations upon him and us all. Touching him, he is departed this life and now is at rest in the Lord from all those troubles and encumbrances with which we are yet to strive. He needs not my apology, for his care and pains was so great for the common good, both ours and yours, as that therewith (it is thought) he oppressed himself and shortened his days. Of whose loss we cannot sufficiently complain.

At great charges in this adventure, I confess you have been, and many losses may sustain. But the loss of his and many other honest and industrious men's lives cannot be valued at any price. Of the

one, there may be hope of recovery, but the other, no recompense can make good. But I will not insist in generals but come more particularly to the things themselves.

You greatly blame us for keeping the ship so long in the country and then to send her away empty. She lay five weeks at Cape Cod whilst, with many a weary step (after a long journey) and the endurance of many a hard brunt, we sought out, in the foul winter, a place of habitation. Then we went in so tedious a time to make provision to shelter us and our goods, about which labor many of our arms and legs can tell us to this day [that] we were not negligent. But it pleased God to visit us then with death daily and with so general a disease that the living were scarce able to bury the dead and the well not in any measure sufficient to tend the sick.

And now to be so greatly blamed for not freighting the ship doth indeed go near us and much discourage us. But you say you know we will pretend weakness. And do you think we had not cause?

Yes, you tell us you believe it, but it was more weakness of judgment than of hands. Our weakness herein is great, we confess. Therefore, we will bear this check patiently amongst the rest till God send us wiser men. But they which told you we spent so much time in discoursing and consulting, etc., their hearts can tell their tongues [that] they lie. They cared not, so they might salve their own sores, how

they wounded others. Indeed, it is our calamity that we are (beyond expectation) yoked with some ill-conditioned people who will never do good but [will] corrupt and abuse others, etc.

The rest of the letter declared how they had subscribed those conditions according to his desire and sent him the former accounts very particularly. Also, how the ship was laden and in what condition their affairs stood, [as] that the coming of these people would bring famine upon them unavoidably if they had not supply in time (*as Mr. Cushman could more fully inform him and the rest of the adventurers*). Also, that seeing he was now satisfied in all his demands, that offenses would be forgotten and he remember his promise, etc.

After the departure of this ship (*which stayed not above fourteen days*), the governor and his assistant, having disposed these latecomers into several families as they best could, took an exact account of all their provisions in store and proportioned the same to the number of persons and found that it would not hold out above six months at half allowance and hardly that. And they could not well give less this wintertime till fish came in again. So they were presently put to half allowance, one as well as another, which began to be hard, but they bore it patiently under hope of supply.

Soon after this ship's departure, that great people of the Narragansetts, in a braving manner, sent a messenger unto them with a bundle of arrows tied about with a great snakeskin, which their interpreters told them was a threatening and a challenge. Upon which, the governor, with the advice of others, sent them a round answer that if they had rather have war than peace, they might begin when they would. They had done them no wrong; neither did they fear them or should they find them unprovided. And by another messenger, [they] sent the snakeskin back with bullets in it. But they would not receive it but sent it back again.

But these things I do but mention because they are more at large already put forth in print by Mr. Winslow at the request of some friends. And it is like the reason was their own ambition, who (*since the death of so many of the Indians*) thought to domineer and lord it over the rest and conceived the English would be a bar in their way and saw that Massasoit took shelter already under their wings.

But this made them the more carefully to look to themselves, so as they agreed to enclose their dwellings with a good strong pale [pointed stake fence] and make flankers in convenient places with gates to shut, which were every night locked, and a watch kept. And when need required, there was also warding in the daytime. And the company was, by the captain's and the

governor's advice, divided into four squadrons, and everyone had their quarter appointed them unto which they were to repair upon any sudden alarm. And if there should be any cry of fire, a company were appointed for a guard with muskets whilst others quenched the same to prevent Indian treachery. This was accomplished very cheerfully and the town impaled [fenced] round by the beginning of March in which every family had a pretty garden plot secured.

And herewith I shall end this year. Only I shall remember one passage more rather of mirth than of weight. On the day called Christmas Day, the governor called them out to work (*as was used [usual]*), but the most of this new company excused themselves and said it went against their consciences to work on that day. So the governor told them that if they made it [a] matter of conscience, he would spare them till they were better informed. So he led away the rest and left them.

But when they came home at noon from their work, he found them in the street at play, openly, some pitching the bar and some at stoolball and such like sports. So he went to them and took away their implements and told them that [it] was against his conscience that they should play and others work. If they made the keeping of it [a] matter of devotion, let them keep [to] their houses, but there should be no gaming or reveling

in the streets. Since which time, nothing hath been attempted that way, at least openly.

Anno 1622



At the spring of the year, they had appointed the Massachusetts to come again and trade with them and began now to prepare for that voyage about the later end of March. But upon some rumors heard, Hobomok, their Indian, told them upon some jealousies [suspicions] he had. He feared they [the Massachusetts] were joined with the Narragansetts and might betray them if they were not careful. He intimated also some jealousy [suspicion] of Squanto, by what he gathered from some private whisperings between him and other Indians. But they resolved to proceed and sent out their shallop [shallow-water boat] with ten of their chief men about the beginning of April, and both Squanto and Hobomok with them, in regard of the jealousy [suspicion] between them.

But they had not been gone long, but an Indian belonging to Squanto's family came running in, seeming [in] great fear, and told them that many of the Narragansetts with Corbitant and, he thought also, Massasoit were coming against them, and he got away to tell them, not without danger. And being examined by the governor, he made as if they were at hand and would still be looking back as if they were at his heels. At which the governor caused them to take arms and stand on their guard and, supposing the boat to be still within hearing (*by reason it was calm*), caused a warning piece [gun] or two to be shot off, the which they heard and came in. But no Indians appeared.

Watch was kept all night, but nothing was seen. Hobomok was confident for Massasoit and thought all was false, yet the governor caused him to send his wife privately to see what she could observe (*pretending other occasions*). But there was nothing found, but all was quiet. After this, they proceeded on their voyage to the Massachusetts and had good trade and returned in safety, blessed be God.

But by the former passages and other things of like nature, they began to see that Squanto sought his own ends and played his own game by putting the Indians in fear and drawing gifts from them to enrich himself, making them believe he could stir up war against whom he would and make peace for whom he would. Yea, he made them believe

they [the English] kept the plague buried in the ground and could send it amongst whom they would, which did much terrify the Indians and made them depend more on him and seek more to him than to Massasoit, which procured him envy and had like to have cost him his life.

For after the discovery of his practices, Massasoit sought it [Squanto's life] both privately and openly, which caused him [Squanto] to stick close to the English and never durst [dared] go from them till he died. They also made good use of the emulation that grew between Hobomok and him, which made them carry more squarely. And the governor seemed to countenance the one and the captain the other, by which they had better intelligence and made them both more diligent.

Now, in a manner, their provisions were wholly spent, and they looked hard for supply, but none came. But about the later end of May, they spied a boat at sea (*which at first they thought had been some Frenchman*). But it proved a shallop [shallow-water boat] which came from a ship which Mr. Weston and another had set out a-fishing at a place called Damariscove, forty leagues to the eastward of them, where were that year many more ships come a-fishing. This boat brought seven passengers and some letters but no victuals [food] nor any hope of any. Some part of which I shall set down.

Mr. Carver,

In my last letters by the Fortune, in whom Mr. Cushman went and who I hope is with you, for we daily expect the ship back again, she departed hence the beginning of July with thirty-five persons, though not over well-provided with necessaries by reason of the parsimony of the adventurers. I have solicited them to send you a supply of men and provisions before she come. They all answer they will do great matters when they hear good news, nothing before. So faithful, constant, and careful of your good are your old and honest friends that if they hear not from you, they are like to send you no supply, etc.

I am now to relate the occasion of sending this ship, hoping if you give credit to my words, you will have a more favorable opinion of it than some here, whereof (Pickering is one) who taxed me to mind my own ends, which is in part true, etc. Mr. Beauchamp and myself bought this little ship and have set her out partly, if it may be, to uphold the plantation⁶ as well to do others good as ourselves and partly to get up what we are formerly out, though we are otherwise censured, etc. This is the occasion we have sent this ship and these passengers on our own account whom we desire you will friendly entertain and supply with such necessaries as you can spare and they want, etc.

And among other things, we pray you lend or sell them some seed corn and, if you have the salt

⁶ BRADFORD'S SIDE NOTE: *I know not which way.*

remaining of the last year, that you will let them have it for their present use, and we will either pay you for it or give you more when we have set our saltpan to work, which we desire may be set up in one of the little islands in your bay, etc., and because we intend, if God please (and the generality do it not), to send within a month another ship who, having discharged her passengers, shall go to Virginia, etc.

And it may be we shall send a small ship to abide with you on the coast, which I conceive may be a great help to the plantation. To the end our desire may be effected, which I assure myself will be also for your good, we pray you give them entertainment in your houses the time they shall be with you, that they may lose no time but may presently go in hand to fell trees and cleave them, to the end [that] lading may be ready and our ship stay not.

Some of the adventurers have sent you herewith all some directions for your furtherance in the common business who are like those St. James speaks of that bid their brother eat and warm him[self], but give him nothing. So they bid you make salt and uphold the plantation but send you no means wherewithal to do it, etc.

By the next, we purpose to send more people on our own account and to take a patent. That if your people should be as unhuman as some of the adventurers not to admit us to dwell with them,

which were extreme barbarism and which will never enter into my head to think you have any such Pickeringings amongst you. Yet to satisfy our passengers, I must of force do it and for some other reasons not necessary to be written, etc. I find the general so backward and your friends at Leiden so cold that I fear you must stand on your legs and trust (as they say) to God and yourselves. Subscribed your loving friend,

*Thomas Weston
January 12, 1621*

Sundry [several] other things I pass over, being tedious and impertinent.

All this was but cold comfort to fill their hungry bellies and a slender performance of his former late promise. And as little did it either fill or warm them as those the Apostle James spoke of, by him before mentioned, and well might it make them remember what the psalmist saith, Psalm 118:8: It is better to trust in the Lord than to have confidence in man. And Psalm 146: Put not you[r] trust in princes (*much less in the merchants*) nor in the son of man, for there is no help in them. Verse 5: Blessed is he that hath the God of Jacob for his help, whose hope is in the Lord his God.

And as they were now failed of supply by him and others in this their greatest need and wants, which was caused by him and the rest who put so great a company of men upon them as the former

company were without any food and came at such a time as they must live almost a whole year before any could be raised except [unless] they had sent some. So upon the point, they never had any supply of victuals [food] more afterwards (*but what the Lord gave them otherwise*). For all [that] the company sent at any time was always too short for those people that came with it.

There came also by the same ship other letters but of later date, one from Mr. Weston, another from a part of the adventurers as followeth.

Mr. Carver,

Since my last, to the end [that] we might the more readily proceed to help the general, at a meeting of some of the principal adventurers, a proposition was put forth and allowed by all present (save Pickering) to adventure each man the third part of what he formerly had done. And there are some other that follow his example and will adventure no further.

In regard whereof the greater part of the adventurers, being willing to uphold the business, finding it no reason that those that are willing should uphold the business of those that are unwilling, whose backwardness doth discourage those that are forward and hinder other new adventurers from coming in, we, having well considered thereof, have resolved, according to an

article in the agreement (that it may be lawful by a general consent of the adventurers and planters upon just occasion to break off their joint stock), to break it off and do pray you to ratify and confirm the same on your parts. Which being done, we shall the more willingly go forward for the upholding of you with all things necessary. But in any case, you must agree to the articles and send it by the first [ship] under your hands and seals. So I end your loving friend,

*Thomas Weston
January 17, 1621*

Another letter was writ from part of the company of the adventurers to the same purpose and subscribed with nine of their names, whereof Mr. Weston's and Mr. Beachamp's were two.

These things seemed strange unto them, seeing this unconstancy and shuffling. It made them to think there was some mystery in the matter. And therefore, the governor concealed these letters from the public [and] only imparted them to some trusty friends for advice who concluded with him that this tended to disband and scatter them (*in regard of their straits*). And if Mr. Weston and others who seemed to run in a particular way should come over with shipping so provided as his letters did intimate, the most would fall to him, to the prejudice of themselves and the rest of the adventurers, their friends, from whom as yet they heard nothing.

And it was doubted whether he had not sent over such a company in the former ship for such an end. Yet they took compassion of those seven men which this ship (*which fished to the eastward*) had kept till planting time was over and so could set no corn and also wanting victuals [food] (*for they turned them off without any and indeed wanted for themselves*). Neither was their saltpan come, so as they could not perform any of those things which Mr. Weston had appointed, and [they] might have starved if the plantation had not succored [helped] them. Who, in their wants, gave them as good as any of their own. The ship went to Virginia, where they sold both ship and fish, of which (*it was conceived*) Mr. Weston had a very slender account.

After this came another of his ships and brought letters dated the tenth of April from Mr. Weston, as followeth.

Mr. Bradford, these, etc.

The Fortune is arrived, of whose good news touching your estate and proceedings I am very glad to hear. And howsoever he was robbed on the way by the Frenchmen, yet I hope your loss will not be great. For the conceit of so great a return doth much animate the adventurers, so that I hope some matter of importance will be done by them, etc. As for myself, I have sold my adventure and debts unto

*them, so as I am quit of you and you of me, for that matter, etc.*⁷

Now, though I have nothing to pretend as an adventurer amongst you, yet I will advise you a little for your good if you can apprehend it. I perceive and know as well as another the dispositions of your adventurers, whom the hope of gain hath drawn on to this they have done. And yet, I fear that hope will not draw them much further. Besides, most of them are against the sending of them of Leiden, for whose cause this business was first begun, and some of the most religious (as Mr. Greene by name) excepts against them.

So that my advice is (you may follow it if you please) that you forthwith [immediately] break off your joint stock, which you have warrant to do both in law and conscience, for the most part of the adventurers have given way unto it by a former letter. And the means you have there, which I hope will be to some purpose by the trade of this spring, may, with the help of some friends here, bear the charge of transporting those of Leiden. And when they are with you, I make no question but, by God's help, you will be able to subsist of yourselves. But I shall leave you to your discretion.

I desired divers [several] of the adventurers, as Mr. Peirce, Mr. Greene, and others, if they had anything

⁷ BRADFORD'S SIDE NOTE: *See how his promise is fulfilled.*

to send you, either victuals [food] or letters, to send them by these ships. And marveling they sent not so much as a letter, I asked our passengers what letters they had. And with some difficulty, one of them told me he had one which was delivered [to] him with great charge of secrecy and, for more security, to buy a pair of new shoes and sew it between the soles, for fear of intercepting.

I, taking the letter, wondering what mystery might be in it, broke it open and found this treacherous letter subscribed by the hands of Mr. Pickering and Mr. Greene. Which letter, had it come to your hands without answer, might have caused the hurt, if not the ruin, of us all. For assuredly, if you had followed their instructions and showed us that unkindness which they advise you unto, to hold us in distrust as enemies, etc., it might have been an occasion to have set us together by the ears [cause a quarrel among us], to the destruction of us all. For I do believe that in such a case, they, knowing what business hath been between us, not only my brother, but others also, would have been violent and heady against you, and etc.

I meant to have settled the people I before and now send with or near you, as well for their as your more security and defense, as help on all occasions. But I find the adventurers so jealous and suspicious that I have altered my resolution and given order to my brother and those with him to do as they and himself shall find fit. Thus, etc., your loving friend,

Thomas Weston
April 10, 1621

Some part of Mr. Pickering's letter, before mentioned.

To Mr. Bradford and Mr. Brewster, etc.

My dear love remembered unto you all, etc. The company hath bought out Mr. Weston and are very glad they are freed of him, he being judged a man that thought himself above the general and not expressing so much the fear of God as was meet in a man to whom such trust should have been reposed in a matter of so great importance. I am sparing to be so plain as indeed is clear against him, but a few words to the wise.

Mr. Weston will not permit letters to be sent in his ships nor anything for your good or ours, of which there is some reason in respect of himself, etc. His brother Andrew, whom he doth send as principal in one of these ships, is a heady young man and violent and set against you there and the company here, plotting with Mr. Weston their own ends, which tend to your and our undoing in respect of our estates there and prevention of our good ends. For by credible testimony, we are informed his purpose is to come to your colony pretending he comes for and from the adventurers, and [he] will seek to get what you have in readiness into his ships as if they came from the company and, possessing all, will be so much profit to himself. And further,

to inform themselves what special places or things you have discovered, to the end that they may suppress and deprive you, etc.

The Lord, who is the watchman of Israel and sleepeth not, preserve you and deliver you from unreasonable men. I am sorry that there is cause to admonish you of these things concerning this man, so I leave you to God, who bless and multiply you into thousands, to the advancement of the glorious gospel of our Lord Jesus. Amen. Farewell.

I pray, conceal both the writing and delivery of this letter but make the best use of it. We hope to set forth a ship ourselves within this month. Your loving friends,

*Edward Pickering
William Greene*

The heads of his answer.

Mr. Bradford,

This is the letter that I wrote unto you, of which to answer in every particular is needless and tedious. My own conscience and all our people can and, I think, will testify that my end in sending the ship Sparrow was your good, etc. Now, I will not deny but there are many of our people rude fellows, as these men term them, yet I presume they will be governed by such as I set over them. And I hope not only to be able to reclaim them from that

profaneness that may scandalize the voyage but, by degrees, to draw them to God, etc.

I am so far from sending rude fellows to deprive you either by fraud or violence of what is yours, as I have charged the master of the ship Sparrow not only to leave with you 2000 of bread⁸ but also a good quantity of fish, etc. But I will leave it to you to consider what evil this letter would or might have done had it come to your hands and taken the effect the other desired.

Now, if you be of the mind that these men are [rude fellows], deal plainly with us, and we will seek our residence elsewhere. If you are as friendly as we have thought you to be, give us the entertainment of friends, and we will take nothing from you, neither meat, drink, nor lodging, but what we will in one kind or other pay you for, etc. I shall leave in the country a little ship (if God send her safe thither) with mariners and fishermen to stay there who shall coast and trade with the savages and the old plantation. It may be [that] we shall be as helpful to you as you will be to us. I think I shall see you the next spring, and so I commend you to the protection of God, whoever keep you. Your loving friend,

Thomas Weston

⁸ BRADFORD'S SIDE NOTE: *But he left not his own men a bit of bread.*

Thus, all their hopes in regard of Mr. Weston were laid in the dust and all his promised help turned into an empty advice, which they apprehended was neither lawful nor profitable for them to follow. And they were not only thus left destitute of help in their extreme wants, having neither victuals [food] nor anything to trade with, but others prepared and ready to glean up what the country might have afforded for their relief.

As for those harsh censures and suspicions intimated in the former and following letters, they desired to judge as charitably and wisely of them as they could, weighing them in the balance of love and reason. And though they (*in part*) came from godly and loving friends, yet they conceived many things might arise from overdeep [excessive] jealousy [suspicion] and fear, together with unmet provocations, though they well saw Mr. Weston pursued his own ends and was embittered in spirit.

For after the receipt of the former letters, the governor received one from Mr. Cushman, who went home in the ship and was always intimate with Mr. Weston (*as former passages declare*), and it was much marveled that nothing was heard from him all this while. But it should seem it was the difficulty of sending, for this letter was directed as the letter of a wife to her husband who was here and brought by him to the governor. It was as followeth.

Beloved Sir,

I heartily salute you with trust of your health and many thanks for your love. By God's providence, we got well home the seventeenth of February, being robbed by the Frenchmen by [on] the way and carried by them into France and were kept there fifteen days and lost all that we had that was worth taking. But thanks be to God, we escaped with our lives and ship. I see not that it worketh any discouragement here.

I purpose by God's grace to see you shortly—I hope in June next or before. In the meanspace [meantime], know these things, and I pray you be advertised a little. Mr. Weston hath quite broken off from our company through some discontents that arose betwixt him and some of our adventurers and hath sold all his adventures and hath now sent three small ships for his particular [own] plantation, the greatest whereof being one hundred tun. Mr. Reynolds goeth [as] master, and he with the rest purposeth to come himself. For what end, I know not.

The people which they carry are no men for us, wherefore I pray you entertain them not, neither exchange man for man with them except [unless] it be some of your worst. He hath taken a patent for himself. If they offer to buy anything of you, let it be such as you can spare, and let them give the worth of it. If they borrow anything of you, let them leave a good pawn, etc.

It is like he will plant to the southward of the cape, for William Trevore hath lavishly told but what he knew or imagined of Capawack, Mohegan, and the Narragansetts. I fear these people will hardly deal so well with the savages as they should. I pray you therefore signify to Squanto that they are a distinct body from us, and we have nothing to do with them; neither must be blamed for their faults, much less can warrant their fidelity.

We are about to recover our losses in France. Our friends at Leiden are well and will come to you as many as can this time. I hope all will turn to the best, wherefore I pray you be not discouraged but gather up yourself to go through these difficulties cheerfully and with courage in that place wherein God hath set you until the day of refreshing come. And the Lord God of sea and land bring us comfortably together again if it may stand with His glory. Yours,

Robert Cushman

On the other side of the leaf in the same letter came these few lines from Mr. John Peirce, in whose name the patent was taken and of whom more will follow, to be spoken in its place.

Worthy Sir,

I desire you to take into consideration that which is written on the other side and not any way to damnify your own colony, whose strength is but

weakness and may thereby be more enfeebled. And for the letters of association, by the next ship we send, I hope you shall receive satisfaction. In the meantime, whom you admit, I will approve. But as for Mr. Weston's company, I think them so base in condition (for the most part), as in all appearance not fit for an honest man's company. I wish they prove otherwise. My purpose is not to enlarge myself but cease in these few lines and so rest your loving friend,

John Peirce

All these things they pondered and well considered, yet concluded to give his men friendly entertainment, partly in regard of Mr. Weston himself, considering what he had been unto them and done for them and to some more especially, and partly in compassion to the people who were now come into a wilderness (*as themselves were*) and were by the ship to be presently put ashore (*for she was to carry other passengers to Virginia who lay at great charge*), and they were altogether unacquainted and knew not what to do.

So, as they had received his former company of seven men and victualed [fed] them as their own hitherto, so they also received these (*being about sixty lusty [strong] men*) and gave housing for themselves and their goods. And many being sick, they had the best means the place could afford them. They stayed here the most part of the summer till the ship came back again from

Virginia. Then, by his direction or those whom he set over them, they removed into the Massachusetts Bay, he having got a patent for some part there (*by light of their former discovery in letters sent home*).

Yet they left all their sick folk here till they were settled and housed. But of their victuals [food], they had not any, though they were in great want, nor anything else in recompense of any courtesy done them. Neither did they desire it, for they saw they were an unruly company and had no good government over them and, by disorder, would soon fall into wants if Mr. Weston came not the sooner amongst them. And therefore, to prevent all after occasion, would have nothing of them.

Amidst these straits and the desertion of those from whom they had hoped for supply, and when famine began now to pinch them sore [severely], they not knowing what to do, the Lord (*who never fails his*) presents them with an occasion beyond all expectation. This boat, which came from the eastward, brought them a letter from a stranger of whose name they had never heard before (*being a captain of a ship come there a-fishing*). This letter was as followeth, being thus inscribed.

To all his good friends at Plymouth, these, etc.

Friends, countrymen, and neighbors, I salute you and wish you all health and happiness in the Lord. I make bold with these few lines to trouble you

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

John Huddleston

By this boat, the governor returned a thankful answer, as was meet, and sent a boat of their own with them, which was piloted by them, in which Mr. Winslow was sent to procure what provisions he could of the ships, who was kindly received by the foresaid gentleman, who not only spared what he could but writ to others to do the like [same]. By which means he got some good quantity and returned in safety, by which the plantation had a double benefit. First, a present refreshing by the food brought, and secondly, they knew the way to those parts for their benefit hereafter.

But what was got and this small boat brought, being divided among so many, came but to a little. Yet by God's blessing, it upheld them till harvest.

It arose but to a quarter of a pound of bread a day to each person, and the governor caused it to be daily given them. Otherwise, had it been in their own custody, they would have eat[en] it up and then starved. But thus, with what else they could get, they made pretty shift [made do] till corn was ripe.

This summer they built a fort with good timber, both strong and comely, which was of good defense, made with a flat roof and battlements on which their ordnance [artillery] were mounted and where they kept constant watch, especially in time of danger. It served them also for a meeting house and was fitted accordingly for that use. It was a great work for them in this weakness and time of wants, but the danger of the time required it. And both the continual rumors of the fears from the Indians here, especially the Narragansetts, and also the hearing of that great massacre in Virginia made all hands willing to despatch the same.

Now the welcome time of harvest approached in which all had their hungry bellies filled, but it arose but to a little in comparison of a full year's supply, partly by reason they were not yet well acquainted with the manner of Indian corn (*and they had no other*). Also, their many other employments, but chiefly their weakness for want of food to tend it as they should have done. Also, much was stolen both by night and day before it became scarce eatable, and much more afterward.

And though many were well whipped (*when they were taken*) for a few ears of corn, yet hunger made others (*whom conscience did not restrain*) to venture. So as, it well appeared the famine must still ensue the next year also, if not some way prevented, or supply should fail, to which they durst [dared] not trust. Markets, there was none to go to but only the Indians, and they had no trading commodities.

Behold now another providence of God. A ship comes into the harbor, one Captain Jones being chief therein. They were set out by some merchants to discover all the harbors between this and Virginia and the shoals of Cape Cod and to trade along the coast where they could. This ship had store of English beads (*which were then good trade*) and some knives but would sell none but at dear rates and also a good quantity together. Yet they were glad of the occasion and fain to buy at any rate. They were fain to give after the rate of *cento per cento* [100 percent] if not more, and yet pay away coat beaver at three shillings per pound, which in a few years after, yielded twenty shillings. By this means, they were fitted again to trade for beaver and other things and intended to buy what corn they could.

But I will here take liberty to make a little digression. There was in this ship a gentleman by name [of] Mr. John Pory. He had been secretary in Virginia and was now going home [a] passenger in this ship. After his departure, he writ

a letter to the governor in the postscript whereof he hath these lines.

To yourself and Mr. Brewster,

I must acknowledge myself many ways indebted whose books I would have you think very well bestowed on him who esteemeth them such jewels. My haste would not suffer me to remember (much less to beg) Mr. Ainsworth's elaborate work upon the Five Books of Moses. Both his and Mr. Robinson's do highly commend the authors as being most conversant in the scriptures of all others. And what good (who knows) it may please God to work by them through my hands (though most unworthy), who finds such high content in them. God have you all in His keeping. Your unfeigned and firm friend,

*John Pory
August 28, 1622*

These things I here insert for honor sake of the author's memory, which this gentleman doth thus ingeniously acknowledge, and himself, after his return, did this poor plantation much credit amongst those of no mean [inferior] rank.

But to return.

Shortly after harvest, Mr. Weston's people, who were now seated at the Massachusetts and by disorder (*as it seems*) had made havoc of their provisions, began now to perceive that want

would come upon them. And hearing that they here had bought trading commodities and intended to trade for corn, they writ to the governor and desired they might join with them. And they would employ their small ship in the service, and further requested either to lend or sell them so much of their trading commodities as their part might come to, and they would undertake to make payment when Mr. Weston or their supply should come. The governor condescended upon equal terms of agreement, thinking to go about the cape to the southward with the ship, where some store of corn might be got.

All things being provided, Captain Standish was appointed to go with them, and Squanto for a guide and interpreter, about the latter end of September. But the winds put them in again, and, putting out the second time, he [Standish] fell sick of a fever, so the governor went himself. But they could not get about the shoals of Cape Code for flats and breakers. Neither could Squanto direct them better, nor the master durst [dared] venture any further, so they put into Manamoyick Bay and got what they could there.

In this place, Squanto fell sick of an Indian fever, bleeding much at the nose (*which the Indians take for a symptom of death*), and within a few days died there, desiring the governor to pray for him that he might go to the Englishmen's God in heaven. And [he] bequeathed sundry [several] of

his things to sundry [several] of his English friends as remembrances of his love, of whom they had a great loss.

They got in this voyage, in one place and other, about twenty-six or twenty-eight hogsheads [sixty-six gallon barrels] of corn and beans, which was more than the Indians could well spare in these parts, for they set but a little till they got English hoes. And so were fain to return, being sorry they could not get about the cape to have been better laden. Afterward, the governor took a few men and went to the inland places to get what he could and to fetch it home at the spring, which did help them something.

After these things, in February, a messenger came from John Sanders, who was left chief over Mr. Weston's men in the Bay of Massachusetts, who brought a letter showing the great wants they were fallen into. And he would have borrowed a hogshead [sixty-six gallon barrel] of corn of the Indians, but they would lend him none. He desired advice whether he might not take it from them by force to succor [help] his men till he came from the eastward whither he was going. The governor and rest dissuaded him by all means from it, for it might so exasperate the Indians as might endanger their safety, and all of us might smart [suffer] for it.

For they had already heard how they [Weston's men] had so wronged the Indians by stealing their

corn, etc., as they were much incensed against them. Yea, so base were some of their own company as they went and told the Indians that their governor was purposed to come and take their corn by force. The which, with other things, made them enter into a conspiracy against the English, of which more in the next. Herewith, I end this year.

Anno Domini 1623



It may be thought strange that these people [Weston's men] should fall to these extremities in so short a time, being left competently provided when the ship left them and had an addition by that moiety [share] of corn that was got by trade, besides much they got of the Indians where they lived, by one means and other. It must needs be their great disorder, for they spent excessively whilst they had or could get it and, it may be, wasted part away amongst the Indians (*for he that was their chief was taxed by some amongst them for keeping Indian women*). How, truly, I know not.

And after they began to come into wants, many sold away their clothes and bed coverings. Others (*so base were they*) became servants to the Indians and would cut them wood and fetch them water for a capful of corn. Others fell to plain stealing,

both night and day, from the Indians, of which they grievously complained. In the end, they came to that misery that some starved and died with cold and hunger. One, in gathering shellfish, was so weak as he stuck fast in the mud and was found dead in the place.

At last, most of them left their dwellings and scattered up and down in the woods and by the watersides, where they could find groundnuts and clams, here six and there ten. By which their carriages, they became contemned [treated with contempt] and scorned of the Indians, and they began greatly to insult over them in a most insolent manner. Insomuch that many times as they lay thus scattered abroad and had set on a pot with groundnuts or shellfish, when it was ready, the Indians would come and eat it up. And when night came, whereas some of them had a sorry blanket or such like to lap themselves in, the Indians would take it and let the other lie all night in the cold. So as, their condition was very lamentable. Yea, in the end, they were fain to hang one of their men whom they could not reclaim from stealing, to give the Indians content.

Whilst things went in this manner with them, the governor and people here had notice that Massasoit, their friend, was sick and near unto death. They sent to visit him and withal sent him such comfortable things as gave him great content and was a means of his recovery. Upon which occasion, he discovers the conspiracy of

these Indians, how they were resolved to cut off Mr. Weston's people for the continual injuries they did them and would now take opportunity of their weakness to do it and, for that end, had conspired with other Indians, their neighbors thereabout. And thinking the people here [Plymouth] would revenge their death, they therefore thought to do the like [same] by them and had solicited him [Massasoit] to join with them. He advised them therefore to prevent it and that speedily by taking off some of the chief of them before it was too late, for he assured them of the truth hereof.

This did much trouble them, and they took it into serious deliberation and found upon examination other evidence to give light hereunto, too long here to relate. In the meantime came one of them from the Massachusetts with a small pack at his back, and though he knew not a foot of the way, yet he got safe hither but lost his way, which was well for him, for he was pursued and so was missed. He told them here how all things stood amongst them and that he durst [dared] stay no longer [because] he apprehended they (*by what he observed*) would be all knocked in the head shortly.

This made them make the more haste, and [they] dispatched a boat away with Captain Standish and some men who found them [Weston's men] in a miserable condition, out of which he rescued them and helped them, to some relief, cut off

some few of the chief conspirators and according to his order offered to bring them all hither if they thought good, and they should fare no worse than themselves till Mr. Weston or some supply came to them. Or if any other course liked them better, he was to do them any helpfulness he could.

They thanked him and the rest, but most of them desired he would help them with some corn, and they would go with their small ship to the eastward, where haply [perhaps] they might hear of Mr. Weston or some supply from him, seeing the time of the year was for fishing ships to be in the land. If not, they would work among the fishermen for their living and get their passage into England if they heard nothing from Mr. Weston in time. So they shipped what they had of any worth, and he got them all the corn he could (*scarce leaving [any] to bring him home*) and saw them well out of the bay under sail at sea and so came home, not taking the worth of a penny of anything that was theirs. I have but touched these things briefly because they have already been published in print more at large.

This was the end of these that sometime[s] boasted of their strength (*being all able, lusty [strong] men*) and what they would do and bring to pass in comparison of the people here, who had many women and children and weak ones amongst them, and said at their first arrival when they saw the wants here that they would take another course and not fall into such a condition

as this simple people were come to. But a man's way is not in his own power. God can make the weak to stand. Let him able that standeth take heed lest he fall.

Shortly after, Mr. Weston came over with some of the fishermen under another name and the disguise of a blacksmith, where he heard of the ruin and dissolution of his colony. He got a boat and, with a man or two, came to see how things were. But by [on] the way, for want of skill in a storm, he cast away his shallop [shallow-water boat] in the bottom of the bay between Merrimack River and Piscataqua and hardly escaped with life. And afterwards, fell into the hands of the Indians, who pillaged him of all he saved from the sea and stripped him out of all his clothes to his shirt.

At last, he got to Piscataqua and borrowed a suit of clothes and got means to come to Plymouth. A strange alteration there was in him to such as had seen and known him in his former flourishing condition. So uncertain are the mutable things of this unstable world, and yet men set their hearts upon them, though they daily see the vanity thereof.

After many passages and much discourse (*former things boiling in his mind but bit in, as was discerned*), he desired to borrow some beaver of them and told them he had hope of a ship and good supply to come to him, and then they should

have anything for it they stood in need of. They gave little credit to his supply but pitied his case and remembered former courtesies. They told him he saw their wants, and they knew not when they should have any supply. Also, how the case stood between them and their adventurers, he well knew.

They had not much beaver, and if they should let him have it, it were enough to make a mutiny among the people, seeing there was no other means to procure them food, which they so much wanted, and clothes also. Yet they told him they would help him, considering his necessity, but must do it secretly for the former reasons. So they let him have one hundred beaver skins, which weighed 170 odd pounds.

Thus, they helped him when all the world failed him. And with this means, he went again to the ships and stayed his small ship and some of his men and bought provisions and fitted himself, and it was the only foundation of his aftercourse. But he requited them ill, for he proved after[ward] a bitter enemy unto them upon all occasions and never repaid them anything for it to this day but reproaches and evil words. Yea, he divulged it to some that were none of their best friends [that] whilst he yet had the beaver in his boat, that he could now set them all together by the ears [cause a quarrel among them] because they had done more than they could answer in letting him have

this beaver. And he did not spare to do what he could, but his malice could not prevail.

All this while, no supply was heard of. Neither knew they when they might expect any. So they began to think how they might raise as much corn as they could and obtain a better crop than they had done, that they might not still thus languish in misery.

At length, after much debate of things, the governor (*with the advice of the chieftest amongst them*) gave way that they should set corn every man for his own particular [part] and, in that regard, trust to themselves. In all other things, to go on in the general way as before. And so assigned to every family a parcel of land according to the proportion of their number for that end, only for present use (*but made no division for inheritance*), and ranged all boys and youth under some family.

This had very good success, for it made all hands very industrious. So as, much more corn was planted than other ways would have been by any means the governor or any other could use and saved him a great deal of trouble and gave far better content. The women now went willingly into the field and took their little ones with them to set corn, which before would allege weakness and inability [and] whom to have compelled would have been thought great tyranny and oppression.

The experience that was had in this common course and condition, tried sundry [several] years and that amongst godly and sober men, may well evince the vanity of that conceit of Plato's and other ancients, applauded by some of later times, [as] that the taking away of property and bringing in community into a commonwealth would make them happy and flourishing, as if they were wiser than God. For this community (*so far as it was*), [it] was found to breed much confusion and discontent and retard much employment that would have been to their benefit and comfort.

For the young men that were most able and fit for labor and service did repine that they should spend their time and strength to work for other men's wives and children without any recompense. The strong, or man of parts, had no more in division of victuals [food] and clothes than he that was weak and not able to do a quarter the other could. This was thought injustice. The aged and graver men, to be ranked and equalized in labors and victuals [food], clothes, etc., with the meaner [less eminent] and younger sort, thought it some indignity and disrespect unto them.

And for men's wives to be commanded to do service for other men, as dressing their meat, washing their clothes, etc, they deemed it a kind of slavery. Neither could many husbands well brook [accept] it. Upon the point all being to have

alike and all to do alike, they thought themselves in the like [same] condition and one as good as another.

And so if it did not cut off those relations that God hath set amongst men, yet it did at least much diminish and take off the mutual respects that should be preserved amongst them and would have been worse if they had been men of another condition. Let none object this is men's corruption and nothing to the course itself. I answer [that] seeing all men have this corruption in them, God, in His wisdom, saw another course fitter for them.

But to return.

After this course settled and by that, their corn was planted, all their victuals [food supplies] were spent, and they were only to rest on God's providence at night, not many times knowing where to have a bit of anything the next day. And so as one well observed, [they] had need to pray that God would give them their daily bread above all people in the world. Yet they bore these wants with great patience and alacrity of spirit, and that for so long a time as for the most part of two years.

Which makes me remember what Peter Martyr writes (*in magnifying the Spaniards*) in his *Fifth Decade*, page 208: They (*saith he*) led a miserable life for five days together with the parched grain

of maize only, and that not to saturity [fullness], and then concludes that such pains, such labors, and such hunger he thought none living which is not a Spaniard could have endured.

But alas, these [of Plymouth], when they had maize (*that is Indian corn*), they thought it as good as a feast and wanted not only for five days together but sometime[s] two or three months together, and neither had bread nor any kind of corn.

Indeed, in another place, in his *Second Decade*, page 94, he mentions how others of them were worse put to it where they were fain to eat dogs, toads, and dead men and died almost all from these extremities. The Lord, in His goodness, kept these His people and, in their great wants, preserved both their lives and healths. Let His name have the praise.

Yet let me here make use of his conclusion, which in some sort may be applied to this people. That with their miseries, they opened a way to these new lands. And after these storms, with what ease other men came to inhabit in them in respect of the calamities these men suffered, so as they seem to go to a bride feast where all things are provided for them.

They having but one boat left, and she not over well-fitted, they were divided into several companies, six or seven to a gang or company,

and so went out (*with a net they had bought*) to take bass and such like fish by course, every company knowing their turn. No sooner was the boat discharged of what she brought, but the next company took her and went out with her. Neither did they return till they had caught something, though it were five or six days before, for they knew there was nothing at home, and to go home empty would be a great discouragement to the rest. Yea, they strive who should do best.

If she stayed long or got little, then all went to seeking of shellfish, which at low water they digged out of the sands. And this was their living in the summertime till God sent them better. And in winter, they were helped with groundnuts and fowl. Also, in the summer, they got now and then a deer, for one or two of the fittest was appointed to range the woods for that end, and what was got that way was divided amongst them.

At length, they received some letters from the adventurers, too long and tedious here to record, by which they heard of their further crosses and frustrations, beginning in this manner (*these letters were dated December 21, 1622*).

Loving Friends,

As your sorrows and afflictions have been great, so our crosses and interceptions in our proceedings here have not been small. For after we had with much trouble and charge sent the Paragon away to

sea and thought all the pain past, within fourteen days after, she came again hither, being dangerously leaked and bruised with tempestuous storms. So as she was fain to be had into the dock and an £100 bestowed upon her, all the passengers lying upon our charge for six or seven weeks. And much discontent and distemper was occasioned hereby, so as some dangerous event had like to ensued.

But we trust all shall be well and work for the best and your benefit if, yet with patience, you can wait and but have strength to hold in life. Whilst these things were doing, Mr. Weston's ship came and brought divers [several] letters from you, etc. It rejoiceth us much to hear of those good reports that divers [several] have brought home from you, etc.

So far of this letter.

This ship was bought by Mr. John Peirce and set out at his own charge upon hope of great matters. These passengers and the goods the company sent in her, he took in for fraught [freight], for which they agreed with him to be delivered here. This was he in whose name their first patent was taken by reason of acquaintance and some alliance that some of their friends had with him. But his name was only used in trust.

But when he saw they were here hopefully thus seated and, by the success God gave them, had obtained the favor of the Council of New England,

he goes and sues to them for another patent of much larger extent (*in their names*), which was easily obtained. But he meant to keep it to himself and allow them what he pleased to hold of him as tenants and sue to his courts as chief lord, as will appear by that which follows.

But the Lord marvelously crossed him. For after this first return and the charge above mentioned, when she was again fitted, he [Peirce] pesters himself and takes in more passengers, and those not very good, to help to bear his losses, and sets out the second time. But what the event was will appear from another letter from one of the chief of the company, dated the ninth of April 1623, writ to the governor here, as followeth.

Loving Friend,

When I writ my last letter, I hoped to have received one from you well nigh by this time. But when I writ in December, I little thought to have seen Mr. John Peirce till he had brought some good tidings from you. But it pleased God; he brought us the woeful tidings of his return when he was halfway over by extreme tempest, wherein the goodness and mercy of God appeared in sparing their lives, being 109 souls. The loss is so great to Mr. Peirce, etc., and the company put upon so great charge as, verily, etc.

Now, with great trouble and loss, we have got Mr. John Peirce to assign over the grand patent to the

company, which he had taken in his own name, and made quite void our former grant. I am sorry to write how many here think that the hand of God was justly against him, both the first and second time of his return. In regard, he, whom you and we so confidently trusted but only to use his name for the company, should aspire to be lord over us all and so make you and us tenants at his will and pleasure, our assurance or patent being quite void and disannulled by his means.

I desire to judge charitably of him, but his unwillingness to part with his royal lordship and the high rate he set it at, which was £500, which cost him but £50, makes many speak and judge hardly of him. The company are out for goods in his ship, with charge about the passengers, £640, etc.

We have agreed with two merchants for a ship of 140 tuns called the Anne, which is to be ready the last of this month to bring sixty passengers and sixty tun of goods, etc.

This was dated April 9, 1623.

These were their own words and judgment of this man's dealing and proceedings, for I thought it more meet to render them in theirs than my own words. And yet though there was never got other recompense than the resignation of this patent and the shares he had in adventure, for all the former great sums, he was never quiet but sued them in most of the chief courts in England and,

when he was still cast, brought it to the parliament. But he is now dead, and I will leave him to the Lord.

This ship suffered the greatest extremity at sea at her second return, that one shall lightly hear of, to be saved, as I have been informed by Mr. William Peirce, who was then master of her, and many others that were passengers in her. It was about the middle of February. The storm was for the most part of fourteen days but for two or three days and nights together in most violent extremity. After they had cut down their mast, the storm beat off their roundhouse and all their upper works. Three men had work enough at the helm, and he that conned [steered] the ship before the sea was fain to be bound fast [tied in place] for washing away.

The seas did so over-rake [sweep across] them, as, many times, those upon the decks knew not whether they were within board or without. And once, she was so foundered in the sea, as they all thought she would never rise again. But yet the Lord preserved them and brought them at last safe to Portsmouth, to the wonder of all men that saw in what a case she was in and heard what they had endured.

About the later end of June came in a ship with Captain Francis West, who had a commission to be Admiral of New England, to restrain interlopers and such fishing ships as came to fish

and trade without a license from the Council of New England, for which they should pay a round sum of money. But he could do no good of them, for they were too strong for him, and he found the fishermen to be stubborn fellows. And their owners, upon complaint made to the parliament, procured an order that fishing should be free.

He told the governor they spoke with a ship at sea, and were aboard her, that was coming for this plantation in which were sundry [several] passengers. And they marveled she was not arrived, fearing some miscarriage, for they lost her in a storm that fell shortly after they had been aboard. Which relation filled them full of fear, yet mixed with hope.

The master of this ship had some two hogsheads [sixty-six gallon barrels] of peas to sell, but seeing their wants, held them at £9 sterling a hogshead, and under £8 he would not take, and yet would have beaver at an underrate. But they told him they had lived so long without and would do still, rather than give so unreasonably. So they went from hence to Virginia.

About fourteen days after came in this ship, called the *Anne*, whereof Master William Peirce was master. And about a week or ten days after came in the pinnace [two-masted ship], which in foul weather they lost at sea, a fine new vessel of about forty-four tun which the company had built to stay in the country. They brought about sixty

persons for the general, some of them being very useful persons and became good members to the body, and some were the wives and children of such as were here already. And some were so bad as they were fain to be at charge to send them home again the next year.

Also, besides these, there came a company that did not belong to the general body but came on their particular [own] and were to have lands assigned them and be for themselves, yet to be subject to the general government, which caused some difference and disturbance amongst them, as will after appear. I shall here again take liberty to insert a few things of such letters as came in this ship, desiring rather to manifest things in their words and apprehensions than in my own, as much as may be with tediousness.

Beloved Friends,

I kindly salute you all with trust of your health and welfare, being right sorry that no supply hath been made to you all this while. For defense whereof, I must refer you to our general letters. Neither indeed have we now sent you many things which we should and would, for want of money, but persons more than enough (though not all we should), for people come flying in upon us, but moneys come creeping in to us. Some few of your old friends are come, as etc. So they come dropping to you, and by degrees, I hope ere long you shall enjoy them all.

And because people press so hard upon us to go and often such as are none of the fittest, I pray you write earnestly to the treasurer and direct what persons should be sent. It grieveth me to see so weak a company sent you, and yet had I not been here, they had been weaker. You must still call upon the company here to see that honest men be sent you and threaten to send them back if any other come, etc. We are not any way so much in danger as by corrupt and naughty persons. Such and such came without my consent, but the importunity [persistent begging] of their friends got promise of our treasurer in my absence. Neither is there need we should take any lewd men, for we may have honest men enew [to pursue], etc. Your assured friend,

Robert Cushman

This following was from the general.

Loving Friends,

We most heartily salute you in all love and hearty affection. Being yet in hope that the same God which hath hitherto preserved you in a marvelous manner doth yet continue your lives and health, to His own praise and all our comforts. Being right sorry that you have not been sent unto all this time, etc.

We have in this ship sent such women as were willing and ready to go to their husbands and friends with their children, etc. We would not have

you discontent because we have not sent you more of your old friends and, in special, him⁹ on whom you most depend. Far be it from us to neglect you or condemn [treat with contempt] him. But as the intent was at first, so the event at last shall show it that we will deal fairly and squarely answer your expectations to the full.

There are also come unto you some honest men to plant upon their particulars [own] besides you. A thing which, if we should not give way unto, we should wrong both them and you. Them by putting them on things more inconvenient, and you for that being honest men, they will be a strengthening to the place and good neighbors unto you. Two things we would advise you of, which we have likewise signified them here. First, the trade for skins to be retained for the general till the dividend. Secondly, that their settling by you be with such distance of place as is neither inconvenient for the lying of your lands nor hurtful to your speedy and easy assembling together.

We have sent you divers [several] fishermen with salt, etc. Divers [several] other provisions we have sent you, as will appear in your bill of lading, and though we have not sent all we would (because our cash is small), yet it is that we could, etc.

And although it seemeth you have discovered many more rivers and fertile grounds than that where you

⁹ BRADFORD'S SIDE NOTE: J[ohn] R[obinson]

are, yet seeing by God's providence that place fell to your lot, let it be accounted as your portion. And rather fix your eyes upon that which may be done there than languish in hope after things elsewhere. If your place be not the best, it is better. You shall be the less envied and encroached upon, and such as are earthly-minded will not settle too near your border.¹⁰

If the land afford you bread and the sea yield you fish, rest you awhile contented. God will one day afford you better fare. And all men shall know you are neither fugitives nor discontents, but can, if God so order it, take the worst to yourselves with content and leave the best to your neighbors with cheerfulness.

Let it not be grievous unto you that you have been instruments to break the ice for others who come after with less difficulty. The honor shall be yours to the world's end, etc.

We bear you always in our breasts, and our hearty affection is towards you all, as are the hearts of hundreds more which never saw your faces, who doubtless pray for your safety as their own, as we ourselves both do and ever shall, that the same God which hath so marvelously preserved you from seas, foes, and famine will still preserve you from all

¹⁰ BRADFORD'S SIDE NOTE: *This proved rather a prophesy than advice.*

future dangers and make you honorable amongst men and glorious in bliss at the last day.

And so the Lord be with you all and send up joyful news from you and enable us with one shoulder so to accomplish and perfect this work, as much glory may come to Him that confounded the mighty by the weak and taketh small things as great. To whose greatness be all glory forever and ever.

This letter was subscribed with thirteen of their names.

These passengers, when they saw their low and poor condition ashore, were much daunted and dismayed and, according to their diver [various] humors, were diversely affected. Some wished themselves in England again. Others fell a-weeping, fancying their own misery in what they saw now in others. Other[s], some pitying the distress they saw their friends had been long in and still were under. In a word, all were full of sadness.

Only some of their old friends rejoiced to see them and that it was no worse with them. For they could not expect it should be better and now hoped they should enjoy better days together. And, truly, it was no marvel they should be thus affected, for they were in a very low condition. Many were ragged in apparel and some little better than half naked, though some that were

well-stored before were well enough in this regard.

But for food, they were all alike (*save some that had got a few peas off the ship that was last here*). The best dish they could present their friends with was a lobster or a piece of fish, without bread or anything else but a cup of fair spring water. And the long continuance of this diet and their labors abroad had something abated the freshness of their former complexion, but God gave them health and strength in a good measure and showed them by experience the truth of that word, Deuteronomy 8:3, that man liveth not by bread only, but by every word that proceeded out of the mouth of the Lord doth a man live.

When I think how sadly the scripture speaks of the famine in Jacob's time, when he said to his sons, "Go buy us food that we may live, and not die," Genesis 42:2 and 43:1. That the famine was great or heavy in the land, and yet they had such great herds and store of cattle of sundry [several] kinds which, besides flesh, must needs produce other food as milk, butter, and cheese, etc. And yet it was counted a sore [severe] affliction.

Theirs here [Plymouth] must needs be very great, therefore, who not only wanted the staff of bread, but all these things, and had no Egypt to go to. But God fed them out of the sea for the most part. So wonderful is His providence over His in all ages, for His mercy endures forever.

[INSERTED—] I may not here omit how, not withstand[ing] all their great pain and industry and the great hopes of a large crop, the Lord seemed to blast and take away the same and to threaten further and more sore [severe] famine unto them by a great drought which continued from the third week in May till about the middle of July, without any rain and with great heat (*for the most part*). Insomuch as the corn began to wither away, though it was set with fish, the moisture whereof helped it much, yet at length, it began to languish sore [severely]. And some of the drier grounds were parched like withered hay, part whereof was never recovered.

Upon which they set apart a solemn day of humiliation to seek the Lord by humble and fervent prayer in this great distress, and He was pleased to give them a gracious and speedy answer, both to their own and the Indians' admiration that lived amongst them. For all the morning and greatest part of the day, it was clear weather and very hot and not a cloud or any sign of rain to be seen. Yet toward evening, it began to overcast and, shortly after, to rain with such sweet and gentle showers as gave them cause of rejoicing and blessing God.

It came without either wind or thunder or any violence and by degrees in that abundance as that the earth was thoroughly wet and soaked therewith. Which did so apparently revive and quicken the decayed corn and other fruits as was

wonderful to see and made the Indians astonished to behold. And afterwards, the Lord sent them such seasonable showers with interchange of fair warm weather as through His blessing caused a fruitful and liberal harvest, to their no small comfort and rejoicing. For which mercy (*in time convenient*), they also set apart a day of thanksgiving. This being over-slipped in its place, I thought meet here to insert the same. —

On the other hand, the old planters were afraid that their corn, when it was ripe, should be imparted to the newcomers, whose provisions which they brought with them they feared would fall short before the year went about (*as indeed it did*). They came to the governor and besought him that, as it was before agreed that they should set corn for their particular [own], and accordingly, they had taken extraordinary pains thereabout that they might freely enjoy the same, and they would not have a bit of the victuals [food] now come but [would] wait till harvest for their own and let the newcomers enjoy what they had brought. They would have none of it except [unless] they could purchase any of it of them by bargain or exchange. Their request was granted them, for it gave both sides good content, for the newcomers were as much afraid that the hungry planters would have eat up the provisions brought, and they should have fallen into the like [same] condition.

This ship was, in a short time, laden with clapboard [wood planks] by the help of many hands. Also, they sent in her all the beaver and other furs they had, and Mr. Winslow was sent over with her to inform of all things and procure such things as were thought needful for their present condition.

By this time, harvest was come. And instead of famine, now God gave them plenty, and the face of things was changed, to the rejoicing of the hearts of many, for which they blessed God. And the effect of their particular [own] planting was well seen, for all had, one way and other, pretty well to bring the year about. And some of the abler sort and more industrious had to spare and sell to others, so as any general want or famine hath not been amongst them since to this day.

Those that come on their particular [own] looked for greater matters than they found or could attain unto about building great houses and such pleasant situations for them as themselves had fancied, as if they would be great men and rich, all of a sudden. But they proved castles in the air.

These were the conditions agreed on between that colony and them.

1. First, that the governor, in the name and with the consent of the company, doth in all love and friendship receive and embrace them and is to allot them competent places for habitations within the

town and promiseth to show them all such other courtesies as shall be reasonable for them to desire or us to perform.

2. That they, on their parts, be subject to all such laws and orders as are already made or hereafter shall be for the public good.

3. That they be freed and exempt from the general employments of the said company (which their present condition of community requireth), except common defense and such other employments as tend to the perpetual good of the colony.

4. Fourthly, towards the maintenance of government and public officers of the said colony, every male above the age of sixteen years shall pay a bushel of Indian wheat, or the worth of it, into the common store.

5. Fifthly, that (according to the agreement the merchants made with them before they came) they are to be wholly debarred from all trade with the Indians for all sorts of furs and such like commodities till the time of the communality be ended.

About the middle of September arrived Captain Robert Gorges in the Bay of Massachusetts with sundry [several] passengers and families intending there to begin a plantation and pitched upon the place Mr. Weston's people had forsaken. He had a commission from the Council of New

England to be General Governor of the country, and they appointed for his counsel and assistance Captain Francis West, the aforesaid admiral, Christopher Levitt Esquire, and the Governor of Plymouth for the time being, etc. Also, they gave him authority to choose such other as he should find fit.

Also, they gave (*by their commission*) full power to him and his assistants or any three of them, whereof himself was alway[s] to be one, to do and execute what to them should seem good in all cases, capital, criminal, and civil, etc., with divers [several] other instructions of which and his commission, it pleased him to suffer the governor here to take a copy.

He gave them notice of his arrival by letter, but before they could visit him, he went to the eastward with the ship he came in. But a storm arriving (*and they wanting a good pilot to harbor them in these parts*), they bore up for this harbor. He and his men were here kindly entertained. He stayed here fourteen days.

In the meantime came in Mr. Weston with his small ship, which he had now recovered. Captain Gorges took hold of the opportunity and acquainted the governor here that one occasion of his going to the eastward was to meet with Mr. Weston and call him to account for some abuses he had to lay to his charge. Whereupon he called him [Weston] before him and some other of his

assistants, with the governor of this place, and charged him first with the ill carriage of his men at the Massachusetts, by which means the peace of the country was disturbed, and himself and the people which he had brought over to plant in that bay were thereby much prejudiced.

To this, Mr. Weston easily answered that what was that way done was in his absence and might have befallen [happened to] any man. He left them sufficiently provided and conceived they would have been well governed, and for any error committed, he had sufficiently smarted [suffered]. This particular was passed by.

A second [charge] was for an abuse done to his father, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and to the state. The thing was this. He used him and others of the Council of New England to procure him[self] a license for the transporting of many pieces of great ordnance [weapons] for New England, pretending great fortification here in the country, and I know not what shipping. The which, when he had obtained, he went and sold them beyond seas for his private profit, for which (*he said*), the state was much offended, and his father suffered a shroud check, and he had order to apprehend him for it. Mr. Weston excused it as well as he could but could not deny it, it being one main thing (*as was said*) for which he withdrew himself.

But after many passages, by the mediation of the governor and some other friends here, he

[Gorges] was inclined to gentleness (*though he apprehended the abuse of this father deeply*), which, when Mr. Weston saw, he grew more presumptuous and gave such provoking and cutting speeches as made him [Gorges] rise up in great indignation and distemper and vowed that he would either curb him [Weston] or send him home for England.

At which, Mr. Weston was something daunted and came privately to the governor here to know whether they would suffer Captain Gorges to apprehend him. He was told they could not hinder him [Gorges] but much blamed him [Weston] that after they had pacified things, he should thus break out by his own folly and rashness to bring trouble upon himself and them, too. He confessed it was his passion and prayed the governor to entreat for him and pacify him if he could, the which at last he did, with much ado.

So he [Weston] was called again, and the governor was content to take his own bond to be ready to make further answer when either he or the lords should send for him. And at last, he took only his word, and there was a friendly parting on all hands. But after he was gone, Mr. Weston, in lieu of thanks to the governor and his friends here, gave them this quip (*behind their backs*) for all their pains that though they were but young justices, yet they were good beggars. Thus, they parted at this time, and shortly after, the governor [Gorges] took his leave and went to the

Massachusetts by land, being very thankful for his kind entertainment.

The ship stayed here and filled herself to go for Virginia, having some passengers there to deliver. And with her, returned sundry [several] of those from hence which came over on their particular [own]. Some out of discontent and dislike of the country. Others by reason of a fire that broke out and burnt the houses they lived in and all their provisions so as they were necessitated thereunto.

This fire was occasioned by some of the seamen that were roistering [carousing] in a house where it first began, making a great fire in very cold weather, which broke out of the chimney into the thatch and burnt down three or four houses and consumed all the good and provisions in them. The house in which it began was right against their storehouse, which they had much ado to save, in which were their common store and all their provisions. The which, if it had been lost, the plantation had been overthrown. But through God's mercy, it was saved by the great diligence of the people and care of the governor and some about him.

Some would have had the goods thrown out. But if they had, there would much have been stolen by the rude company that belonged to these two ships which were almost all ashore. But a trusty company was placed within [inside], as well as those that with wet cloths and other means kept

off the fire without [outside], that if necessity required, they might have them [the goods] out with all speed.

For they suspected some malicious dealing, if not plain treachery, and whether it was only suspicion or no[t], God knows. But this is certain, that when the tumult was greatest, there was a voice heard (*but from whom, it was not known*) that bid them look well about them, for all were not friends that were near them.

And shortly after, when the vehemency of the fire was over, smoke was seen to arise within a shed that was joined to the end of the storehouse, which was wattled up with boughs in the withered leaves whereof the fire was kindled. Which some, running to quench, found a long firebrand [piece of burning wood] of an ell [forty-five inches] long, lying under the wale [planking] on the inside, which could not possibly come there by casualty but must be laid there by some hand, in the judgment of all that saw it. But God kept them from this danger, whatever was intended.

Shortly after Captain Gorges, the general governor, was come home to the Massachusetts, he sends a warrant to arrest Mr. Weston and his ship and sends a master to bring her away thither and one Captain Hanson (*that belonged to him*) to conduct him along. The governor and others here were very sorry to see him take this course and

took exception at the warrant as not legal nor sufficient and withal writ to him to dissuade him from this course, showing him that he would but entangle and burthen [burden] himself in doing this. For he could not do Mr. Weston a better turn (*as things stood with him*), for he had a great many men that belonged to him in this bark [sailboat] and was deeply engaged to them for wages and was, in a manner, out of victuals [food] (*and now winter*). All which would light upon him if he did arrest his bark [sailboat].

In the meantime, Mr. Weston had notice to shift for himself, but it was conceived he either knew not whither to go or how to mend himself but was rather glad of the occasion and so stirred not. But the governor would not be persuaded but sent a very formal warrant under his hand and seal with strict charge as they would answer it to the state. He also writ that he had better considered of things since he was here, and he could not answer it to let him [Weston] go so, besides other things that were come to his knowledge since, which he must answer to.

So he was suffered to proceed, but he found in the end that to be true that was told him. For when an inventory was taken of what was in the ship, there was not victuals [food] found for above fourteen days at a poor allowance, and not much else of any great worth. And the men did so cry out of him for wages and diet, in the meantime, as made him soon weary. So as in conclusion, it

turned to his loss and the expense of his own provisions.

And towards the spring, they came to agreement (*after they had been to the eastward*), and the governor restored him [Weston] his vessel again and made him satisfaction in biscuit, meal, and such like provisions for what he had made use of that was his or what his men had any way wasted or consumed. So Mr. Weston came hither again and afterward shaped his course for Virginia, and so for present I shall leave him. (*He died afterwards at Bristol in the time of the wars of the sickness in that place.*)

The governor [Gorges] and some that depended upon him returned for England, having scarcely saluted the country in his government, not finding the state of things here to answer his quality and condition. The people [he brought] dispersed themselves. Some went for England, others for Virginia, [and] some few remained and were helped with supplies from hence.

The governor [had] brought over a minister with him, one Mr. Morrell, who, about a year after the governor returned, took shipping [sailed] from hence. He had, I know not what, power and authority of superintendency over other churches granted him and sundry [several] instructions for that end, but he never showed it or made any use of it (*it should seem he saw it was in vain*). He only spoke of it to some here at his going away.

This was in effect the end of a second plantation in that place. There were also this year some scattering beginnings made in other places, as at Pascataqua by Mr. David Thompson, at Mohegan, and some other places by sundry [several] others.

It rests now that I speak a word about the pinnace [two-masted ship] spoken of before, which was sent by the adventurers to be employed in the country. She was a fine vessel (*with her flags and streamers, pendants, and waistcloths, etc.*) and bravely set out (*and I fear the adventurers did overpride themselves in her*), for she had ill success. However, they erred grossly in two things about her.

First, though she had a sufficient master, yet she was rudely manned, and all her men were upon shares, and none was to have any wages but the master. Secondly, whereas they mainly looked at trade, they had sent nothing of any value to trade with. When the men came here and met with ill counsel from Mr. Weston and his crew, with others of the same stamp, neither master nor governor could scarce rule them, for they exclaimed that they were abused and deceived. For they were told they should go for a man-of-war and take, I know not whom, French and Spaniards, etc. They would neither trade nor fish except [unless] they had wages.

Infine [in short], they would obey no command of the masters, so as it was apprehended they would

either run away with the vessel or get away with the ships and leave her. So as, Mr. Peirce and others of their friends persuaded the governor to change their condition and give them wages, which was accordingly done. And she was sent about the cape to the Narragansetts to trade, but they made a poor voyage of it. Some corn and beaver they got, but the Dutch used to furnish them [Narragansetts] with cloth and better commodities, they [English crew] having only a few beads and knives, which were not there much esteemed.

Also, in her return home, at the very entrance into their own harbor, she had like to have been cast away in a storm and was forced to cut her main mast by the board to save herself from driving on the flats that lie without called Brown's Islands, the force of the wind being so great as made her anchors give way and she drive [drove] right upon them. But her mast and tackling being gone, they held her till the wind shifted.

Anno Domini 1624



The time of new election of their officers for this year being come, and the number of their people increased and their troubles and occasions therewith, the governor desired them to change the persons, as well as renew the election, and also to add more assistants to the governor for help and counsel and the better carrying on of affairs, showing that it was necessary it should be so.

If it was any honor or benefit, it was fit [that] others should be made partakers of it. If it was a burden (*as doubtless, it was*), it was but equal [that] others should help to bear it and that this was the end of annual elections. The issue was that, as before, there was but one assistant; they now chose five, giving the governor a double

voice. And afterwards they increased them to seven, which course hath continued to this day.

They having with some trouble and charge new-masted and rigged their pinnace [two-masted ship], in the beginning of March, they sent her well victualed [supplied with food] to the eastward on fishing. She arrived safely at a place near Damariscove and was there well-harbored in a place where ships used to ride, there being also some ships already arrived out of England.

But shortly after, there arose such a violent and extraordinary storm as the seas broke over such places in the harbor as was never seen before and drive [drove] her against great rocks, which beat such a hole in her bilge as a horse and cart might have gone in, and after drive [drove] her into deep water, where she lay sunk. The master was drowned; the rest of the men, all save one, saved their lives with much ado. All her provision, salt, and what else was in her was lost. And here I must leave her to lie till afterward.

Some of those that still remained here on their particular [own] began privately to nourish a faction. And being privy to a strong faction that was among the adventurers in England on whom sundry [several] of them did depend, by their private whispering, they drew some of the weaker sort of the company to their side. And [they] so filled them with discontent as nothing would satisfy them except [unless] they might be

suffered to be in their particular [own] also and made great offers so they might be freed from the general.

The governor consulting with the ablest of the general body what was best to be done herein, it was resolved to permit them so to do upon equal conditions. The conditions were the same, in effect, with the former before related, only some more added, as that they should be bound here to remain till the general partnership was ended. And also that they should pay into the store the one-half of all such goods and commodities as they should anywise raise above their food, in consideration of what charge had been laid out for them, with some such like things.

This liberty granted soon stopped this gap, for there was but a few that undertook this course when it came to, and they were as soon weary of it. For the other[s] had persuaded them and Mr. Weston together that there would never come more supply to the general body, but the particulars [settlers who came on their own] had such friends as would carry all and do for them, I know not what.

Shortly after, Mr. Winslow came over and brought a pretty good supply, and the ship came on fishing (*a thing fatal to this plantation*). He brought three heifers and a bull, the first beginning of any cattle of that kind in the land, with some clothing and other necessaries, as will further appear.

But withal, the report of a strong faction amongst the adventurers against them and especially against the coming of the rest from Leiden and with what difficulty this supply was procured and how, by their strong and long opposition, business was so retarded as not only they were now fallen too late for the fishing season, but the best men were taken up of the fishermen in the West Country, and he was forced to take such a master and company for that employment as he could procure upon the present. Some letters from them shall better declare these things, being as followeth.

Most worthy and loving friends,

Your kind and loving letters I have received and render you many thanks, etc. It hath pleased God to stir up the hearts of our adventurers to raise a new stock for the setting forth of this ship, called the Charity, with men and necessaries both for the plantation and the fishing, though accomplished with very great difficulty. In regard, we have some amongst us which undoubtedly aim more at their own private ends and the thwarting and opposing of some here and other worthy instruments¹¹ of God's glory elsewhere than at the general good and furtherance of this noble and laudable action.

Yet again, we have many other and, I hope the greatest part, very honest Christian men, which I

¹¹ BRADFORD'S SIDE NOTE: *He means Mr. Robinson.*

am persuaded their ends and intents are wholly for the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ in the propagation of His gospel and hope of gaining those poor savages to the knowledge of God. But as we have a proverb, one scabbed sheep may mar a whole flock, so these malcontented persons and turbulent spirits do what in them lieth to withdraw men's hearts from you and your friends, yea, even from the general business, and yet under show and pretense of godliness and furtherance of the plantation.

Whereas the quite contrary doth plainly appear, as some of the honester-hearted men (though of late of their faction) did make manifest at our late meeting. But what should I trouble you or myself with these restless opposers of all goodness and, I doubt, will be continual disturbers of our friendly meetings and love.

On Thursday, the eighth of January, we had a meeting about the articles between you and us where they would reject that which we, in our late letters, pressed you to grant (an addition to the time of our joint stock). And their reason which they would make known to us was it troubled their conscience to exact longer time of you than was agreed upon at the first.

But that night, they were so followed and crossed of their perverse courses as they were even wearied and offered to sell their adventures, and some were willing to buy. But I, doubting they would raise

more scandal and false reports and so divers [several] ways do us more hurt by going off in such a fury than they could or can by continuing adventurers amongst us, would not suffer them.

But on the twelfth of January, we had another meeting. But in the interim, divers [several] of us had talked with most of them privately and had great combats and reasoning, pro and con. But at night when we met to read the general letter, we had the lovingest and friendliest meeting that ever I knew,¹² and our greatest enemies offered to lend us £50. So I sent for a pottle [half-gallon] of wine (I would you could do the like [same]), which we drank friendly together. Thus, God can turn the hearts of men when it pleaseth him, etc. Thus, loving friends, I heartily salute you all in the Lord, hoping ever to rest yours to my power,

*James Sherley
January 25, 1623*

[INSERTED—] It is worthy to be observed how the Lord doth change times and things. For what is now more plentiful than wine? And that of the best, coming from Malaga and Canaries and other places, sundry [several] ships lading in a year. So as, there is now more cause to complain of the excess and the abuse of wine (*through men's corruption*), even to drunkenness, than of any

¹² BRADFORD'S SIDE NOTE: *But this lasted not long; they had now provided Lyford and others to send over.*

defect or want of the same. Witness this year, 1646. The good Lord lay not the sins and unthankfulness of men to their charge in this particular. —

Another letter.

Beloved Sir, etc.

We have now sent you, we hope, men and means to settle these three things, viz. fishing, salt-making, and boat-making. If you can bring them to pass to some perfection, your wants may be supplied. I pray you bend yourself what you can to settle these businesses. Let the ship be fraught away as soon as you can and sent to Bilbao. You must send some discreet man for factor whom, once more, you must also authorize to confirm the conditions. If Mr. Winslow could be spared, I could wish he came again.

This ship carpenter is thought to be the fittest man for you in the land and will no doubt do you much good. Let him have an absolute command over his servants and such as you put to him. Let him build you two catches [two-masted ships], a lighter [barge], and some six or seven shallops [shallow-water boats] as soon as you can. The salt man is a skillful and industrious man. Put some to him that may quickly apprehend the mystery of it.

The preacher we have sent is (we hope) an honest, plain man, though none of the most eminent and

rare. About choosing him into office, use your own liberty and discretion. He knows he is no officer amongst you, though perhaps custom and universality may make him forget himself. Mr. Winslow and myself gave way to his going to give content to some here, and we see no hurt in it but only his great charge of children.

We have took a patent for Cape Anne, etc. I am sorry there is no more discretion used by some in their letters hither.¹³ Some say you are starved in body and soul. Others that you eat pigs and dogs that die alone. Others that the things here spoken of the goodness of the country are gross and palpable lies. That there is scarce a fowl to be seen or a fish to be taken, and many such like. I would [that] such discontented men were here again, for it is a misery when the whole state of a plantation shall be thus exposed to the passionate humors of some discontented men. And for myself, I shall hinder for hereafter some that would go and have not better composed their affections. Mean space [meanwhile], it is all our crosses, and we must bear them.

I am sorry we have not sent you more and other things, but, in truth, we have run into so much charge to victual [supply with food] the ship, provide salt and other fishing implements, etc. as we could not provide other comfortable things [such] as butter, sugar, etc. I hope the return of this ship and the James will put us in cash again. The

¹³ BRADFORD'S SIDE NOTE: This was John Oldham and his like.

Lord make you full of courage in this troublesome business, which now must be stuck unto till God give us rest from our labors. Fare well in all hearty affection. Your assured friend,

*Robert Cushman
January 24, 1623*

With the former letter writ by Mr. Sherley, there were sent sundry [several] objections concerning which he thus writeth:

These are the chief objections which they that are now returned make against you and the country. I pray you consider them and answer them by the first conveniency.

These objections were made by some of those that came over on their particular [own] and were returned home, as is before mentioned, and were of the same suit with those that this other letter mentions.

I shall here set them down with the answers then made unto them and sent over at the return of this ship, which did so confound the objectors as some confessed their fault, and others denied what they had said and eat their words. And some others of them have since come over again and here lived to convince themselves sufficiently both in their own and other men's judgments.

1. OBJECTION: was diversity about religion.

ANSWER: *We know no such matter, for here was never any controversy or opposition, either public or private (to our knowledge), since we came.*

2. OBJECTION: Neglect of family duties on the Lord's Day.

ANSWER: *We allow no such thing but blame it in ourselves and others. And they that thus report it should have showed their Christian love the more if they had, in love, told the offenders of it rather than thus to reproach them behind their backs. But (to say no more) we wish themselves had given better example.*

3. OBJECTION: Want of both the sacraments.

ANSWER: *The more is our grief that our pastor is kept from us, by whom we might enjoy them, for we used to have the Lord's Supper every Sabbath and baptism as often as there was occasion of children to baptize.*

4. OBJECTION: Children not catechized nor taught to read.

ANSWER: *Neither is true, for divers [several] take pains with their own, as they can. Indeed, we have no common schools for want of a fit person or hitherto means to maintain one, though we desire now to begin.*

5. OBJECTION: Many of the particular members [settlers who came on their own] of the plantation will not work for the general.

ANSWER: *This, also, is not wholly true, for though some do it not willingly and other[s] not honestly, yet all do it. And he that doth worst gets his own food and something besides. But we will not excuse them, but labor to reform them the best we can or else to quit the plantation of them.*

6. OBJECTION: The water is not wholesome.

ANSWER: *If they mean not so wholesome as the good beer and wine in London (which they so dearly love), we will not dispute with them. But else for water, it is as good as any in the world (for ought we know), and it is wholesome enough to us that can be content therewith.*

7. OBJECTION: The ground is barren and doth bear no grass.

ANSWER: *It is here (as in all places), some better and some worse. And if they well consider their woods in England, they shall not find such grass in them as in their fields and meadows. The cattle find grass, for they are as fat as need be. We wish we had but one for every hundred that here is grass to keep. Indeed, this objection (as some other) are ridiculous to all here which see and know the contrary.*

8. OBJECTION: The fish will not take salt to keep sweet.

ANSWER: *This is as true as that which was written that there is scarce a foul to be seen or a fish to be taken. Things likely to be true in a country where so many sail of ships come yearly a-fishing? They might as well say there can no ale or beer in London be kept from souring.*

9. OBJECTION: Many of them are thievish and steal one from another.

ANSWER: *Would London had been free from that crime, then we should not have been troubled with these here. It is well known [that] sundry [several] have smarted [suffered] well for it, and so are the rest like to do if they be taken.*

10. OBJECTION: The country is annoyed with foxes and wolves.

ANSWER: *So are many other good countries, too. But poison, traps, and other such means will help to destroy them.*

11. OBJECTION: The Dutch are planted near Hudson's Bay and are likely to overthrow the trade.

ANSWER: *They will come and plant in these parts also if we and others do not but go home and leave it to them. We rather commend them than condemn them for it.*

12. OBJECTION: The people are much annoyed with mosquitoes.

ANSWER: *They are too delicate and unfit to begin new plantations and colonies that cannot endure the biting of a mosquito. We would wish such to keep at home till at least they be mosquito-proof. Yet this place is as free as any, and experience teacheth that the more the land is tilled and the woods cut down, the fewer there will be and, in the end, scarce any at all.*

Having thus dispatched these things that I may handle things together, I shall here insert two other letters from Mr. Robinson, their pastor, the one to the governor, the other to Mr. Brewster, their elder, which will give much light to the former things and express the tender love and care of a true pastor over them.

His letter to the governor.

My loving and much-beloved friend,

Whom God hath hitherto preserved, preserve and keep you still to His glory and the good of many, that His blessing may make your godly and wise endeavors answerable to the valuation which they there have and set upon the same.

Of your love to and care for us here, we never doubted. So are we glad to take knowledge of it in that fullness we do. Our love and care to and for you is mutual, though our hopes of coming unto you be small and weaker than ever. But of this at large in Mr. Brewster's letter, with whom you and

he with you mutually, I know, communicate your letters, as I desire you may do these, etc.

Concerning the killing of those poor Indians, of which we heard at first by report and since by more certain relation. Oh, how happy a thing had it been if you had converted some before you had killed any. Besides, where blood is once begun to be shed, it is seldom staunch'd off a long time after.

You will say they deserved it; I grant it. But upon what provocations and invitements by those heathenish Christians?¹⁴ Besides, you, being no magistrates over them, were to consider not what they deserved but what you were by necessity constrained to inflict. Necessity of this, especially of killing so many (and many more, it seems, they would if they could), I see not. Methinks one or two principals should have been full enough, according to that approved rule—the punishment to a few and the fear to many.

Upon this occasion, let me be bold to exhort you seriously to consider of the disposition of your captain, whom I love and am persuaded the Lord in great mercy and for much good hath sent you him, if you use him aright. He is a man humble and meek amongst you and towards all in ordinary course. But now if this be merely from an human spirit, there is cause to fear that by occasion, especially of provocation, there may be wanting

¹⁴ BRADFORD'S SIDE NOTE: Mr. Weston's men.

that tenderness of the life of man (made after God's image) which is meet.

It is also a thing more glorious in men's eyes than pleasing in God's or convenient for Christians to be a terror to poor, barbarous people. And indeed, I am afraid lest by these occasions others should be drawn to affect a kind of ruffling course in the world. I doubt not, but you will take in good part these things which I write and, as there is cause, make use of them.

It were to us more comfortable and convenient that we communicated our mutual helps in presence [person]. But seeing that cannot be done, we shall always long after you and love you and wait God's appointed time. The adventurers, it seems, have neither money nor any great mind of us, for the most part. They deny it to be any part of the covenants betwixt us that they should transport us. Neither do I look for any further help from them till means come from you. We here are strangers, in effect, to the whole course, and so both we and you (save as your own wisdoms and worths have interested you further) of principals intended in this business are scarce accessories, etc.

My wife, with me, resalutes you and yours. Unto Him who is the same to His in all places and near to them which are far from one another, I commend you and all with you, resting yours truly loving,

John Robinson

Leiden, December 19, 1623

His to Mr. Brewster.

Loving and dear friend and brother,

That which I most desired of God in regard of you, namely the continuance of your life and health and the safe coming of these sent unto you, that I most gladly hear of and praise God for the same. And I hope Mrs. Brewster's weak and decayed state of body will have some repairing by the coming of her daughters and the provisions in this and former ships I hear is made for you. Which makes us with more patience bear our languishing state and the deferring of our desired transportation, which I call desired rather than hoped for, whatsoever you are borne in hand by any others.

For first, there is no hope at all that I know or can conceive of of any new stock to be raised for that end. So that all must depend upon returns from you, in which are so many uncertainties as that nothing with any certainty can thence be concluded. Besides, howsoever for the present, the adventurers allege nothing but want of money, which is an invincible difficulty. Yet if that be taken away by you, others without doubt will be found.

For the better clearing of this, we must dispose the adventurers into three parts, and of them, some five or six (as I conceive) are absolutely bent for us above any others. Other five or six are our bitter

professed adversaries. The rest, being the body, I conceive to be honestly minded and lovingly also towards us. Yet such as have others (namely the forward preachers) nearer unto them than us, and whose course, so far as there is any difference, they would rather advance than ours.

Now what a hank [hold] these men have over the professors [those who openly profess] you know. And I persuade myself that for me, they of all others are unwilling I should be transported, especially such of them as have an eye that way themselves, as thinking if I come there, their market will be marred in many regards. And for these adversaries, if they have but half the wit to their malice, they will stop my course when they see it intended, for which this delaying serveth them very opportunely.

And as one resty [lazy] jade [worn out horse] can hinder by hanging back, more than two or three can (or will, at least, if they be not very free) draw forward, so will it be in this case. A notable experiment of this they gave in your messenger's presence, constraining the company to promise that none of the money now gathered should be expended or employed to the help of any of us towards you.

Now, touching the question propounded by you. I judge it not lawful for you, being a ruling elder, as Romans 12:7-8 and 1 Timothy 5:17 opposed to the elders that teach and exhort and labor in the Word

and doctrine to which the sacraments are annexed to administer them, nor convenient if it were lawful. Whether any learned man will come unto you or not, I know not. If any do, you must consilium capere in arena [the gladiator makes his plans in the arena, i.e., on the spot].

Be you most heartily saluted, and your wife with you, both from me and mine. Your God and ours, and the God of all His, bring us together if it be His will and keep us in the meanwhile and always to His glory and make us serviceable to His majesty and faithful to the end. Amen. Your very loving brother,

*John Robinson
Leiden, December 20, 1623*

These things premised, I shall now prosecute the proceedings and affairs here. And before I come to other things, I must speak a word of their planting this year, they having found the benefit of their last year's harvest and setting corn for their particular [own], having thereby with a great deal of patience overcome hunger and famine. Which makes me remember a saying of Seneca's Epistle 123, that a great part of liberty is a well-governed belly and to be patient in all wants.

They began now highly to prize corn as more precious than silver, and those that had some to spare began to trade one with another for small

things by the quart, pottle [half-gallon], and peck, etc. (*for money, they had none*). And if any had, corn was preferred before it.

That they might therefore increase their tillage to better advantage, they made suit to the governor to have some portion of land given them for continuance and not by yearly lot. For by that means, that which the more industrious had brought into good culture (*by much pains*) one year, came to leave it the next, and often another might enjoy it, so as the dressing of their lands were the more slighted over and to less profit. Which being well considered, their request was granted. And to every person was given only one acre of land to them and theirs, as near the town as might be, and they had no more till the seven years were expired. The reason was that they might be kept close together both for more safety and defense and the better improvement of the general employments.

Which condition of theirs did make me often think of what I had read in Pliny (*libro 8, chapter 2*) of the Romans' first beginnings in Romulus' time. How every man contented himself with two acres of land and had no more assigned them. And [in] chapter three, it was thought a great reward to receive at the hands of the people of Rome a pint of corn. And long after, the greatest present given to a captain that had got a victory over their enemies was as much ground as they could till in one day. And he was not counted a

good but a dangerous man that would not content himself with seven acres of land. As also, how they did pound their corn in mortars as these people were forced to do many years before they could get a mill.

The ship which brought this supply was speedily discharged and, with her master and company, sent to Cape Anne (*of which place they had got a patent, as before is showed*) on fishing. And because the season was so far spent, some of the planters were sent to help to build their stage, to their own hindrance. But partly by the lateness of the year and more especially by the baseness of the master, one Baker, they made a poor voyage of it.

He proved a very drunken beast and did nothing (*in a manner*) but drink and guzzle and consume away the time and his victuals [food], and most of his company followed his example. And though Mr. William Peirce was to oversee the business and to be master of the ship home, yet he could do no good amongst them. So as, the loss was great and would have been more to them, but that they kept on a-trading there, which in those times got some store of skins, which was some help unto them.

The ship carpenter that was sent them was an honest and very industrious man and followed his labor very diligently and made all that were employed with him do the like [same]. He quickly

built them two very good and strong shallops [shallow-water boats] (*which after did them great service*) and a great and strong lighter [barge] and had hewn timber for two catches [two-masted ships]. But that was lost, for he fell into a fever in the hot season of the year, and though he had the best means the place could afford, yet he died. Of whom they had a very great loss and were very sorry for his death.

But he whom they sent to make salt was an ignorant, foolish, self-willed fellow. He bore them in hand [that] he could do great matters in making saltworks, so he was sent to seek out fit ground for his purpose. And after some search, he told the governor that he had found a sufficient place with a good bottom to hold water and otherwise very convenient, which he doubted not but in a short time to bring to good perfection and to yield them great profit, but he must have eight or ten men to be constantly employed. He was wished to be sure that the ground was good and other things answerable and that he could bring it to perfection; otherwise, he would bring upon them a great charge by employing himself and so many men.

But he was, after some trial, so confident as he caused them to send carpenters to rear a great frame for a large house to receive the salt and such other uses. But in the end, all proved vain. Then he laid fault of the ground, in which he was

deceived. But if he might have the lighter [barge] to carry clay, he was sure then he could do it.

Now, though the governor and some other[s] foresaw that this would come to little, yet they had so many malignant spirits amongst them that would have laid it upon them in their letters of complaint to the adventurers as to be their fault that would not suffer him to go on to bring his work to perfection. For as he, by his bold confidence and large promises, deceived them in England that sent him, so he had wound himself into these men's high esteem here, so as they were fain to let him go on till all men saw his vanity. For he could not do anything but boil salt in pans and yet would make them that were joined with him believe there was so great a mystery in it as was not easy to be attained and made them do many unnecessary things to blind their eyes till they discerned his subtlety [trickery].

The next year, he was sent to Cape Anne, and the pans were set up there where the fishing was. But before summer was out, he burnt the house, and the fire was so vehement as it spoiled the pans, at least some of them. And this was the end of that chargeable business.

The third eminent person (*which the letters before mention*) was the minister which they sent over by name [of] Mr. John Lyford, of whom and whose doing I must be more large, though I shall

abridge things as much as I can. When this man first came ashore, he saluted them with that reverence and humility as is seldom to be seen and indeed made them ashamed; he so bowed and cringed unto them and would have kissed their hands if they would have suffered him (*of which were many witnesses*). Yea, he wept and shed many tears, blessing God that had brought him to see their faces and admiring the things they had done in their wants, etc., as if he had been made all of love and the humblest person in the world.

And all the while (*if we may judge by his after carriages*), he was but like him mentioned in Psalm 10:10 that croucheth and boweth, that heaps of poor may fall by his might. Or like to that dissembling [hypocritical] Ishmael (*Jeremiah 41:6*), who, when he had slain Gedaliah, went out weeping and met them that were coming to offer incense in the house of the Lord, saying, "Come to Gedaliah," when he meant to slay them.

They gave him the best entertainment they could (*in all simplicity*) and a larger allowance of food out of the store than any other had. And as the governor had used in all weighty affairs to consult with their elder, Mr. Brewster (*together with his assistants*), so now he called Mr. Lyford also to counsel with them in their weightiest businesses.

After some short time, he desired to join himself a member to the church here and was accordingly received. He made a large confession of his faith

and an acknowledgment of his former disorderly walking and his being entangled with many corruptions which had been a burthen [burden] to his conscience and blessed God for this opportunity of freedom and liberty to enjoy the ordinances of God in purity among His people, with many more such like expressions.

I must here speak a word also of Mr. John Oldham (*who was a copartner with him in his aftercourses*). He had been a chief stickler in the former faction among the particulars [settlers who came on their own] and an intelligencer to those in England. But now, since the coming of this ship and he saw the supply that came, he took occasion to open his mind to some of the chief amongst them here and confessed he had done them wrong both by word and deed and writing into England. But he now saw the eminent hand of God to be with them and His blessing upon them, which made his heart smite him.

Neither should those in England ever use him as an instrument any longer against them in anything. He also desired former things might be forgotten and that they would look upon him as one that desired to close [join] with them in all things, with such like expressions. Now, whether this was in hypocrisy or out of some sudden pang of conviction (*which I rather think*), God only knows. Upon it, they shew all readiness to embrace his love and carry towards him in all

friendliness and called him to counsel with them in all chief affairs as the other, without any distrust at all.

Thus, all things seemed to go very comfortably and smoothly on amongst them, at which they did much rejoice. But this lasted not long, for both Oldham and he grew very perverse and showed a spirit of great malignancy, drawing as many into faction as they could. Were they never so vile or profane, they did nourish and back them in all their doings so they would but cleave to them and speak against the church here.

So as there was nothing but private meetings and whisperings amongst them, they feeding themselves and others with what they should bring to pass in England by the faction of their friends there, which brought others as well as themselves into a fool's paradise. Yet they could not carry so closely [secretly], but much of both their doings and sayings were discovered. Yet outwardly, they still set a fair face of things.

At length, when the ship was ready to go, it was observed Lyford was long in writing and sent many letters and could not forbear to communicate to his intimates such things as made them laugh in their sleeves [secretly laugh at others] and thought he had done their errand sufficiently. The governor and some other of his friends, knowing how things stood in England and what hurt these things might do, took a

shallop [shallow-water boat] and went out with the ship a league or two to sea and called for all Lyford's and Oldham's letters.

Mr. William Peirce, being master of the ship (*and knew well their evil dealing both in England and here*), afforded him all the assistance he could. He found above twenty of Lyford's letters, many of them large and full of slanders and false accusations tending not only to their prejudice but to their ruin and utter subversion. Most of the letters they let pass [and] only took copies of them. But some of the most material, they sent true copies of them and kept the originals lest he should deny them and that they might produce his own hand against him.

Amongst his letters, they found the copies of two letters which he sent enclosed in a letter of his to Mr. John Pemberton, a minister and a great opposite of theirs. These two letters of which he took the copies were one of them writ by a gentleman in England to Mr. Brewster here. The other [was] by Mr. Winslow to Mr. Robinson in Holland at his coming away as the ship lay at Gravesend. They lying sealed in the great cabin (*whilst Mr. Winslow was busy about the affairs of the ship*), this sly merchant takes and opens them, takes these copies, and seals them up again. And not only sends the copies of them thus to his friend and their adversary but adds thereto in the margin many scurrilous and flouting annotations.

This ship went out towards evening, and in the night, the governor returned. They were somewhat blank at it, but after some weeks, when they heard nothing, they then were as brisk as ever, thinking nothing had been known, but all was gone current and that the governor went but to dispatch his own letters.

The reason why the governor and rest concealed these things the longer was to let things ripen, that they might the better discover their intents and see who were their adherents. And the rather because amongst the rest, they found a letter of one of their confederates in which was written that Mr. Oldham and Mr. Lyford intended a reformation in church and commonwealth, and as soon as the ship was gone, they intended to join together and have the sacraments, etc.

For Oldham, few of his letters were found (*for he was so bad a scribe as his hand was scarce legible*). Yet he was as deep in the mischief as the other. And thinking they were now strong enough, they began to pick quarrels at everything.

Oldham, being called to [military] watch (*according to order*), refused to come, fell out with the captain, called him “rascal” and “beggarly rascal” and resisted him [and] drew his knife at him, though he offered him no wrong nor gave him no ill terms, but with all fairness required him to do his duty. The governor, hearing the tumult, sent to quiet it, but he [Oldham] ramped

more like a furious beast than a man and called them all traitors and rebels and other such foul language as I am ashamed to remember. But after he was clapped up awhile, he came to himself and with some slight punishment was let go upon his behavior for further censure.

But to cut things short, at length, it grew to this issue that Lyford, with his complices, without ever speaking one word either to the governor, church, or elder, withdrew themselves and set up a public meeting apart on the Lord's Day with sundry [several] such insolent carriages too long here to relate, beginning now publicly to act what privately they had been long plotting.

It was now thought high time (*to prevent further mischief*) to call them to account. So the governor called a court and summoned the whole company to appear and then charged Lyford and Oldham with such things as they were guilty of. But they were stiff and stood resolutely upon the denial of most things and required proof.

They first alleged what was writ to them out of England, compared with their doings and practices here, that it was evident they joined in plotting against them and disturbing their peace, both in respect of their civil and church state, which was most injurious. For both they and all the world knew they came hither to enjoy the liberty of their conscience and the free use of God's ordinances and, for that end, had ventured

their lives and passed through so much hardship hitherto. And they and their friends had borne the charge of these beginnings, which was not small. And that Lyford, for his part, was sent over on this charge, and that both he and his great [large] family was maintained on the same and also was joined to the church and a member of them. And for him to plot against them and seek their ruin was most unjust and perfidious.

And for Oldham or any other that came over at their own charge and were on their particular [own], seeing they were received in courtesy by the plantation when they came only to seek shelter and protection under their wings, not being able to stand alone, that they (*according to the fable*), like the hedgehog whom the coney [rabbit] in a stormy day (*in pity*) received into her borrow, would not be content to take part with her, but in the end, with her sharp pricks, forced the poor coney [rabbit] to forsake her own borrow, so these men with the like [same] injustice endeavored to do the same to those that entertained them.

Lyford denied that he had anything to do with them in England or knew of their courses and made other things as strange that he was charged with. Then his letters were produced and some of them read, at which he was struck mute. But Oldham began to rage furiously because they had intercepted and opened his letters, threatening them in very high language and, in a most

audacious and mutinous manner, stood up and called upon the people, saying, "My masters, where is your hearts? Now show your courage. You have oft complained to me, so and so. Now is the time. If you will do anything, I will stand by you," etc. Thinking that everyone (*knowing his humor*) that had soothed and flattered him or otherwise in their discontent uttered anything unto him would now side with him in open rebellion. But he was deceived, for not a man opened his mouth. But all were silent, being stricken with the injustice of the thing.

Then, the governor turned his speech to Mr. Lyford and asked him if he thought they had done evil to open his letters. But he was silent and would not say a word, well knowing what they might reply. Then, the governor showed the people he did it as a magistrate and was bound to it by his place to prevent the mischief and ruin that this conspiracy and plots of theirs would bring on this poor colony.

But he, besides his evil dealing here, had dealt treacherously with his friends that trusted him and stole their letters and opened them and sent copies of them with disgraceful annotations to his friends in England. And then the governor produced them and his other letters under his own hand (*which he could not deny*) and caused them to be read before all the people, at which all his friends were blank and had not a word to say. It would be too long and tedious here to insert his

letters (*which would almost fill a volume*), though I have them by me. I shall only note a few of the chief things collected out of them with the answers to them as they were then given, and but a few of those many only for instance by which the rest may be judged of.

1. First, he saith the church would have none to live here but themselves. Secondly, neither are any willing so to do if they had company to live elsewhere.

ANSWER: Their answer was that this was false in both the parts of it, for they were willing and desirous that any honest men may live with them that will carry themselves peaceably and seek the common good, or at least do them no hurt. And again, there are many that will not live elsewhere so long as they may live with them.

2. That if there come over any honest men that are not of the separation [Separatist congregation], they will quickly distaste them, etc.

ANSWER: Their answer was as before, that it was a false calumination [defamation], for they had many amongst them that they liked well of and were glad of their company and should be of any such like that should come amongst them.

3. That they excepted against him for these two doctrines raised from 2 Samuel 12:7. First, that

ministers must sometimes particularly apply their doctrine to special persons. Secondly, that great men may be reprov'd, as well as meaner [less eminent].

ANSWER: *Their answer was that both these were without either truth or color of the same (as was proved to his face) and that they had taught and believed these things long before they knew Mr. Lyford.*

4. That they utterly sought the ruin of the particulars [settlers who came on their own] as appeareth by this, that they would not suffer any of the general either to buy or sell with them or to exchange one commodity for another.

ANSWER: *This was a most malicious slander and void of all truth (as was evidently proved to him before all men). For any of them did both buy, sell, or exchange with them as often as they had any occasion, yea, and also both lend and give to them when they wanted. And this, the particular persons themselves could not deny but freely confessed in open court. But the ground from whence this arose made it much worse, for he was in counsel with them.*

When one was called before them and questioned for receiving powder and biscuit from the gunner of the small ship which was the company's and had it put in at his window in the night, and also for buying salt of one that had no right to it, he not

only stood to back him (being one of these particulars [settlers who came on their own]) by excusing and extenuating his fault as long as he could, but upon this, builds this mischievous and most false slander that because they would not suffer them to buy stolen goods, ergo they sought their utter ruin. Bad logic for a divine.

5. Next, he writ that he chocked [stopped from moving forward] them with this, that they turned men into their particular [own] and then sought to starve them and deprive them of all means of subsistence.

ANSWER: To this was answered [that] he did them manifest wrong, for they turned none into their particular [own]. It was their own importunity [persistent begging] and earnest desire that moved them, yea, constrained them to do it. And they appealed to the persons themselves for the truth hereof, and they testified the same against him before all present, as also that they had no cause to complain of any either hard or unkind usage [treatment].

6. He accuseth them with unjust distribution and writeth that it was a strange difference that some have been allowed sixteen pounds of meal by the week and others but four pounds. And then (*floutingly*) saith it seems some men's mouths and bellies are very little and slender over others.

ANSWER: *This might seem strange indeed to those to whom he writ his letters in England which knew not the reason of it. But to him and others here, it could not be strange who knew how things stood. For the first-comers had none at all but lived on their corn. Those which came in the Anne the August before and were to live thirteen months off the provisions they brought had as good allowance in meal and peas as it would extend to the most part of the year. But a little before harvest, when they had not only fish but other fruits began to come in, they had but four pounds, having their liberty to make their own provisions.*

But some of these which came last, as the ship carpenter and sawyers, the salt men and others that were to follow constant employments and had not an hour's time from their hard labors to look for anything above their allowance, they had at first sixteen pounds allowed them. And afterwards, as fish and other food could be got, they had abatement to fourteen and twelve, yea some of them to eight, as the times and occasions did vary. And yet those which followed planting and their own occasions and had but four pounds of meal a week lived better than the other, as was well known to all. And yet it must be remembered that Lyford and his had always the highest allowance.

Many other things (*in his letters*) he accused them of, with many aggravations, as that he saw exceeding great waste of tools and vessels. And this, when it came to be examined, all the instance

he could give was that he had seen an old hogshead [sixty-six gallon barrel] or two fallen to pieces and a broken hoe or two left carelessly in the field by some, though he also knew that a godly, honest man was appointed to look to these things. But these things and such like was writ of by him to cast disgrace and prejudice upon them as thinking what came from a minister would pass for current [general opinion].

Then, he tells them that Winslow should say that there was not above seven of the adventurers that sought the good of the colony. That Mr. Oldham and himself had had much to do with them and that the faction here might match the Jesuits for policy, with many the like grievous complaints and accusations. Then in the next place, he comes to give his friends [the London adventurers] counsel and direction.

1. And first, that the Leiden company (*Mr. Robinson and the rest*) must still be kept back, or else all will be spoiled. And lest any of them should be taken in privately somewhere on the coast of England (*as it was feared might be done*), they must change the master of the ship (*Mr. William Peirce*) and put another also in Winslow's stead for merchant, or else it would not be prevented.

2. Then, he would have such a number provided as might oversway them here. And that the particulars [settlers who came on their own]

should have voices in all courts and elections and be free to bear any office. And that every particular [settler who came on his own] should come over as an adventurer. If he be but a servant, some other venturing £10, the bill may be taken out in the servant's name and then assigned to the party whose money it was and good covenants drawn between them for the clearing of the matter. And this (*saieth he*) would be a means to strengthen this side the more.

3. Then he tells them that if that captain they spoke of should come over hither as a general, he was persuaded he would be chosen captain, for this Captain Standish looks like a silly boy and is in utter contempt.

4. Then he shows that if, by the forementioned means, they cannot be strengthened to carry and overbear things, it will be best for them to plant elsewhere by themselves and would have it articulated by them that they might make choice of any place that they liked best within three or four miles' distance, showing there were far better places for plantation than this.

5. And lastly, he concludes that if some number came not over to bear them up here, then there would be no abiding for them but by joining with these here. Then he adds, "Since I began to write, there are letters come from your company wherein they would give sole authority in divers [various] things unto the governor here, which if

it take place, then *vae nobis* [woe to us]. But I hope you will be more vigilant hereafter that nothing may pass in such manner. "I suppose (*saiith he*) Mr. Oldham will write to you further of these things. I pray you conceal me in the discovery of these things," etc.

Thus, I have briefly touched some chief things in his letters and shall now return to their proceeding with him. After the reading of his letters before the whole company, he was demanded what he could say to these things. But all the answer he made was that Billington and some others had informed him of many things and made sundry [several] complaints, which they now denied.

He was again asked if that was a sufficient ground for him thus to accuse and traduce [slander] them by his letters and never say word to them, considering the many bonds between them. And so they went on from point to point and wished him or any of his friends and confederates not to spare them in anything if he or they had any proof or witness of any corrupt or evil dealing of theirs. His or their evidence must needs be there present, for there was the whole company and sundry [several] strangers [settlers who were not of the Separatist congregation].

He said he had been abused by others in their informations (*as he well saw*), and so had abused them. And this was all the answer they could

have, for none would take his part in anything. But Billington and any whom he named denied the things and protested he wronged them and would have drawn them to such and such things which they could not consent to, though they were sometimes drawn to his meetings.

Then they dealt with him about his dissembling [hypocrisy] with them about the church and that he professed to concur with them in all things, and what a large confession he made at his admittance and that he held not himself a minister till he had a new calling, etc. And yet now he contested against them and drew a company apart and sequestered himself and would go minister the sacraments (*by his episcopal calling*) without ever speaking a word unto them, either as magistrates or brethren.

In conclusion, he was fully convicted and burst out into tears and confessed he feared he was a reprobate; his sins were so great that he doubted God would not pardon them; he was unsavory salt, etc. And that he had so wronged them as he could never make them amends, confessing all he had writ against them was false and naught, both for matter and manner. And all this he did with as much fullness as words and tears could express.

After their trial and conviction, the court censured them to be expelled [from] the place; Oldham presently, though his wife and family had liberty to stay all winter or longer till he could

make provision to remove them comfortably. Lyford had liberty to stay six months. It was indeed with some eye to his relief if he carried himself well in the meantime and that his repentance proved sound.

Lyford acknowledged his censure was far less than he deserved. Afterwards, he confessed his sin publicly in the church with tears more largely than before. I shall here put it down as I find it recorded by some who took it from his own words as himself uttered them.

Acknowledging that he had done very evil and slanderously abused them, and thinking most of the people would take part with him, he thought to carry all by violence and strong hand against them. And that God might justly lay innocent blood to his charge, for he knew not what hurt might have come of these, his writings, and blessed God they were stayed.

And that he spared not to take knowledge from any of any evil that was spoken but shut his eyes and ears against all the good. And if God should make him a vagabond in the earth as was Cain, it was but just, for he had sinned in envy and malice against his brethren as he did. And he confessed three things to be the ground and causes of these, his doings—pride, vainglory, and self-love, amplifying these heads with many other sad expressions in the particulars of them.

So as they began again to conceive good thoughts of him upon this his repentance and admitted him to teach amongst them as before. And Samuel Fuller (*a deacon amongst them*) and some other tender-hearted men amongst them were so taken with his signs of sorrow and repentance as they professed they would fall upon their knees to have his censure released.

But that which made them all stand amazed in the end and may do all others that shall come to hear the same (*for a rarer precedent can scarce be shown*) was that after a month or two, notwithstanding all his former confession, convictions, and public acknowledgments both in the face of the church and whole company, with so many tears and sad censure of himself before God and men, he should go again to justify what he had done.

For secretly, he writ a second letter to the adventurers in England in which he justified all his former writings (*save in some things which tended to their damage*), the which, because it is briefer than the former, I shall here insert.

Worthy Sirs,

Though the filth of mine own doings may justly so be cast in my face and with blushing cause my perpetual silence, yet that the truth may not hereby be injured, yourselves any longer deluded, nor injurious dealing carried out still with bold

outfacings, I have adventured once more to write unto you.

First, I do freely confess I dealt very indiscreetly in some of my particular [own] letters, which I wrote to private friends for the courses in coming hither and the like. Which I do in no sort seek to justify, though stirred up thereunto in the beholding the indirect courses held by others, both here and there with you, for effecting their designs, but am heartily sorry for it and do to the glory of God and mine own shame acknowledge it.

Which letters being intercepted by the governor, I have for the same undergone the censure of banishment. And had it not been for the respect I have unto you and some other matters of private regard, I had returned again at this time by the pinnace [two-masted ship] for England. For here I purpose not to abide unless I receive better encouragement from you than from the church (as they call themselves) here I do receive.

I purposed before I came to undergo hardness. Therefore, I shall, I hope, cheerfully bear the conditions of the place, though very mean. And they have changed my wages ten times already. I suppose my letters, or at least the copies of them, are come to your hands, for so they here report. Which if be so, I pray you take notice of this, that I have written nothing but what is certainly true, and I could make so appear plainly to any indifferent men, whatsoever colors be cast to darken the truth.

And some there are very audacious this way, besides many other matters which are far out of order here.

My mind was not to enlarge myself any further but in respect of divers [several] poor souls here, the care of whom in part belongs to you, being here destitute of the means of salvation. For howsoever the church are provided for to their content who are the smallest number in the colony and do so appropriate the ministry to themselves, holding this principle that the Lord hath not appointed any ordinary ministry for the conversion of those that are without, so that some of the poor souls have with tears complained of this to me, and I was taxed for preaching to all in general.

Though in truth, they have had no ministry here since they came but such as may be performed by any of you, by their own position, whatsoever great pretenses they make. But herein, they equivocate as in many other things they do. But I exceed the bounds I set myself. Therefore, resting thus until I hear further from you, so it be within the time limited me. I rest, etc., remaining yours ever,

*John Lyford, exile
Dated August 22, Anno 1624*

They made a brief answer to some things in this letter but referred chiefly to their former. The effect was to this purpose that if God in his providence had not brought these things to their

hands (*both the former and latter*), they might have been thus abused, traduced [slandered], and calumniated [defamed], overthrown, and undone, and never have known by whom nor for what.

They desired but this equal favor that they would be pleased to hear their just defense as well as his accusations and weigh them in the balance of justice and reason and then censure as they pleased. They had writ briefly to the heads of things before and should be ready to give further answer as any occasion should require, craving leave to add a word or two to this last.

1. And first, they desire to examine what filth that was that he acknowledged might justly be thrown in his face and might cause blushing and perpetual silence.

Some great matter, sure? But if it be looked into, it amounts to no more than a point of indiscretion, and that's all. And yet he licks off that too with this excuse that he was stirred up thereunto by beholding the indirect course here. But this point never troubled him here.

It was counted a light matter, both by him and his friends, and put off with this, that any man might do so to advise his private friends to come over for their best advantage. All his sorrow and tears here was for the wrong and hurt he had done us and not at all for this he pretends to be done to you. It was not counted so much as indiscretion.

2. *Having thus paid you full satisfaction, he thinks he may lay load of us here and first complains that we have changed his wages ten times. We never agreed with him for any wages nor made any bargain at all with him, neither know of any that you have made. You sent him over to teach amongst us and desired he might be kindly used [treated], and more than this, we know not. That he hath been kindly used [treated] (and far better than he deserves from us), he shall be judged first of his own mouth.*

If you please to look upon that writing of his that was sent you amongst his letters which he calls a general relation in which, though he doth otherwise traduce [slander] us, yet in this, he himself clears us. In the latter end thereof, he hath these words: "I speak not this (saith he) out of any ill affection to the men, for I have found them very kind and loving to me." You may there see these to be his own words under his own hand.

Secondly, it will appear by this that he hath ever had a larger allowance of food out of the store for him and his than any, and clothing as his need hath required, a dwelling in one of our best houses, and a man wholly at his own command to tend his private affairs. What cause he hath therefore to complain, judge ye. And what he means in his speech, we know not, except he eludes to that of Jacob and Laban. If you have promised him more or otherwise, you may do it when you please.

3. *Then with an impudent face, he would have you take notice that (in his letters) he hath writ nothing but what is certainly true. Yea, and he could make it so appear plainly to any indifferent men.*

This indeed doth astonish us and causeth us to tremble at the deceitfulness and desperate wickedness of man's heart. This is to devour holy things and after vows to inquire. It is admirable that after such public confession and acknowledgment in court, in church, before God and men, with such sad expressions as he used and with such melting into tears, that after all this, he should now justify all again.

If things had been done in a corner, it had been something to deny them. But being done in the open view of the country and before all men, it is more than strange now to avow to make them plainly appear to any indifferent men. And here where things were done and all the evidence that could be were present, and yet could make nothing appear, but even his friends condemned him and gave their voice to his censure, so gross [great] were they.

We leave yourselves to judge herein. Yet lest this man should triumph in his wickedness, we shall be ready to answer him when or where you will, to anything he shall lay to our charge, though we have done it sufficiently already.

4. *Then he saith he would not enlarge but for some poor souls here who are destitute of the means of salvation, etc.*

But all his soothing is but that you would use means that his censure might be released, that he might here continue and under you (at least) be sheltered till he sees what his friends (on whom he depends) can bring about and effect. For such men pretend much for poor souls, but they will look to their wages and conditions if that be not to their content, let poor souls do what they will. They will shift for themselves and seek poor souls somewhere else among richer bodies.

5. *Next, he falls upon the church that indeed is the burthensome [burdensome] stone that troubles him. First, he saith they hold this principle that the Lord hath not appointed any ordinary ministry for the conversion of those without.*

The church needs not be ashamed of what she holds in this, having God's Word for her warrant that ordinary officers are bound chiefly to their flocks, Acts 20:28, and are not to be extravagants to go, come, and leave them at their pleasures to shift for themselves or to be devoured of wolves. But he perverts the truth in this, as in other things. For the Lord hath as well appointed them to convert as to feed in their several charges, and he wrongs the church to say otherwise.

Again, he saith he was taxed for preaching to all in general. This is a mere untruth, for this dissembler [hypocrite] knows that every Lord's Day, some are appointed to visit suspected places, and if any be found idling and neglect the hearing of the Word (through idleness or profaneness), they are punished for the same. Now to procure all to come to hour and then to blame him for preaching to all were to play the madmen.

6. Next (he saith), they have had no ministry since they came, whatsoever pretenses they make, etc.

We answer the more is our wrong that our pastor is kept from us by these men's means and then reproach us for it when they have done [so]. Yet have we not been wholly destitute of the means of salvation, as this man would make the world believe. For our reverend elder hath labored diligently in dispensing the Word of God unto us before he came and since hath taken equal pains with himself in preaching the same.

And be it spoken without ostentation, he is not inferior to Mr. Lyford (and some of his betters) either in gifts or learning, though he would never be persuaded to take higher office upon him[self], nor ever was more pretended in this matter. For equivocating, he may take it to himself what the church holds. They have manifested to the world in all plainness, both in open confession, doctrine, and writing.

This was the sum of their answer, and here I will let them rest for present. I have been longer in these things than I desired, and yet not so long as the things might require. For I pass many things in silence, and many more deserve to have been more largely handled. But I will return to other things and leave the rest to its place.

The pinnacle [two-masted ship] that was left sunk and cast away near Damarinscove, as is before showed, some of the fishing masters said it was a pity so fine a vessel should be lost and sent them word that if they would be at the cost, they would both direct them how to weigh her and let them have their carpenters to mend her. They thanked them and sent men about it and beaver to defray the charge (*without which all had been in vain*).

So they got coopers to trim I know not how many tun of cask. And being made tight and fastened to her at low water, they buoyed her up and then, with many hands, hauled her on shore in a convenient place where she might be wrought upon. And then hired sundry [several] carpenters to work upon her and other[s] to saw planks and, at last, fitted her and got her home. But she cost a great deal of money in thus recovering her and buying rigging and sails for her, both now and when before she lost her mast, so as she proved a chargeable vessel to the poor plantation. So they sent her home, and with her, Lyford sent his last letter in great secrecy, but the party entrusted with it gave it [to] the governor.

The winter was passed over in their ordinary affairs without any special matter worth noting, saving that many who before stood something off from the church, now seeing Lyford's unrighteous dealing and malignity against the church, now tendered themselves to the church and were joined to the same. Professing that it was not out of the dislike of anything that they had stood off so long but a desire to fit themselves better for such a state, and they saw now the Lord called for their help. And so these troubles produced a quite contrary effect in sundry [several] here than these adversaries hoped for, which was looked at as a great work of God to draw on men by unlikely means and that in reason which might rather have set them further off.

And thus, I shall end this year.

Anno Domini 1625



At the spring of the year, about the time of their election court, Oldham came again amongst them. And though it was a part of his censure for his former mutiny and miscarriage not to return without leave first obtained, yet in his daring spirit, he presumed without any leave at all, being also set on and hardened by the ill counsel of others. And not only so, but [he] suffered his unruly passion to run beyond the limits of all reason and modesty insomuch that some strangers which came with him were ashamed of his outrage and rebuked him.

But all reproofs were but as oil to the fire and made the flame of his choler [anger] greater. He called them all to naught in this, his mad fury, and a hundred rebels and traitors, and I know not

what. But in conclusion, they committed him till he was tamer and then appointed a guard of musketeers who he was to pass through, and ever[y] one was ordered to give him a thump on the breech [buttocks] with the butt end of his musket. And then [he] was conveyed to the waterside, where a boat was ready to carry him away. Then they bid him go and mend his manners.

Whilst this was in doing, Mr. William Peirce and Mr. Winslow came up from the waterside, being come from England, but they were so busy with Oldham as they never saw them till they came thus upon them. They bid them not spare either him or Lyford, for they had played the villains with them. But that I may here make an end with him, I shall here once for all relate what befell [happened] concerning him in the future and that briefly.

After the removal of his family from hence, he fell into some straits (*as some others did*), and about a year or more afterwards towards winter, he intended a voyage for Virginia. But it so pleased God that the bark [sailboat] that carried him and many other passengers was in that danger as they despaired of life. So as many of them, as they fell to prayer, so also did they begin to examine their consciences and confess such sins as did most burthen [burden] them.

And Mr. Oldham did make a free and large confession of the wrongs and hurt he had done to the people and church here in many particulars. That as he had sought their ruin, so God had now met with him and might destroy him. Yea, he feared they all fared the worse for his sake. He prayed God to forgive him and made vows that if the Lord spared his life, he would become otherwise and the like. This I had from some of good credit yet living in the Bay and were themselves partners in the same dangers on the shoals of Cape Cod and heard it from his own mouth. It pleased God to spare their lives, though they lost their voyage.

And in time afterwards, Oldham carried himself fairly towards them and acknowledged the hand of God to be with them and seemed to have an honorable respect of them. And so far made his peace with them as he in aftertime had liberty to go and come and converse with them at his pleasure.

He went after this to Virginia and had there a great sickness, but recovered and came back again to his family in the Bay and there lived till some store of people came over at length going a-trading in a small vessel among the Indians. And being weakly manned, upon some quarrel, they [Indians] knocked him on the head with a hatchet so as he fell down dead and never spake word more. Two little boys that were his kinsmen were saved but had some hurt, and the vessel was

strangely recovered from the Indians by another that belonged to the Bay of Massachusetts. And this, his death, was one ground of the Pequot War which followed.

I am now come to Mr. Lyford.

His time being now expired, his censure was to take place. He was so far from answering their hopes by amendment in the time as he had doubled his evil, as is before noted. But first, behold the hand of God concerning him. Wherein that of the psalmist is verified, Psalm 7:15, he hath made a pit and digged it and is fallen into the pit he made. He thought to bring shame and disgrace upon them, but instead thereof opens his own to all the world.

For when he was dealt with about his second letter, his wife was so affected with his doings as she could no longer conceal her grief and sorrow or mind but opens the same to one of their deacons and some other of her friends, and after uttered the same to Mr. Peirce upon his arrival. Which was to this purpose, that she feared some great judgment of God would fall upon them and upon her for her husband's cause, now that they were to remove. She feared to fall into the Indians' hands and to be defiled by them as he had defiled other women or some such like judgment, as God had threatened David, 2 Samuel 12:11, I will raise up evil against thee and will take

thy wives and give them, etc. And upon it, showed how he had wronged her.

As first, he had a bastard by another before they were married. And she having some inkling of some ill carriage that way when he was a suitor to her, she told him what she heard and denied him. But she not certainly knowing the thing otherwise than some dark and secret mutterings, he not only stiffly denied it but, to satisfy her, took a solemn oath there was no such matter. Upon which she gave consent and married with him. But afterwards, it was found true, and the bastard brought home to them.

She then charged him with his oath, but he prayed pardon and said he should else not have had her. And yet afterwards, she could keep no maids, but he would be meddling with them. And sometime[s], she hath taken him in the manner as they lay at their beds' foot, with such other circumstances as I am ashamed to relate, the woman being a grave matron and of good carriage all the while she was here.

And [she] spoke those things out of the sorrow of her heart sparingly and yet with some further intimations. And that which did most seem to affect her (*as they conceived*) was to see his former carriage in his repentance, not only here with the church, but formerly about these things, shedding tears and using great and sad expressions and yet

eftsoons [soon after] fall into the like [same] things.

Another thing of the same nature did strangely concur herewith. When Mr. Winslow and Mr. Peirce were come over, Mr. Winslow informed them that they had had the like [same] bickering with Lyford's friends in England as they had with himself and his friends here about his letters and accusations in them. And many meetings and much clamor was made by his friends thereabout, crying out, "A minister, a man so godly, to be so esteemed and taxed!"

They held a great scandal and threat[en]ed to prosecute law against them for it. But things being referred to a further meeting of most of the adventurers to hear the case and decide the matters, they agreed to choose two eminent men for moderators in the business. Lyford's faction chose Mr. White, a counselor-at-law. The other part chose Reverend Mr. Hooker, the minister, and many friends on both sides were brought in so as there was a great assembly.

In the meantime, God, in His providence, had detected Lyford's evil carriage in Ireland to some friends amongst the company who made it known to Mr. Winslow and directed him to two godly and grave witnesses who would testify the same (*if called thereunto*) upon their oath. The things was this. He, being got into Ireland, had wound himself into the esteem of sundry [several] godly

and zealous professors [those who openly profess] in those parts who, having been burthened [burdened] with the ceremonies in England, found there some more liberty to their consciences, amongst whom were these two men which gave this evidence.

Amongst the rest of his hearers, there was a godly young man that intended to marry and cast his affection on a maid which lived thereabout. But desiring to choose in the Lord and preferred [preferring] the fear of God before all things, before he suffered his affection to run too far, he resolved to take Mr. Lyford's advice and judgments of this maid (*being the minister of the place*) and so broke the matter unto him. And he [Lyford] promised faithfully to inform him, but would first take better knowledge of her and have private conference with her and so had sundry [several] times. And in conclusion, [he] commended her highly to the young man as a very fit wife for him, so they were married together.

But sometime after marriage, the woman was much troubled in mind and afflicted in conscience and did nothing but weep and mourn. And long it was before her husband could get of her what was the cause, but at length she discovered [revealed] the thing and prayed him to forgive her. For Lyford had overcome her and defiled her body before marriage after he had commended him unto her for a husband, and she resolved to have

him when he came to her in that private way. The circumstances I forbear, for they would offend chaste ears to hear them related (*for though he satisfied his lust on her, yet he endeavored to hinder conception*).

These things being thus discovered, the woman's husband took some godly friends with him to deal with Lyford for this evil. At length, he confessed it with a great deal of seeming sorrow and repentance but was forced to leave Ireland upon it, partly for shame and partly for fear of further punishment, for the godly withdrew themselves from him upon it. And so coming into England, unhappily he was light upon [discovered] and sent hither.

But in this great assembly and before the moderators, in handling the former matters about the letters, upon provocation in some heat of reply to some of Lyford's defenders, Mr. Winslow let fall these words that he "had dealt knavishly." Upon which one of his [Lyford's] friends took hold and called for witnesses that he called a minister of gospel "knave" and would prosecute law upon it, which made a great tumult. Upon which (*to be short*) this matter broke out.

And the witnesses were produced whose persons were so grave and evidence so plain and the fact so foul, yet delivered in such modest and chaste terms and with such circumstances [as] struck all his friends mute and made them all ashamed.

Insomuch as the moderators, with great gravity, declared that the former matters gave them cause enough to refuse him and to deal with him as they had done, but these made him unmeet [unsuitable] forever to bear ministry anymore, what repentance soever he should pretend, with much more to like effect, and so wished his friends to rest quiet. Thus, was this matter ended.

From hence, Lyford went to Nantasket in the Bay of the Massachusetts with some other of his friends with him, where Oldham also lived. From thence, he removed to Naumkeag, since called Salem. But after there came some people over, whether for hope of greater profit or what ends else, I know not, he left his friends that followed him and went from thence to Virginia, where he shortly died. And so I leave him to the Lord. His wife afterwards returned again to this country, and thus much of this matter.

This storm being thus blown over, yet sundry [several] sad effects followed the same. For the company of adventurers broke in pieces hereupon, and the greatest part wholly deserted the colony in regard of any further supply or care of their subsistence. And not only so, but some of Lyford's and Oldham's friends and their adherents set out a ship on fishing on their own account and, getting the start of the ship that came to the plantation, they took away their stage and other necessary provisions that they had made for fishing at Cape Anne the year before at

their great charge and would not restore the same except [unless] they would fight for it. But the governor sent some of the planters to help the fishermen to build a new one and so let them keep it.

This ship also brought them some small supply of little value, but they made so poor business of their fishing (*neither could these men make them any return for the supply sent*) so as after this year, they never looked more after them. Also by this ship, they, some of them, sent (*in the name of the rest*) certain reasons of those breaking off from the plantation and some tenders upon certain conditions of reuniting again. The which because they are long and tedious (*and most of them about the former things already touched*), I shall omit them, only giving an instance in one or two.

One reason [is] they charged them for dissembling [hypocrisy] with His Majesty in their petition and with the adventurers about the French discipline, etc. Secondly, for receiving a man (*this was Lyford himself*) into their church that in his confession renounced all universal, national, and diocesan churches, etc., by which (*say they*) it appears that though they deny the name of Brownists, yet they practice the same, etc., and therefore, they should sin against God in building up such a people.

Then they add, “our dislikes thus laid down that we may go on in trade with better content and credit, our desires are as followeth.”

1. First, that as we are partners in trade, so we may be in government there, as the patent doth give us power etc.

2. That the French discipline may be practiced in the plantation as well in the circumstances thereof as in the substance, whereby the scandalous name of the Brownists and other church differences may be taken away.

3. Lastly, that Mr. Robinson and his company may not go over to our plantation, unless he and they will reconcile themselves to our church by a recantation under their hands, etc.

Their [Plymouth’s] answer in part to these things was then as followeth.

Whereas you tax us for dissembling [hypocrisy] with His Majesty and the adventurers about the French discipline, you do us wrong. For we both hold and practice the discipline of the French and other reformed churches (as they have published the same in the Harmony of Confessions), according to our means in effect and substance. But whereas you would tie us to the French discipline in every circumstance, you derogate from the liberty we have in Christ Jesus.

The Apostle Paul would have none to follow him in anything but wherein he follows Christ, much less ought any Christian or church in the world to do it. The French may err, we may err, and other churches may err and doubtless do in many circumstances. That honor therefore belongs only to the infallible Word of God and pure Testament of Christ, to be propounded and followed as the only rule and pattern for direction herein to all churches and Christians.

And it is too great arrogancy for any man or church to think that he or they have so sounded the Word of God to the bottom as precisely to set down the church's discipline without error in substance or circumstance, as that no other without blame may digress or differ in anything from the same. And it is not difficult to show that the reformed churches differ in many circumstances amongst themselves.

The rest I omit for brevity's sake and so leave to prosecute these men or their doings any further but shall return to the rest of their friends and company which stuck to them. And I shall first insert some part of their letters as followeth, for I think it best to render their minds in their own words.

To our loving friends, etc.,

Though the thing we feared be come upon us, and the evil we strove against have overtaken us, yet we cannot forget you nor our friendship and fellowship

which together we have had some years. Wherein though our expressions have been small, yet our hearty affections towards you (unknown by face) have been no less than to our nearest friends, yea, to our own selves. And though this, your friend Mr. Winslow can tell you the state of things here, yet lest we should seem to neglect you, to whom by a wonderful providence of God we are so nearly united, we have thought good once more to write unto you to let you know what is here befallen [happened] and the reasons of it, as also our purposes and desires toward you for hereafter.

The former course for the generality here is wholly dissolved from what it was, and whereas you and we were formerly sharers and partners in all voyages and dealings, this way is now no more. But you and we are left to bethink ourselves what course to take in the future that your lives and our moneys be not lost.

The reasons and causes of this alteration have been these. First and mainly, the many losses and crosses at sea and abuses of seamen which have caused us to run into so much charge, debts, and engagements as our estates and means were not able to go on without impoverishing ourselves except [unless] our estates had been greater and our associates cloven better unto us.

Secondly, as here hath been a faction and siding amongst us now more than two years, so now there is another breach and sequestration amongst us,

and in two parts of us a full desertion and forsaking of you without any intent or purpose of meddling more with you. And though we are persuaded the main cause of this, their doing, is want of money (for need whereof men use to make many excuses), yet other things are pretended, as that you are Brownists, etc.

Now, what use you or we ought to make of these things, it remaineth to be considered. For we know the hand of God to be in all these things, and no doubt He would admonish something thereby and to look what is amiss. And although it be now too late for us or you to prevent and stay these things, yet is it not too late to exercise patience, wisdom, and conscience in bearing them and in carrying ourselves in and under them for the time to come.

And as we ourselves stand ready to embrace all occasions that may tend to the furtherance of so hopeful a work, rather admiring of what is than grudging for what is not, so it must rest in you to make all good again. And if in nothing else you can be approved, yet let your honesty and conscience be still approved and lose not one jot of your innocency amidst your crosses and afflictions. And surely, if you, upon this alteration, behave yourselves wisely and go on fairly as men whose hope is not in this life, you shall need no other weapon to wound your adversaries. For when your righteousness is revealed as the light, they shall cover their faces with shame that causelessly have sought your overthrow.

Now we think it but reason that all such things as there appertain to the general be kept and preserved together and rather increased daily than any way be dispersed or embezzled away for any private ends or intents whatsoever. And after your necessities are served, you gather together such commodities as the country yields and send them over to pay debts and clear engagements here, which are not less than £1400. And we hope you will do your best to free our engagements, etc.

Let us all endeavor to keep a fair and honest course and see what time will bring forth and how God, in His providence, will work for us. We still are persuaded you are the people that must make a plantation in those remote places when all others fail and return. And your experience of God's providence and preservation of you is such as we hope your hearts will not fail you, though your friends should forsake you (which we ourselves shall not do while we live, so long as your honesty so well appeareth). Yet surely, help would arise from some other place whilst you wait on God with uprightness, though we should leave you also.

And lastly, be you all entreated to walk circumspectly and carry yourselves so uprightly in all your ways as that no man may make just exception against you. And more especially that the favor and countenance of God may be so toward you as that you may find abundant joy and peace even amidst tribulations that you may say with

David, though my father and mother should forsake me, yet the Lord would take me up.

We have sent you here some cattle, cloth, hose, shoes, leather, etc., but in another nature than formerly, as it stood us in hand to do. We have committed them to the charge and custody of Mr. Allerton and Mr. Winslow as our factors, at whose discretion they are to be sold and commodities to be taken for them as is fitting. And by how much the more they will be chargeable unto you, the better they had need to be husbanded [prudently managed], etc.

Go on, good friends, comfortably. Pluck up your spirits, and quit yourselves like men in all your difficulties, that notwithstanding all displeasure and threats of men, yet the work may go on you are about and not be neglected. Which is so much for the glory of God and the furtherance of our countrymen as that a man may with more comfort spend his life in it than live the life of Methuselah in wasting the plenty of a tilled land or eating the fruit of a grown tree. Thus, with hearty salutations to you and all and hearty prayers for you all, we lovingly take our leaves this eighteenth of December 1624. Your assured friends to our powers,

*James Sherley, William Collier, Thomas Fletcher,
Robert Holland, etc.*

By this letter, it appears in what state the affairs of the plantation stood at this time. These goods

they bought, but they were at dear rates. For they put forty in the hundred upon them for profit and adventure outward bound, and because of the venture of the payment homeward, they would have £30 in the hundred more, which was in all seventy per cent (*if I mistake not, it was not much less*). A thing thought unreasonable by some and too great an oppression upon the poor people, as their case stood. The cattle were the best goods, for the other, being ventured ware, were neither of the best (*some of them*) nor at the best prices. Sundry [several] of their friends disliked these high rates, but coming from many hands, they could not help it.

They sent over also two ships on fishing on their own account. The one was the pinnace [two-masted ship] that was cast away the last year here in the country and recovered by the planters (*as was before related*), who, after she came home, was attached by one of the company for his particular [own] debt and now sent again on this account. The other was a great ship who was well-fitted with an experienced master and company of fishermen to make a voyage and to go to Bilbao or [San] Sebastians with her fish.

The lesser [ship], her order was to load with cor-fish and to bring the beaver home for England that should be received for the goods sold to the plantation. This bigger ship made a great voyage of good dry fish, the which (*if they gone to a market with*) would have yielded them (*as such*

fish was sold that season) £1800, which would have enriched them. But because there was a bruit [rumor] of war with France, the master neglected (*through timorousness*) his order and put first into Plymouth and after into Portsmouth, and so lost their opportunity and came by the loss.

The lesser ship had as ill success, though she was as hopeful as the other for the merchant's profit. For they had filled her with goodly cor-fish taken upon the bank as full as she could swim. And besides, she had some eight hundred pounds weight of beaver, besides other furs to a good value from the plantation. The master, seeing so much goods come, put it aboard the bigger ship for more safety. But Mr. Winslow (*their factor in this business*) was bound in a bond of £500 to send it to London in the small ship.

There was some contending between the master and him about it, but he told the master he would follow his order about it. If he would take it out afterward, it should be at his peril. So it went in the small ship, and he sent bills of lading in both.

The master was so careful, being both so well-laden, as they went joyfully home together, for he towed the lesser ship at his stern all the way overboard. And they had such fair weather as he never cast her off till they were shot down into the English Channel almost within the sight of Plymouth. And yet there, she was unhaply [unfortunately] taken by a Turks man-of-war and

carried into Salé [Morocco], where the master and men were made slaves, and many of the beaver skins were sold for four pence apiece.

Thus was all their hopes dashed and the joyful news they meant to carry home turned to heavy tidings. Some thought this a hand of God for their too great exaction of the poor plantation, but God's judgments are unsearchable; neither dare I be bold therewith. But however, it shows us the uncertainty of all human things and what little cause there is of joying in them or trusting to them.

In the bigger of these ships was sent over Captain Standish from the plantation with letters and instructions both to their friends of the company, which still clave to them, and also to the Honorable Council of New England, to the company to desire that, seeing that they meant only to let them have goods upon sale, that they might have them upon easier terms. For they should never be able to bear such high interest or to allow so much percent.

Also, that what they would do in that way that it might be disbursed in money or such goods as were fit and needful for them and bought at best hand. And to acquaint them with the contents of his letters to the council (*abovesaid*), which was to this purpose, to desire their favor and help that such of the adventurers as had thus forsaken and deserted them might be brought to same order

and not to keep them bound and themselves be free. But that they might either stand to their former covenants or else come to some fair end by dividend or composition.

But he came in a very bad time, for the state [England] was full of trouble and the plague very hot in London so as no business could be done. Yet he spake with some of the Honored Council who promised all helpfulness to the plantation which lay in them. And sundry [several] of their friends, the adventurers, were so weakened with their losses the last year by the loss of the ship taken by the Turks and the loss of their fish, which by reason of the wars they were forced to land at Portsmouth and so came to little, so as though their wills were good, yet their power was little.

And there died such multitudes weekly of the plague as all trade was dead and little money stirring. Yet with much ado, he took up £150 (*and spent a good deal of it in expenses*) at fifty per cent, which he bestowed in trading goods and such other most needful commodities as he knew requisite for their use. And so returned passenger in a fishing ship, having prepared a good way for the composition that was afterward made.

In the meantime, it pleased the Lord to give the plantation peace and health and contented minds and so to bless their labors as they had corn sufficient (*and some to spare to others*) with other

food. Neither ever had they any supply of food but what they first brought with them.

After harvest this year, they sent out a boat's load of corn forty or fifty leagues to the eastward (*up a river called Kennebec*), it being one of those two shallows [shallow-water boats] which their carpenter had built them the year before, for bigger vessel had they none. They had laid a little deck over her midships to keep the corn dry, but the men were fain to stand it out all weathers without shelter, and that time of the year begins to grow tempestuous. But God preserved them and gave them good success, for they brought home seven hundred pounds of beaver, besides some other furs, having little or nothing else but this corn which themselves had raised out of the earth. This voyage was made by Mr. Winslow and some of the oldstanders; for seamen, they had none.

Anno Domini 1626



A bout the beginning of April, they heard of Captain Standish, his arrival, and sent a boat to fetch him home and the things he had brought. Welcome, he was, but the news he brought was sad in many regards. Not only in regard of the former losses (*before related*) which their friends had suffered, by which some in a manner were undone, others much disabled from doing any further help, and some dead of the plague. But also that Mr. Robinson, their pastor, was dead, which struck them with much sorrow and sadness, as they have cause. His and their adversaries had been long and continually plotting how they might hinder his coming hither, but the Lord had appointed him a better place. Concerning whose death and the manner thereof, it will appear by these few lines writ to the governor and Mr. Brewster.

Loving and kind friends, etc.,

I know not whether this will ever come to your hands or miscarry as other my letter[s] have done. Yet in regard of the Lord's dealing with us here, I have had a great desire to write unto you, knowing your desire to bear a part with us both in our joys and sorrows as we do with you.

These are therefore to give you to understand that it hath pleased the Lord to take out of this vale of tears your and our loving and faithful pastor and my dear and reverend brother, Mr. John Robinson, who was sick some eight days. He began to be sick on Saturday in the morning, yet the next day (being the Lord's Day), he taught us twice. And so the week after, grew weaker ever[y] day more than other, yet he felt no pain but weakness all the time of his sickness.

The physic [medicine] he took wrought kindly in man's judgment, but he grew weaker every day, feeling little or no pain and sensible to the very last. He fell sick the twenty-second of February and departed this life the first of March. He had a continual inward ague but [was] free from infection so that all his friends came freely to him. And if either prayers, tears, or means would have saved his life, he had not gone hence. But he, having faithfully finished his course and performed his work which the Lord had appointed him here to do, he now resteth with the Lord in eternal happiness.

We wanting him and all church governors, yet we still (by the mercy of God) continue and hold close together in peace and quietness and so hope we shall do, though we be very weak. Wishing (if such were the will of God) that you and we were again united together in one, either there or here, but seeing it is the will of the Lord thus to dispose of things, we must labor with patience to rest contented till it please the Lord otherwise to dispose.

*For news, here is not much. Only as in England, we have lost our old King James, who departed this life about a month ago. So here [Holland] they have lost the old prince, grave Maurice, who both departed this life since my brother Robinson. And as in England we have a new King Charles, of whom there is great hope, so here they have made Prince Hendrick general in his brother's place, etc. Thus, with my love remembered, I take leave and rest.
Your assured loving friend,*

*Roger White
Leiden, April 28, Anno 1625*

Thus, these two great princes and their pastor left this world near about one time. Death makes no difference.

He further brought them notice of the death of their ancient friend Mr. Cushman, whom the Lord took away also this year and about this time, who was as their right hand with their friends, the adventurers, and for divers [several] years had

done and agitated all their business with them to their great advantage. He [Cushman] had writ to the governor but some few months before of the sore [severe] sickness of Mr. James Sherley (*who was a chief friend to the plantation*) and lay at the point of death, declaring his love and helpfulness in all things and much bemoaned the loss they should have of him if God should now take him away, as being the stay and life of the whole business. As also, his own purpose this year to come over and spend his days with them.

But he that thus writ of another's sickness knew not that his own death was so near. It shows also that a man's ways are not in his own power but in His hands who hath the issues of life and death. Man may purpose, but God doth dispose.

Their other friends from Leiden writ many letters to them full of sad laments for their heavy loss. And though their wills were good to come to them, yet they saw no probability of means how it might be affected but concluded (*as it were*) that all their hopes were cut off. And many, being aged, began to drop away by death.

All which things (*before related*) being well weighed and laid together, it could not but strike them with great perplexity and to look humanly on the state of things as they presented themselves at this time. It is a marvel it did not wholly discourage them and sink them. But they gathered up their spirits, and the Lord so helped

them whose work they had in hand, as now, when they were at lowest note, they began to rise again. And being stripped (*in a manner*) of all human helps and hopes, He brought things about otherwise in His divine providence as they were not only upheld and sustained, but their proceedings both honored and imitated by others, as by the sequel will more appear if the Lord spare me life and time to declare the same.

Having now no fishing business or other things to intend, but only their trading and planting, they set themselves to follow the same with the best industry they could. The planters, finding their corn (*what they could spare from their necessities*) to be a commodity (*for they sold it at six shillings a bushel*), used great diligence in planting the same. And the governor and such as were designed to manage the trade (*for it was retained for the general good and none were to trade in particular [on their own]*), they followed it to the best advantage they could.

And wanting trading goods, they understood that a plantation which was at Mohegan and belonged to some merchants of Plymouth was to break up, and divers [various] useful goods was there to be sold. The governor and Mr. Winslow took a boat and some hands and went thither. But Mr. David Thompson, who lived at Piscataqua, understanding their purpose, took opportunity to go with them, which was some hindrance to them both, for they [at Mohegan], perceiving their joint

desire to buy, held their goods at higher rates, and not only so, but would not sell a parcel of their trading goods except [unless] they sold all.

So lest they should further prejudice one another, they agreed to buy all and divide them equally between them. They bought also a parcel of goats, which they distributed at home as they saw need and occasion, and took corn for them of the people, which gave them good content. Their moiety [share] of the goods came to above £400 sterling.

There was also that spring a French ship cast away at Sagadahoc in which were many Biscay rugs and other commodities which were fallen into these men's hands and some other fishermen at Dameriscove, which were also bought in partnership and made their part arise to above £500. This they made shift to pay for the most part with the beaver and commodities they had got the winter before and what they had gathered up that summer.

Mr. Thompson, having something overcharged himself, desired they would take some of his. But they refused except [unless] he would let them have his French goods only, and the merchant (*who was one of Bristol*) would take their bill for to be paid the next year. They were both willing, so they became engaged for them and took them, by which means they became very well furnished for trade and took off thereby some other

engagements which lay upon them, as the money taken up by Captain Standish and the remains of former debts.

With these goods and their corn after harvest, they got good store of trade, so as they were enabled to pay their engagements against the time and to get some clothing for the people and had some commodities beforehand. But now they began to be envied, and others went and filled the Indians with corn and beat down the price, giving them twice as much as they had done and under-traded them in other commodities also.

This year, they sent Mr. Allerton into England and gave him order to make a composition with the adventurers upon as good terms as he could (*unto which some way had been made the year before by Captain Standish*). But yet enjoined him not to conclude absolutely till they knew the terms and had well considered of them, but to drive it to as good an issue as he could and refer the conclusion to them. Also, they gave him a commission under their hands and seals to take up some money, provided it exceeded not such a sum specified, for which they engaged themselves and gave him order [on] how to lay out the same for the use of the plantation.

And finding they ran a great hazard to go so [such] long voyages in a small open boat, especially the winter season, they began to think how they might get a small pinnace [two-masted

ship] as for the reason aforesaid. So also, because others had raised the price with the Indians above the half of what they had formerly given so as in such a boat they could not carry a quantity sufficient to answer their ends.

They had no ship carpenter amongst them, neither knew how to get one at present. But they having an ingenious man that was a house carpenter who also had wrought with the ship carpenter (*that was dead*) when he built their boats, at their request, he put forth himself to make a trial that way of his skill and took one of the biggest of their shallops [shallow-water boats] and sawed her in the middle and so lengthened her some five or six feet and strengthened her with timbers and so built her up and laid a deck on her and so made her a convenient and wholesome vessel, very fit and comfortable for their use, which did them service seven years after. And they got her finished and fitted with sails and anchors the ensuing year. And thus passed the affairs of this year.

Anno Domini 1627



At the usual season of the coming of ships, Mr. Allerton returned and brought some useful goods with him, according to the order given him. For upon his commission, he took up £200, which he now got at thirty per cent. The which goods they got safely home and well-conditioned, which was much to the comfort and content of the plantation.

He declared unto them also how, with much ado and no small trouble, he had made a composition with the adventurers by the help of sundry [several] of their faithful friends there who had also took much pains thereabout. The agreement or bargain he had brought a draught [draft] of with a list of their names thereto annexed, drawn by the best counsel-of-law they could get to make it firm. The heads whereof I shall here insert.

To all Christian people, greeting, etc. Whereas at a meeting the twenty-sixth of October last past, divers [various] and sundry [several] persons whose names to the one part of these presents are subscribed in a schedule hereunto annexed, adventurers to New Plymouth in New England in America, were contented and agreed, in consideration of the sum of one thousand and eight hundred pounds sterling to be paid (in manner and form foll[ow]ing), to sell and make sale of all and every the stocks, shares, lands, merchandise, and chattels [personal possessions], whatsoever, to the said adventurers and other their fellow adventurers, to New Plymouth aforesaid, any way accruing or belonging to the generality of the said adventurers aforesaid, as well by reason of any sum or sums of money or merchandise at any time heretofore adventured or disbursed by them or otherwise howsoever.

For the better expression and setting forth of which said agreement, the parties to these presents subscribing do for themselves severally, and as much as in them is, grant, bargain, alien [transfer], sell, and transfer all and every the said shares, goods, lands, merchandise, and chattels [personal possessions] to them belonging as aforesaid unto Isaac Allerton, one of the planters resident at Plymouth aforesaid, assigned and sent over as agent for the rest of the planters there.

And to such other planters at Plymouth aforesaid as the said Isaac, his heirs or assigns, at his or their

arrival, shall by writing or otherwise think fit to join or partake in the premises, their heirs and assigns, in as large, ample and beneficial manner and form to all intents and purposes as the said subscribing adventurers here could or may do or perform.

All which stocks, shares, lands, etc., to the said adventurers in severality allotted, apportioned, or any way belonging, the said adventurers do warrant and defend unto the said Isaac Allerton, his heirs and assigns, against them, their heirs, and assigns by these presents.

And therefore, the said Isaac Allerton doth for him, his heirs, and assigns, doth covenant, promise, and grant to and with the adventurers whose names are hereunto subscribed, their heirs, etc., well and truly to pay or cause to be paid unto the said adventurers, or five of them which were at that meeting aforesaid nominated and deputed, viz. John Pocock, John Beauchamp, Robert Keane, Edward Bass, and James Sherley, merchants, their heirs, etc., to and for the use of the generality of them, the sum of £1800 of lawful money of England at the place appointed for the receipts of money on the west side of the Royal Exchange in London by £200 yearly and every year on the Feast of St. Michael, the first payment to be made Anno 1628, etc.

Also, the said Isaac is to endeavor to procure and obtain from the planters of New Plymouth aforesaid security by several obligations or writings

obligatory to make payment of the said sum of £1800 in form aforesaid, according to the true meaning of these presents.

In testimony whereof, to this part of these presents remaining with the said Isaac Allerton, the said subscribing adventurers have set to their names, etc.

And to the other part remaining with the said adventurers, the said Isaac Allerton hath subscribed his name the 15 November, Anno 1626, in the second year of His Majesty's reign.

This agreement was very well liked of and approved by all the plantation and consented unto, though they knew not well how to raise the payment and discharge their other engagements and supply the yearly wants of the plantation, seeing they were forced for their necessities to take up money or goods at so high interests. Yet they undertook it, and seven or eight of the chief of the place became jointly bound for the payment of this £1800 (*in the behalf of the rest*) at the several days in which they ran a great adventure as their present state stood, having many other heavy burthens [burdens] already upon them and all things in an uncertain condition amongst them.

So the next return, it was absolutely confirmed on both sides and the bargain fairly engrossed in parchment and in many things put into better form by the advice of the learnedest counsel they

could get. And lest any forfeiture should fall on the whole for nonpayment at any of the days, it ran thus to forfeit thirty shillings a week if they missed the time and was concluded under their hands and seals, as may be seen at large by the deed itself.

Now, though they had some untoward persons mixed amongst them from the first which came out of England and more afterwards by some of the adventurers as friendship or other affections led them, though sundry [several] were gone, some for Virginia and some to other places, yet divers [several] were still mingled amongst them, about whom the governor and council with other of their chief friends had serious consideration how to settle things in regard of this new bargain or purchase made, in respect of the distribution of things both for the present and future.

For the present, except [unless] peace and unison were preserved, they should be able to do nothing but endanger to overthrow all, now that other ties and bonds were taken away. Therefore, they resolved for sundry [several] reasons to take in all amongst them that were either heads of families or single young men that were of ability and free (*and able to govern themselves with meet discretion and their affairs so as to be helpful in the commonwealth*) into this partnership or purchase.

First, they considered that they had need of men and strength, both for defense and carrying on of

businesses. Secondly, most of them had borne their parts in former miseries and wants with them and therefore (*in some sort*) but equal to partake in a better condition if the Lord be pleased to give it. But chiefly, they saw not how peace would be preserved without so doing, but danger and great disturbance might grow to their great hurt and prejudice otherwise. Yet they resolved to keep such a mean in distribution of lands and other courses as should not hinder their growth in others coming to them.

So they called the company together and conferred with them and came to this conclusion that the trade should be managed as before to help to pay the debts, and all such persons as were above named should be reputed and enrolled for purchasers. Single, free men to have a single share, and every father of a family to be allowed to purchase so many shares as he had persons in his family. That is to say, one for himself and one for his wife and for every child that he had living with him, one.

As for servants, they had none but what either the masters should give them out of theirs or their deservings should obtain from the company afterwards. Thus, all were to be cast into single shares according to the order abovesaid, and so everyone was to pay his part according to his proportion towards the purchase and all other debts what the profit of the trade would not reach

to, viz. a single man for a single share, a master of a family for so many as he had.

This gave all good content. And first, accordingly, the few cattle which they had were divided, which arose to this proportion [of] a cow to six persons or shares and two goats to the same, which were first equalized for age and goodness and then lotted for, single persons consorting with others as they thought good, and smaller families likewise. And swine, though more in number, yet by the same rule.

Then they agreed that every person or share should have twenty acres of land divided unto them besides the single acres they had already. And they appointed were to begin first on the one side of the town and how far to go, and then on the other side in like manner, and so to divide it by lot. And [they] appointed sundry [several] by name to do it and tied them to certain rules to proceed by, as that they should only lay out settable or tillable land, at least such of it as should butt on the waterside (*as the most they were to lay out did*) and pass by the rest as refuse and common, and what they judged fit should so be so taken.

And they were first to agree of the goodness and fitness of it before the lot was drawn, and so it might as well prove some of their own as another man's, and this course they were to hold throughout. But yet seeking to keep the people

together as much as might be, they also agreed upon this order by mutual consent before any lots were cast that whose lots soever should fall next [to] the town or most convenient for nearness, they should take to them a neighbor or two whom they best liked and should suffer them to plant corn with them for four years. And afterwards, they might use as much of theirs for as long time if they would.

Also, every share or twenty acres was to be laid out five acres in breadth by the waterside and four acres in length (*excepting nooks and corners*), which were to be measured as they would bear to best advantage. But no meadows were to be laid out at all nor were not of many years after, because they were but strait [limited] of meadow grounds, and if they had been now given out, it would have hindered all addition to them afterwards. But every season, all were appointed where they should mow, according to the proportion of cattle they had.

This distribution gave generally good content and settled men's minds. Also, they gave the governor and four or five of the special men amongst them the houses they lived in. The rest were valued and equalized at an indifferent rate, and so every man kept his own, and he that had a better allowed something to him that had a worse as the valuation went.

There is one thing that fell out in the beginning of the winter before, which I have referred to this place that I may handle the whole matter together. There was a ship with many passengers in her and sundry [several] goods bound for Virginia. They had lost themselves at sea, either by the insufficiency of the master or his illness, for he was sick and lame of the scurvy, so that he could but lie in the cabin door and give direction and, it should seem, was badly assisted either with mate or mariners. Or else the fear and unruliness of the passengers were such as they made them steer a course between the southwest and the northwest that they might fall with some land whatsoever it was, they cared not.

For they had been six weeks at sea and had no water nor beer nor any wood left but had burnt up all their empty casks. Only one of the company had a hogshead [sixty-six gallon barrel] of wine or two, which was also almost spent, so as they feared they should be starved at sea or consumed with diseases, which made them run this desperate course.

But it pleased God that though they came so near the shoals of Cape Cod or else ran stumbling over them in the night, they know not how they came right before a small blind harbor that lies about the middle of Manamoyick Bay to the southward of Cape Cod. With a small gale of wind and about high water, [they] touched upon a bar of sand

that lies before it but had no hurt, the sea being smooth. So they laid out an anchor.

But towards the evening, the wind sprung up at sea and was so rough as broke their cable and beat them over the bar into the harbor, where they saved their lives and goods, though much were hurt with salt water. For with beating, they had sprung the butt end of a plank or two and beat out their oakum [tarred rope caulking]. But they were soon over and ran on a dry flat within the harbor, close by a beach. So at low water, they got out their goods on dry shore and dried those that were wet and saved most of their things without any great loss. Neither was the ship much hurt, but she might be mended and made serviceable again.

But though they were not a little glad that they had thus saved their lives, yet when they had a little refreshed themselves and began to think on their condition, not knowing where they were nor what they should do, they began to be stricken with sadness. But shortly after, they saw some Indians come to them in canoes, which made them stand upon their guard. But when they heard some of the Indians speak English unto them, they were not a little revived, especially when they heard them demand if they were the governor of Plymouth's men or friends and that they would bring them to the English houses or carry their letters.

They feasted these Indians and gave them many gifts and sent two men and a letter with them to the governor and did entreat him to send a boat unto them with some pitch [coal tar resin] and oakum [rope caulking] and spikes with divers [various] other necessaries for the mending of their ship (*which was recoverable*). Also, they besought him to help them with some corn and sundry [several] other things they wanted to enable them to make their voyage to Virginia. And they should be much bound to him and would make satisfaction for anything they had in any commodities they had aboard.

After the governor was well informed by the messengers of their condition, he caused a boat to be made ready and such things to be provided as they writ for. And because others were abroad upon trading and such other affairs as had been fit to send unto them, he went himself and also carried some trading commodities to buy them corn of the Indians.

It was no season of the year to go without [outside] the cape, but understanding where the ship lay, he went into the bottom of the bay on the inside and put into a creek called Namskaket, where it is not much above two mile[s] over land to the bay where they were, where he had the Indians ready to carry over anything to them.

Of his arrival, they were very glad and received the things to mend their ship and other

necessaries. Also, he bought them as much corn as they would have. And whereas some of their seamen were run away among the Indians, he procured their return to the ship and so left them well furnished and contented, being very thankful for the courtesies they received. But after the governor thus left them, he went into some other harbors thereabout and loaded his boat with corn, which he traded, and so went home.

But he had not been at home many days, but he had notice from them that by the violence of a great storm and the bad mooring of their ship (*after she was mended*), she was put ashore and so beaten and shaken as she was now wholly unfit to go to sea. And so their request was that they might have leave to repair to them and sojourn with them till they could have means to convey themselves to Virginia and that they might have means to transport their goods, and they would pay for the same or anything else wherewith the plantation should relieve them. Considering their distress, their requests were granted and all helpfulness done unto them, their goods transported, and themselves and goods sheltered in their houses as well as they could.

The chief amongst these people was one Mr. Fells and Mr. Sibsey, which had many servants belonging unto them, many of them being Irish. Some others there were that had a servant or two apiece, but the most were servants and such as

were engaged to the former persons, who also had the most goods.

After they were hither come and something settled, the masters desired some ground to employ their servants upon (*seeing it was like to be the latter end of the year before they could have passage for Virginia*), and they had now the winter before them, they might clear some ground and plant a crop (*seeing they had tools and necessaries for the same*) to help to bear their charge and keep their servants in employment. And if they had opportunity to depart before the same was ripe, they would sell it on the ground. So they had ground appointed them in convenient places, and Fells and some other of them raised a great deal of corn, which they sold at their departure.

This Fells, amongst his other servants, had a maidservant which kept his house and did his household affairs, and, by the intimation of some that belonged unto him, he was suspected to keep her as his concubine [woman who lives unmarried with a man]. And both of them were examined thereupon, but nothing could be proved, and they stood upon their justification, so with admonition, they were dismissed. But afterward, it appeared she was with child, so he got a small boat and ran away with her for fear of punishment.

First, he went to Cape Anne and after into the Bay of the Massachusetts but could get no passage and

had like to have been cast away and was forced to come again and submit himself. But they packed him away and those that belonged unto him by the first opportunity and dismissed all the rest as soon as could, being many untoward people amongst them, though there were also some that carried themselves very orderly all the time they stayed.

And the plantation had some benefit by them in selling them corn and other provisions of food for clothing, for they had of divers [various] kinds, as cloth, perpetuanes [wool twill fabrics] and other stuffs [woven wool fabrics], besides hose and shoes and such like commodities as the planters stood in need of. So they both did good and received good one from another. And a couple of barks [sailboats] carried them away at the later end of summer, and sundry [several] of them have acknowledged their thankfulness since from Virginia.

That they might the better take all convenient opportunity to follow their trade, both to maintain themselves and to disengage them[selves] of those great sums which they stood charged with and bound for, they resolved to build a small pinnace [two-masted ship] at Manomet, a place twenty mile[s] from the plantation, standing on the sea to the southward of them. Unto which by another creek on this side, they could carry their goods within four or five miles and then transport them overland to

their vessel and so avoid the compassing of Cape Cod and those dangerous shoals and so make any voyage to the southward in much shorter time and with far less danger. Also, for the safety of their vessel and goods, they built a house there and kept some servants who also planted corn and reared some swine and were always ready to go out with the bark [sailboat] when there was occasion. All which took good effect and turned to their profit.

They now sent (*with the return of the ships*) Mr. Allerton again into England, giving him full power (*under their hands and seals*) to conclude the former bargain with the adventurers and sent their bonds for the payment of the money. Also, they sent what beaver they could spare to pay some of their engagements and to defray his charges (*for those deep interests still kept them low*).

Also, he had order to procure a patent for a fit trading place in the river of Kennebec. For being emulated both by the planters at Piscataqua and other places to the eastward of them and also by the fishing ships (*which used to draw much profit from the Indians of those parts*), they threatened to procure a grant and shut them out from thence, especially after they saw them so well furnished with commodities, as to carry the trade from them. They thought it but needful to prevent such a thing, at least that they might not be excluded from free trade there, where themselves had first

begun and discovered the same and brought it to so good effect.

This year also, they had letters and messengers from the Dutch plantation sent unto them from the governor there, written both in Dutch and French. The Dutch had traded in these southern parts divers [several] years before they came, but they began no plantation here till four or five years after their [*Mayflower*] coming and here beginning. Their letters were as followeth, it being their manner to be full of complimentary titles.

Edele, eervast, wijze voorzienige heren, de Gouverneur ende Raden in New-Plymouth residerende, onze zeer goede vrienden. De Directeur ende Raad van Nieuw-Nederland, wensen u edele eervast ende wijzen voorzienige gelukzaligheid in Christus Jezus, onze Heer, met goede voorspoed en gezondheid naar ziel en lichaam. Amen.

[Noble, honorable, wise, providential gentlemen, the Governor and Councils residing in New Plymouth, our very good friends. The Director and Council of New Netherlands wish you noble honors and wise providential happiness in Christ Jesus our Lord, with good prosperity and health in soul and body. Amen.]

The rest I shall render in English, leaving out the repetition of superfluous titles.

We have often before this wished for an opportunity or an occasion to congratulate you and your prosperous and praiseworthy undertakings and government of your colony there. And the more in that we also have made a good beginning to pitch the foundation of a colony here. And seeing our native country lies not far from yours, and our forefathers (divers [several] hundred years ago) have made and held friendship and alliance with your ancestors, as sufficiently appears by the old contracts and intercourses confirmed under the hands of kings and princes in the point of war and traffic, as may be seen and read by all the world in the old chronicles.

The which are not only by the king now reigning confirmed, but it hath pleased His Majesty, upon mature deliberation, to make a new covenant (and to take up arms) with the States General of our dear native country against our common enemy, the Spaniards, who seek nothing else but to usurp and overcome other Christian kings' and princes' lands that so he might obtain and possess his pretended monarchy over all Christendom and so to rule and command after his own pleasure over the consciences of so many hundred thousand souls, which God forbid.

And also seeing it hath sometime since been reported unto us by some of our people that by occasion came so far northward with their shallop [shallow-water boat] and met with sundry [several] of the Indians who told them that they were within

half a day's journey of your plantation and offered their service to carry letters unto you. Therefore, we could not forbear to salute you with these few lines with presentation of our good will and service unto you in all friendly kindness and neighborhood.

And if it so fall out that any goods that comes to our hands from our native country may be serviceable unto you, we shall take ourselves bound to help and accommodate you therewith, either for beaver or any other wares or merchandise that you should be pleased to deal for. And if in case we have no commodity at present that may give you content, if you please to sell us any beaver or otter or such like commodities as may be useful for us for ready money and let us understand thereof by this bearer in writing (whom we have appointed to stay three or four days for your answer).

When we understand your minds therein, we shall depute one to deal with you at such place as you shall appoint. In the meantime, we pray the Lord to take you, our honored good friends and neighbors, into His holy protection. By the appointment of the Governor and Council, etc.

*Isaak de Rasieres, Secretaris
From the Manhattas, in the Fort Amsterdam
March 9, Anno 1627*

To this, they returned answer as followeth on the other side.

To the honored, etc.,

The governor and council of New Plymouth wisheth, etc. We have received your letters, etc., wherein appeareth your good wills and friendship towards us but is expressed with over high titles more than belongs to us or is meet for us to receive. But for your goodwill and congratulations of our prosperity in these small beginnings of our poor colony, we are much bound unto you and with many thanks do acknowledge the same, taking it both for a great honor done unto us and for a certain testimony of your love and good neighborhood.

Now these are further to give Your Worships to understand that it is to us no small joy to hear that His Majesty hath not only been pleased to confirm that ancient amity, alliance, and friendship and other contracts formerly made and ratified by his predecessors of famous memory, but hath himself (as you say) strengthened the same with a new union, the better to resist the pride of that common enemy, the Spaniard, from whose cruelty the Lord keep us both and our native countries.

Now forasmuch as this is sufficient to unite us together in love and good neighborhood in all our dealings, yet are many of us further obliged by the good and courteous entreaty which we have found in your country, having lived there many years with freedom and good content, as also many of our friends do to this day. For which, we and our children after us are bound to be thankful to your

nation and shall never forget the same, but shall heartily desire your good and prosperity as our own forever.

Likewise, for your friendly tender and offer to accommodate and help us with any commodities of merchandise you have or shall come to you, either for beaver, otters, or other wares, it is to us very acceptable and no doubt not but in short time, we may have profitable commerce and trade together. But for this year, we are fully supplied with all necessaries, both for clothing and other things, but hereafter it is like we shall deal with you if your rates be reasonable.

And therefore, when you please to send to us again by any of yours, we desire to know how you will take beaver by the pound and otters by the skin, and how you will deal per cent for other commodities and what you can furnish us with. As likewise, what other commodities from us may be acceptable unto you, as tobacco, fish, corn, or other things, and what prices you will give, etc.

Thus, hoping that you will pardon and excuse us for our rude and imperfect writing in your language and take it in good part because, for want of use, we cannot so well express that we understand nor happily understand everything so fully as we should. And so we humbly pray the Lord for His mercy's sake that He will take both us and you into His keeping and gracious protection.

*By the Governor and Council of New Plymouth,
Your Worships' very good friends and neighbors,
etc.*

New Plymouth, March 19

After this, there was many passages between them, both by letters and other intercourse, and they had some profitable commerce together for divers [several] years til other occasions interrupted the same, as may happily appear afterwards more at large.

Before they sent Mr. Allerton away for England this year, the governor and some of their chief friends had serious consideration not only how they might discharge these great engagements which lay so heavily upon them, as is aforementioned, but also how they might (*if possibly they could*) devise means to help some of their friends and brethren of Leiden over unto them who desired so much to come to them and they desired as much their company.

To effect which, they resolved to run a high course and of great adventure, not knowing otherwise how to bring it about, which was to hire the trade of the company for certain years and in that time to undertake to pay that £1800 and all the rest of the debts that then lay upon the plantation, which was about some £600 more, and so to set them free and return the trade to the generality again at the end of the term.

Upon which resolution, they called the company together and made it clearly appear unto all what their debts were and upon what terms they would undertake to pay them all in such a time and sell them clear. But their other ends they were fain to keep secret, having only privately acquainted some of their trusty friends therewith, which were glad of the same but doubted how they would be able to perform it. So, after some agitation of the thing with the company, it was yielded unto, and the agreement made upon the conditions following.

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT

Between the Colony of New Plymouth of the one party and William Bradford, Captain Myles Standish, Isaac Allerton, etc, on the other party, and such others as they shall think good to take as partners and undertakers with them concerning the trade for beaver and other furs and commodities, etc. Made July 1627.

1. First, it is agreed and covenanted betwixt the said parties that the aforesaid William Bradford, Captain Myles Standish, and Isaac Allerton, etc, have undertaken and do by these presents, covenant and agree to pay, discharge, and quit the said colony of all the debts both due for the purchase or any other belonging to them at the day of the date of these presents.

2. Secondly, the abovesaid parties are to have and freely enjoy the pinnace [two-masted ship] lately built, the boat at Manomet, and the shallop [shallow-water boat] called the bass boat, with all other implements to them belonging that is in the store of the said company, with all the whole stock of furs, fells [animal skins], beads, corn, wampumpeag [strings of polished shell beads], hatchets, knives, etc. that is now in the store or any way due unto the same upon account.

3. Thirdly, that the abovesaid parties have the whole trade to themselves, their heirs, and assigns, with all the privileges thereof, as the said colony doth now or may use the same for six full years, to begin the last of September next ensuing.

4. Fourthly, in furder [further] consideration of the discharge of the said debts, every several purchaser doth promise and covenant yearly to pay or cause to be paid to the abovesaid parties, during the full term of the said six years, three bushels of corn or six pounds of tobacco at the undertaker's choice.

5. Fifthly, the said undertakers shall, during the aforesaid term, bestow £50 per annum in hose and shoes to be brought over for the colony's use, to be sold unto them for corn at six shillings per bushel.

6. Sixthly, that at the end of the said term of six years, the whole trade shall return to the use and benefit of the said colony as before.

7. Lastly, if the aforesaid undertakers, after they have acquainted their friends in England with these covenants, do (upon first return) resolve to perform them and undertake to discharge the debts of the said colony according to the true meaning and intent of these presents, then they are (upon such notice given) to stand in full force. Otherwise, all things to remain as formerly they were, and a true account to be given to the said colony of the disposing of all things according to the former order.

Mr. Allerton carried a copy of this agreement with him into England and, amongst other his instructions, had order given him to deal with some of their special friends to join with them in this trade upon the above-recited conditions, as also to import their further ends that moved them to take this course. Namely, the helping over of some of their friends from Leiden as they should be able, in which if any of them would join with them, they should thankfully accept of their love and partnership herein. And withal (*by their letters*) gave them some grounds of their hopes of the accomplishment of these things with some advantage.

Anno Domini 1628



After Mr. Allerton's arrival in England, he acquainted them with his commission and full power to conclude the forementioned bargain and purchase. Upon the view whereof and the delivery of the bonds for the payment of the money yearly (*as is before mentioned*), it was fully concluded, and a deed (*November 6, 1627, page 238*) fairly engrossed in parchment was delivered him under their hands and seals confirming the same. Moreover, he dealt with them about other things according to his instructions, as to admit some of these, their good friends, into this purchase if they pleased and to deal with them for moneys at better rates, etc. Touching which, I shall here insert a letter of Mr. Sherley's, giving light to what followed thereof, writ to the governor as followeth.

Sir,

I have received yours of the twenty-sixth of May by Mr. Gibbs and Mr. Goffe with the barrel of otter skins, according to the contents for which I got a bill of store, and so took them up and sold them together at £78-12s sterling. And since [then], Mr. Allerton hath received the money, as will appear by the count. It is true (as you writ) that your engagements are great. Not only the purchase, but you are yet necessitated to take up the stock you work upon, and that not at six or eight per cent as it is here let out, but at thirty, forty, yea, and some at fifty per cent. Which, were not your gains great and God's blessing on your honest endeavors more than ordinary, it could not be that you should long subsist in the maintaining of and upholding of your worldly affairs.

And this, your honest and discrete agent Mr. Allerton hath seriously considered and deeply laid to mind how to ease you of it. He told me you were contented to accept of me and some few others to join with you in the purchase as partners, for which I kindly thank you and all the rest and do willingly accept of it. And though absent, shall willingly be at such charge as you and the rest shall think meet, and this year am contented to forebear my former £50 and two years' increase for the venture, both which now makes it £80 without any bargain or condition for the profit you, (I mean) the generality, stand to the adventure, outward and homeward. I have persuaded Mr. Andrews and Mr. Beauchamp

to do the like [same] so as you are eased of the high rate you were at the other two years. I say we leave it freely to yourselves to allow us what you please and as God shall bless.

What course I run, Mr. Beauchamp desireth to do the same, and though he have been or seemed somewhat harsh heretofore, yet now you shall find he is new molded. I also see by your letter you desire I should be your agent or factor here. I have ever found you so faithful, honest, and upright men as I have even resolved with myself (God assisting me) to do you all the good [that] lieth in my power. And therefore, if you please to make choice of so weak a man, both for abilities and body, to perform your business, I promise (the Lord enabling me) to do the best I can, according to those abilities He hath given me. And wherein I fail, blame yourselves that you made no better choice.

Now, because I am sickly and we are all mortal, I have advised Mr. Allerton to join Mr. Beauchamp with me in your deputation, which I conceive to be very necessary and good for you. Your charge shall be no more, for it is not your salary makes me undertake your business. Thus, commending you and yours and all God's people unto the guidance and protection of the Almighty, I ever rest your faithful, loving friend,

*James Sherley
London, November 17, 1628*

With this letter, they sent a draught [draft] of a formal deputation to be here sealed and sent back unto them to authorize them as their agents, according to what is mentioned in the abovesaid letter. And because some inconvenience grew thereby afterward, I shall here insert it.

To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting. Know ye that we, Mr. William Bradford, Governor of Plymouth in New England in America, Isaac Allerton, Myles Standish, William Brewster, and Edward Winslow, of Plymouth, aforesaid merchants, do by these presents for us and in our names make, substitute, and appoint James Sherley, goldsmith, and John Beauchamp, salter, citizens of London, our true and lawful agents, factors, substitutes, and assigns.

As well to take and receive all such goods, wares, and merchandise whatsoever as to our said substitutes, or either of them, or to the city of London or other place of the realm of England shall be sent, transported, or come from us or any of us.

As also to vend, sell, barter, or exchange the said goods, wares, and merchandise so from time to time to be sent to such person or persons upon credit or otherwise in such manner as to our said agents and factors jointly or to either of them severally shall seem meet.

And further, we do make and ordain our said substitutes and assigns, jointly and severally for us

and to our uses and accounts, to buy and consign for and to us into New England aforesaid, such goods and merchandise to be provided here and to be returned hence as by our said assigns or either of them shall be thought fit.

And to recover, receive, and demand for us and in our names all such debts and sums of money as now are or hereafter shall be due incident accruing or belonging to us or any of us by any ways or means.

And to acquit, discharge, or compound for any debt or sum of money which now or hereafter shall be due or owing by any person or persons to us or any of us.

And generally for us and in our names to do, perform, and execute every act and thing which to our said assigns or other of them shall seem meet to be done in or about the premises as fully and effectually to all intents and purposes as if we or any of us were in person present.

And whatsoever our said agents and factors jointly or severally shall do or cause to be done in or about the premises, we will and do, and every of us doth ratify, allow, and confirm by these presents.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto put our hands and seals. Dated 18 November 1628

This was accordingly confirmed by the above-named and four more of the chief of them under

their hands and seals and delivered unto them. Also, Mr. Allerton formerly had authority under their hands and seals for the transacting of the former business and taking up of moneys, etc., which still he retained whilst he was employed in these affairs, they mistrusting neither him nor any of their friends' faithfulness, which made them more remiss in looking to such acts as had passed under their hands as necessary for the time. But letting them run on too long unminded or recalled, it turned to their harm afterwards, as will appear in its place.

[INSERTED—] Another letter of his [Sherley] that should have been placed before.

We cannot but take notice how the Lord hath been pleased to cross our proceedings and caused many disasters to befall [happen to] us therein. I conceive the only reason to be [is that] we or many of us aimed at other ends than God's glory. But now I have hope that cause is taken away, the bargain being fully concluded as far as our powers will reach and confirmed under our hands and seals to Mr. Allerton and the rest of his and your copartners.

But for my own part, I confess as I was loath to hinder the full confirming of it, being the first propounder thereof at our meeting. So on the other side, I was as unwilling to set my hand to the sale, being the receiver of most part of the adventures and a second causer of much of the engagements and one more threatened, being most envied and

aimed at (if they could find any step to ground their malice on) than any other whosoever. I profess I know no just cause they ever had or have so to do. Neither shall it ever be proved that I have wronged them or any of the adventurers wittingly or willingly one penny in the disbursing of so many pounds in these two years' trouble.

No, the sole cause why they malign me (as I and others conceived) was that I would not side with them against you and the going over of the Leiden people. But as I then cared not, so now I little fear what they can do, yet charge and trouble I know they may cause me to be at. And for these reasons, I would gladly have persuaded the other four to have sealed to this bargain and left me out, but they would not.

So rather than it should fail, Mr. Allerton having taken so much pains, I have sealed with the rest with this proviso and promise of his that if any trouble arise here, you are to bear half the charge. Wherefore now I doubt not but you will give your generality good content and settle peace amongst yourselves and peace with the natives, and then no doubt but the God of peace will bless your going out and your returning and cause all that you set your hands unto to prosper. The which I shall ever pray the Lord to grant if it be His blessed will.

Assuredly, unless the Lord be merciful unto us and the whole land in general, our estate and condition is far worse than yours. Wherefore if the Lord

should send persecution or trouble here (which is much to be feared) and so should put into our minds to fly for refuge, I know no place safer than to come to you (for all Europe is at variance, one with another, but chiefly with us), not doubting but to find such friendly entertainment as shall be honest and conscionable, notwithstanding what hath lately passed. For I profess in the word of an honest man, had it not been to procure your peace and quiet from some turbulent spirits here, I would not have sealed to this last deed, though you would have given me all my adventure and debt ready down.

Thus, desiring the Lord to bless and preserve you, I cease ever resting your faithful and loving friend to my power,

*James Sherley
December 27*

Mr. Allerton having settled all things thus in a good and hopeful way, he made haste to return in the first of the spring to be here with their supply for trade (*for the fishermen with whom he came used to set forth in winter and be here betimes [early]*). He brought a reasonable supply of goods for the plantation and without those great interests as before is noted, and brought an account of the beaver sold and how the money was disposed for goods and the payment of other debts, having paid all debts abroad to others, save to Mr. Sherley, Mr. Beauchamp, and Mr. Andrews,

from whom likewise he brought an account which, to them, all amounted not to above £400, for which he had passed bonds.

Also, he had paid the first payment for the purchase being due for this year, viz. £200, and brought them the bond for the same canceled. So as they now had no more foreign debts but the abovesaid £400 and odd pounds and the rest of the yearly purchase money. Some other debts they had in the country, but they were without any interest, and they had wherewith to discharge them when they were due. To this pass, the Lord had brought things for them.

Also, he brought them further notice that their friends, the above-named and some other that would join with them in the trade and purchase, did intend for to send over to Leiden for a competent number of them to be here the next year without fail if the Lord pleased to bless their journey. He also brought them a patent for Kennebec, but it was so strait and ill-bounded as they were fain to renew and enlarge it the next year, as also that which they had at home, to their great charge, as will after appear.

Hitherto, Mr. Allerton did them good and faithful service, and well had it been if he had so continued, or else they had now ceased for employing him any longer thus into England. But of this, more afterwards.

Having procured a patent (*as is above said*) for Kennebec, they now erected a house up above in the river in the most convenientest place for trade (*as they conceived*) and furnished the same with commodities for that end, both winter and summer. Not only with corn, but also with such other commodities as the fishermen had traded with them, as coats, shirts, rugs and blankets, biscuit, peas, prunes, etc. And what they could not have out of England, they bought of the fishing ships and so carried on their business as well as they could.

This year, the Dutch sent again unto them from their plantation both kind letters and also divers [various] commodities, as sugar, linen cloth, Holland finer and courser stuffs [woven wool fabrics], etc. They came up with their bark [sailboat] to Manomet to their house there, in which came their secretary Rasieres, who was accompanied with a noise of trumpeters and some other attendants and desired that they would send a boat for him, for he could not travel so far overland. So they sent a boat to Manonscusset and brought him to the plantation with the chief of his company.

And after some few days' entertainment, he returned to his bark [sailboat], and some of them went with him and bought sundry [several] of his goods, after which beginning thus made, they sent oftentimes to the same place and had intercourse together for divers [several] years. And amongst

other commodities, they vended much tobacco for linen cloth, stuffs [woven wool fabrics], etc, which was a good benefit to the people till the Virginians found out their plantation.

But that which turned most to their profit in time was an entrance into the trade of wampumpeag [strings of polished shell beads]. For they now bought about £50 worth of it of them, and they told them how vendible it was at their Fort Orange and did persuade them they would find it so at Kennebec. And so it came to pass in time, though at first it stuck and was two years before they could put off this small quantity till the inland people knew of it. And afterwards, they could scarce ever get enough for them for many years together. And so this, with their other provisions, cut off their trade quite from the fishermen and in great part from other of the stragglers.

And strange it was to see the great alteration it made in a few years among the Indians themselves. For all the Indians of these parts and the Massachusetts had none or very little of it but the sachems [chiefs] and some special persons that wore a little of it for ornament. Only it was made and kept among the Narragansetts and Pequots, which grew rich and potent by it. And these people were poor and beggarly and had no use of it. Neither did the English of this plantation or any other in the land till now that they had knowledge of it from the Dutch, so much as know

what it was, much less that it was a commodity of that worth and value.

But after it grew thus to be a commodity in these parts, these Indians fell into it also and to learn how to make it, for the Narragansetts do gather the shells of which they make it from their shores. And it hath now continued a current commodity about this twenty years, and it may prove a drug, in time. In the meantime, it makes the Indians of these parts rich and powerful and also proud thereby and fills them with pieces [guns], powder, and shot, which no laws can restrain, by reason of the baseness of sundry [several] unworthy persons, both English and French, which may turn to the ruin of many.

Hitherto, the Indians of these parts had no pieces [guns] nor other arms but their bows and arrows, nor of many years after. Neither durst [dared] they scarce handle a gun, so much were they afraid of them, and the very sight of one (*though out of kilter*) was a terror unto them. But those Indians to the east parts which had commerce with the French got pieces [guns] of them, and they, in the end, made a common trade of it.

And in time, our English fishermen, led with the like [same] covetousness, followed their example for their own gain. But upon complaint against them, it pleased the King's Majesty to prohibit the same by a strict proclamation commanding that

no sort of arms or munition should by any of his subjects be traded with them.

About some three or four years before this time, there came over one Captain Wollaston (*a man of pretty parts*). And with him, three or four more of some eminency who brought with them a great many servants with provisions and other implements for to begin a plantation and pitched themselves in a place within the Massachusetts, which they called after their captain's name, Mount Wollaston. Amongst whom was one Mr. Morton, who, it should seem, had some small adventure (*of his own or other men's*) amongst them but had little respect amongst them and was slighted by the meanest [least eminent] servants.

Having continued there some time and not finding things to answer their expectations nor profit to arise as they looked for, Captain Wollaston takes a great part of the servants and transports them to Virginia, where he puts them off at good rates, selling their time to other men, and writes back to one Mr. Rasdall (*one of his chief partners and accounted their merchant*) to bring another part of them to Virginia, likewise intending to put them off there as he had done the rest. And he (*with the consent of the said Rasdall*) appointed one Fitcher to be his lieutenant and govern the remains of the plantation till he or Rasdall returned to take further order thereabout.

But this Morton abovesaid, having more craft than honesty (*who had been a kind of pettifogger [disreputable lawyer] of Furnival's Inn*), in the other's absence, watches an opportunity (*commons being but hard amongst them*) and got some strong drink and other junkets [creamy desserts] and made them a feast, and after they were merry, he began to tell them he would give them good counsel.

“You see (*said he*) that many of your fellows are carried to Virginia. And if you stay till this Rasdall return[s], you will also be carried away and sold for slaves with the rest. Therefore, I would advise you to thrust out this Lieutenant Fitcher. And I, having a part in the plantation, will receive you as my partners and consociates, so may you be free from service. And we will converse, trade, plant, and live together as equals and support and protect one another,” or to like effect.

This counsel was easily received, so they took opportunity and thrust Lieutenant Fitcher out a-doors and would suffer him to come no more amongst them, but forced him to seek bread to eat and other relief from his neighbors till he could get passage for England. After this, they fell to great licentiousness and led a dissolute life, pouring out themselves into all profaneness. And Morton became lord of misrule and maintained (*as it were*) a school of atheism.

And after they had got some goods into their hands and got much by trading with the Indians, they spent it as vainly in quaffing and drinking both wine and strong waters in great excess (*and as some reported*), £10 worth in a morning. They also set up a maypole, drinking and dancing about it many days together, inviting the Indian women for their consorts, dancing and frisking together (*like so many fairies or furies, rather*) and worse practices, as if they had anew revived and celebrated the feasts of the Roman goddess Flora or the beastly practices of the mad Bacchinalians.

Morton likewise (*to show his poetry*) composed sundry [several] rhymes and verses, some tending to lasciviousness and others to the detraction and scandal of some persons, which he affixed to this idle or idol maypole. They changed also the name of their place, and instead of calling it Mount Wollaston, they call it Merrymount, as if this jollity would have lasted ever.

But this continued not long, for after Morton was sent for England (*as follows to be declared*), shortly after came over that worthy gentleman Mr. John Endecott, who brought over a patent under the broad seal for the government of the Massachusetts, who, visiting those parts, caused that maypole to be cut down and rebuked them for their profaneness and admonished them to look there should be better walking. So they or others now changed the name of their place again and called it Mount Dagon.

Now, to maintain this riotous prodigality and profuse excess, Morton (*thinking himself lawless*) and hearing what gain the French and fishermen made by trading of pieces [guns], powder, and shot to the Indians, he, as the head of this consortship, began the practice of the same in these parts. And first, he taught them how to use them, to charge and discharge, and what proportion of powder to give the piece [gun], according to the size or bigness of the same, and what shot to use for fowl and what for deer.

And having thus instructed them, he employed some of them to hunt and fowl for him, so as they became far more active in that employment than any of the English by reason of their swiftness of foot and nimbleness of body, being also quick-sighted, and by continual exercise, well-knowing the hearts of all sorts of game. So as, when they saw the execution that a piece [gun] would do and the benefit that might come by the same, they became mad (*as it were*) after them and would not stick to give any price (*they could attain to*) for them, accounting their bows and arrows but baubles in comparison of them.

And here, I may take occasion to bewail the mischief that this wicked man began in these parts and which since, base covetousness prevailing in men that should know better, hath now at length got the upper hand and made this thing common (*not withstanding any laws to the contrary*). So as the Indians are full of pieces

[guns] all over, both fowling pieces, muskets, pistols, etc. They have also their molds to make shot of all sorts, as musket bullets, pistol bullets, swan and goose shot, and of smaller sorts. Yea, some have seen them have their screw plates to make screw pins themselves when they want them, with sundry [several] other implements, wherewith they are ordinarily better fitted and furnished than the English themselves.

Yea, it is well known that they will have powder and shot when the English want it nor cannot get it. And that in a time of war or danger, as experience hath manifested, that when lead hath been scarce, and men for their own defense would gladly have given a groat [fourpence coin] a pound, which is dear enough, yet hath it been bought up and sent to other places and sold to such as trade it with the Indians at twelve pence the pound. And it is like they give three or four shillings the pound, for they will have it at any rate. And these things have been done in the same times when some of their neighbors and friends are daily killed by the Indians or are in danger thereof and live but at the Indians' mercy.

Yea, some (*as they have acquainted them with all other things*) have told them how gunpowder is made and all the materials in it and that they are to be had in their own land. And I am confident [that] could they attain to make saltpeter, they would teach them to make powder. Oh, the horribleness of this villainy! How many, both

Dutch and English, have been lately slain by those Indians thus furnished and no remedy provided. Nay, the evil more increased and the blood of their brethren sold for gain (*as is to be feared*), and in what danger all these colonies are in is too well known.

Oh, that princes and parliaments would take some timely order to prevent this mischief and, at length, to suppress it by some exemplary punishment upon some of those gain-thirsty murderers, for they deserve no title, before their colonies in these parts be overthrown by these barbarous savages thus armed with their own weapons by these evil instruments and traitors to their neighbors and country. But I have forgot myself and have been too long in this digression.

But now to return.

This Morton, having thus taught them the use of pieces [guns], he sold them all he could spare, and he and his consorts determined to send for many out of England and had by some of the ships sent for above a score. The which being known and his neighbors meeting the Indians in the woods armed with guns in this sort, it was a terror unto them who lived stragglingly and were of no strength in any place. And other places (*though more remote*) saw this mischief would quickly spread over all if not prevented.

Besides, they saw they should keep no servants, for Morton would entertain any, how vile soever, and all the scum of the country or any discontents would flock to him from all places if this nest was not broken. And they should stand in more fear of their lives and goods (*in short time*) from this wicked and debased crew than from the savages themselves.

So sundry [several] of the chief of the straggling plantations meeting together agreed by mutual consent to solicit those of Plymouth (*who were then of more strength than them all*) to join with them to prevent the further growth of this mischief and suppress Morton and his consorts before they grew to further head and strength. Those that joined in this action (*and after contributed to the charge of sending him for England*) were from Piscataqua, Naumkeag, Winnisimmet, Wessagussett, Nantasket, and other places where any English were seated. Those of Plymouth, being thus sought to by their messengers and letters and weighing both their reasons and the common danger, were willing to afford them their help, though themselves had least cause of fear or hurt.

So to be short, they first resolved jointly to write to him and, in a friendly and neighborly way, to admonish him to forbear these courses, and sent a messenger with their letters to bring his answer. But he was so high as he scorned all advice and asked who had to do with him. He had and would

trade pieces [guns] with the Indians in despite of all, with many other scurrilous terms and full of disdain.

They sent to him a second time and bade him be better advised and more temperate in his terms, for the country could not bear the injury he did. It was against their common safety and against the king's proclamation. He answered in high terms as before and that the king's proclamation was no law, demanding what penalty was upon it. It was answered more than he could bear—His Majesty's displeasure. But insolently, he persisted and said the king was dead and his displeasure with him and many the like things and threatened withal that if any came to molest him, let them look to themselves, for he would prepare for them. Upon which they saw there was no way but to take him by force. And having so far proceeded, now to give over would make him far more haughty and insolent.

So they mutually resolved to proceed and obtained of the governor of Plymouth to send Captain Standish and some other aid with him to take Morton by force. The which accordingly was done, but they found him to stand stiffly in his defense, having made fast his doors, armed his consorts, set divers [several] dishes of powder and bullets ready on the table. And if they had not been over-armed with drink, more hurt might have been done.

They summoned him to yield, but he kept his house, and they could get nothing but scoffs and scorns from him. But at length, fearing they would do some violence to the house, he and some of his crew came out but not to yield, but to shoot. But they were so steeled with drink as their pieces [guns] were too heavy for them. Himself with a carbine (*overcharged and almost half filled with powder and shot, as was after found*) had thought to have shot Captain Standish, but he [Standish] stepped to him and put by his piece [gun] and took him. Neither was there any hurt done to any of either side, save that one was so drunk that he ran his own nose upon the point of a sword that one held before him as he entered the house. But he lost but a little of his hot blood.

Morton, they brought away to Plymouth where he was kept till a ship went from the Isle of Shoals for England, with which he was sent to the Council of New England. And letters [were] written to give them information of his course and carriage, and also one was sent at their common charge to inform Their Honors more particularly and to prosecute against him.

But he fooled of the messenger after he was gone from hence, and though he went for England, yet nothing was done to him, not so much as rebuked for aught was heard, but returned the next year. Some of the worst of the company were dispersed, and some of the more modest kept the house till he should be heard from. But I have

been too long about so unworthy a person and bad a cause.

This year, Mr. Allerton brought over a young man for a minister to the people here, whether upon his own head or at the motion of some friends there, I well know not, but it was without the church's sending (*for they had been so bitten by Mr. Lyford as they desired to know the person well whom they should invite amongst them*). His name was Mr. Rogers, but they perceived upon some trial that he was crazed in his brain, so they were fain to be at further charge to send him back again the next year and lose all the charge that was expended in his hither bringing, which was not small by Mr. Allerton's account in provisions, apparel, bedding, etc. After his return, he grew quite distracted, and Mr. Allerton was much blamed that he would bring such a man over, they having charge enough otherwise.

Mr. Allerton, in the years before, had brought over some small quantity of goods upon his own particular and sold them for his own private benefit, which was more than any man had yet hitherto attempted. But because he had otherwise done them good service, and also he sold them among the people at the plantation by which their wants were supplied, and he alleged it was the love of Mr. Sherley and some other friends that would needs trust him with some goods, conceiving it might do him some good and none hurt, it was not much looked at but passed over.

But this year, he brought over a greater quantity, and they were so intermixed with the goods of the general as they knew not which were theirs and which was his, being packed up together. So as they well saw that if any casualty had been fallen at sea, he might have laid the whole on them if he would, for there was no distinction. Also, what was most vendible and would yield present pay—usually that was his.

And he now began also to sell abroad to others of foreign places, which (*considering their common course*) they began to dislike. Yet because love thinks no evil nor is suspicious, they took his fair words for excuse and resolved to send him again this year for England, considering how well he had done the former business and what good acceptance he had with their friends there, as also seeing sundry [several] of their friends from Leiden were sent for, which would or might be much furthered by his means.

Again, seeing the patent for Kennebec must be enlarged (*by reason of the former mistakes in the bounding of it*), and it was conceived (*in a manner*) the same charge would serve to enlarge this at home with it, and he that had begun the former the last year would be the fittest to effect this. So they gave him instructions and sent him for England this year again, and in his instructions, bound him to bring over no goods on their account but £50 in hose and shoes and some linen cloth (*as they were bound by covenant when they*

took the trade), also some trading goods to such a value. And in no case to exceed his instructions nor run them into any further charge, he well knowing how their state stood.

Also, that he should so provide that their trading goods came over betimes [early], and whatsoever was sent on their account should be packed up by itself, marked with their mark, and no other goods to be mixed with theirs. For so, he prayed them to give him such instruction as they saw good, and he would follow them to prevent any jealousy [suspicion] or further offense upon the former aforementioned dislikes. And thus, they conceived they had well provided for all things.

Anno Domini 1629



Mr. Allerton, safely arriving in England and delivering his letters to their friends there and acquainting them with his instructions, found good acceptation with them. And they were very forward and willing to join with them in the partnership of trade and in the charge to send over the Leiden people, a company whereof were already come out of Holland and prepared to come over and so were sent away before Mr. Allerton could be ready to come.

They had passage with the ships that came to Salem that brought over many godly persons to begin the plantations and churches of Christ there and in the Bay of the Massachusetts. So their long stay and keeping back was recompensed by the Lord to their friends here with a double blessing in that they not only enjoyed them now beyond

their late expectation (*when all their hopes seemed to be cut off*), but with them, many more godly friends and Christian brethren as the beginning of a larger harvest unto the Lord in the increase of his churches and people in these parts, to the admiration of many and almost wonder of the world. That of so small beginnings, so great things should ensue as time after manifested, and that here should be a resting place for so many of the Lord's people when so sharp a scourge came upon their own nation. But it was the Lord's doing, and it ought to be marvelous in our eyes.

But I shall here insert some of their friends' letters which do best express their own minds in these, their proceedings.

A letter of Mr. Sherley's to the governor, May 25, 1629

Sir, etc.,

Here are now many of yours and our friends from Leiden coming over who, though for the most part, be but a weak company, yet herein is a good part of that end obtained which was aimed at and which hath been so strongly opposed by some of our former adventurers. But God hath His working in these things, which man cannot frustrate.

With them, we have also sent some servants in the ship called the Talbot that went hence lately, but these come in the Mayflower. Mr. Beauchamp and

myself, with Mr. Andrews and Mr. Hatherley, are, with your love and liking, joined partners with you, etc. Your deputation we have received, and the goods have been taken up and sold by your friend and agent Mr. Allerton, myself having been near three months in Holland at Amsterdam and other parts in the Low Countries [The Netherlands].

Second letter.

I see further the agreement you have made with the generality in which I cannot understand but you have done very well, both for them and you and also for your friends at Leiden. Mr. Beauchamp, Mr. Andrews, Mr. Hatherley, and myself do so like and approve of it as we are will[ing] to join with you and, God directing and enabling us, will be assisting and helpful to you the best that possibly we can. Nay, had you not taken this course, I do not see how you should accomplish the end you first aimed at and some others endeavored these years past.

We know it must keep us from the profit which otherwise, by the blessing of God and your endeavors, might be gained. For most of these that come in May and these now sent, though I hope honest and good people, yet not like to be helpful to raise profit, but rather, nay, certain, must somewhere be chargeable to you and us. At which, it is likely had not this wise and different course been taken, many of your generality would have grudged.

Again, you say well in your letter, and I make no doubt but you will perform it, that now being but a few on whom the burthen [burden] must be, you will both manage it the better and set to it more cheerfully, having no discontents nor contradiction, but so lovingly to join together in affection and counsel as God no doubt will bless and prosper your honest labors and endeavors. And therefore, in all respects, I do not see but you have done marvelously, discreetly, and advisedly, and no doubt but it gives all parties good content. I mean that are reasonable and honest men such as make conscience of giving the best satisfaction they be able for their debts and that regard not their own particular so much as the accomplishing of that good end for which this business was first intended, etc.

Thus, desiring the Lord to bless and prosper you and all yours and all our honest endeavors, I rest your unfeigned and ever-loving friend,

*James Sherley
London, March 8, 1629*

That I may handle things together, I have put these two companies that came from Leiden in this place. Though they came at two several times, yet they both came out of England this year. The former company (*being thirty-five persons*) were shipped in May and arrived here about August. The latter were shipped in the beginning of March and arrived here the latter end of May 1630. Mr.

Sherley's two letters, the effort whereof I have before related (*as much of them as is pertinent*), mentions both.

Their charge, as Mr. Allerton brought it in afterwards on account, came to above £550, besides their fetching hither from Salem and the Bay where they and their goods were landed, viz. their transportation from Holland to England and their charges lying there and passages hither, with clothing provided for them. For I find by account for the one company 125 yards of kersey [ribbed wool cloth], 127 ells [an ell is forty-five inches] of linen cloth, shoes sixty-six pair, with many other particulars.

The charge of the other company is reckoned on the several families, some £50, some £40, some £30, and so more or less as their number and expense were. And besides all this charge, their friends and brethren here were to provide corn and other provisions for them till they could reap a crop, which was long before.

Those that came in May were thus maintained upward of sixteen or eighteen months before they had any harvest of their own, and the other by proportion. And all they could do in the meantime was to get them some housing and prepare them grounds to plant on against the season. And this charge of maintaining them all this while was little less than the former sum.

These things I note more particularly for sundry [several] regards.

1. First to show a rare example herein of brotherly love and Christian care in performing their promises and covenants to their brethren to and, in a sort, beyond their power, that they should venture so desperately to engage themselves to accomplish this thing and bear it so cheerfully. For they never demanded, much less had any repayment of all these great sums thus disbursed.

2. Secondly, it must needs be that there was more than of man in these achievements that should thus readily stir up the hearts of such able friends to join in partnership with them in such a case and cleave so faithfully to them as these did in so great adventures. And the more because the most of them never saw their faces to this day, there being neither kindred, alliance, or other acquaintance or relations between any of them than hath been before mentioned. It must needs be therefore the special work and hand of God.

3. Thirdly, that these poor people here in a wilderness should notwithstanding be enabled in time to repay all these engagements, and many more unjustly brought upon them, through the unfaithfulness of some and many other great losses which they sustained, which will be made manifest if the Lord be pleased to give life and time.

In the meantime, I cannot but admire His ways and works towards His servants and humbly desire to bless His holy name for His great mercies hitherto.

The Leiden people being thus come over and sundry [several] of the generality seeing and hearing how great the charge was like to be that was that way to be expended, they began to murmur and repine at it, notwithstanding the burden lay on other men's shoulders, especially at the paying of the three bushels of corn a year, according to the former agreement when the trade was lost for the six years aforesaid. But to give them content herein, also it was promised them that if they could do it in the time without it, they would never demand it of them, which gave them good content. And indeed, it never was paid, as will appear by the sequel.

Concerning Mr. Allerton's proceedings about the enlarging and confirming of their patent, both that at home and Kennebec, will best appear by another letter of Mr. Sherley's. For though much time and money was expended about it, yet he left it unaccomplished this year and came without it. See Mr. Sherley's letter.

Most worthy and loving friends, etc.

Some of your letters I received in July and some since by Mr. Peirce. But till our main business, the patent, was granted, I could not settle my mind nor

pen to writing. Mr. Allerton was so turmoiled about it as, verily, I would not nor could not have undergone it if I might have had a thousand pounds. But the Lord so blessed his labors (even beyond expectation in these evil days) as he obtained the love and favor of great men in repute and place.

He got granted from the Earl of Warwick and Sir Ferdinando Gorges all that Mr. Winslow desired in his letters to me and more also, which I leave to him to relate. Then he sued to the king to confirm their grant and to make you a corporation and so to enable you to make and execute laws in such large and ample manner as the Massachusetts plantation hath it, which the king graciously granted, referring it to the lord keeper to give order to the solicitor to draw it up if there were a precedent for it.

So the lord keeper furthered it all he could and also the solicitor (but as Festus said to Paul, "With no small sum of money, obtained I this freedom."), for by the way, many riddles must be resolved, and many locks must be opened with the silver, nay, the golden key. Then it was to come to the lord treasurer to have his warrant for freeing the custom for a certain time, but he would not do it but referred it to the council table. And there, Mr. Allerton attended day by day when they sat but could not get his petition read. And by reason of Mr. Peirce, his staying with all the passengers at Bristol, he was forced to leave the further prosecuting of it to a solicitor.

But there is no fear nor doubt but it will be granted, for he hath the chief of them to friend. Yet it will be marvelously needful for him to return by the first ship that comes from thence. For if you had this confirmed, then were you complete and might bear such sway and government as were fit for your rank and place that God hath called you unto and stop the mouths of base and scurrilous fellows that are ready to question and threaten you in every action you do.

And besides, if you have the custom free for seven years inward and twenty-one outward, the charge of the patent will be soon recovered. And there is no fear of recovering it, but such things must work by degrees. Men cannot hasten it as they would. Wherefore we (I write in the behalf of all our partners here) desire you to be earnest with Mr. Allerton to come and his wife to spare him this one year more to finish this great and weighty business, which we conceive will be much for your good and, I hope, for your posterity and for many generations to come.

Thus much of this letter. It was dated the March 19, 1629.

By which it appears what progress was made herein and, in part, what charge it was and how left unfinished and some reason of the same. But in truth (*as was afterwards apprehended*), the main reason was Mr. Allerton's policy to have an opportunity to be sent over again for other

regards and, for that end, procured them thus to write.

For it might then well enough have been finished (*if not with that clause about the customs, which was Mr. Allerton's and Mr. Sherley's device and not at all thought on by the colony here nor much regarded*). Yet it might have been done without it, without all question having passed the king's hand. Nay, it was conceived it might then have been done with it if he had pleased. But covetousness never brings aught home, as the proverb is, for this opportunity being lost, it was never accomplished but a great deal of money vainly and lavishly cast away about it, as doth appear upon their accounts. But of this, more in its place.

[INSERTED—] Mr. Allerton gave them great and just offense in this (*which I had omitted and almost forgotten*) in bringing over this year (*for base gain*) that unworthy man and instrument of mischief Morton, who was sent home but the year before for his misdemeanors. He not only brought him over but to the town (*as it were to nose them*) and lodged him at his own house and, for awhile, used him as a scribe to do his business till he was caused to pack him away.

So he [Morton] went to his old nest in the Massachusetts where it was not long but, by his miscarriage, he gave them just occasion to lay hands on him. And he was by them again sent

prisoner into England, where he lay a good while in Exeter gaol [jail]. For besides his miscarriage here, he was vehemently suspected for the murder of a man that had adventured moneys with him when he came first into New England. And a warrant was sent from the lord chief justice to apprehend him, by virtue whereof he was by the governor of the Massachusetts sent into England. And for other his misdemeanors amongst them, they demolished his house that it might be no longer a roost for such unclean birds to nestle in.

Yet he got free again and writ an infamous and scurrilous book against many godly and chief men of the country, full of lies and slanders and fraught with profane calumnies [false accusations] against their names and persons and the ways of God. After sundry [several] years, when the wars were hot in England, he came again into the country and was imprisoned at Boston for this book and other things, being grown old in wickedness. —

Concerning the rest of Mr. Allerton's instructions in which they strictly enjoined him not to exceed above that £50 in the goods before mentioned, not to bring any but trading commodities, he followed them not at all but did the quite contrary, bringing over many other sorts of retail goods (*selling what he could by [on] the way on his own account*) and delivering the rest which he said to be theirs into the store. And for trading goods,

[he] brought but little in comparison, excusing the matter they had laid out much about the Leiden people and patent, etc. And for other goods, they had much of them of their own dealings without present disbursement and to like effect.

And as for passing his bounds and instructions, he laid it on Mr. Sherley, etc., who, he said, they might see his mind in his letters. Also, that they had set out Ashley at great charge, but next year, they should have what trading goods they would send for if things were now well settled, etc. And thus were they put off. Indeed, Mr. Sherley writ things tending this way, but it is like he was overruled by Mr. Allerton and harkened more to him than to their letters from hence.

Thus, he further writes in the former letter.

I see what you writ in your letters concerning the overcoming and paying of our debts, which I confess are great and had need to be carefully looked unto. Yet, no doubt, but we, joining in love, may soon overcome them. But we must follow it roundly and to purpose, for if we peddle out the time of our trade, others will step in and nose us. But we know that you have that acquaintance and experience in the country as none have the like.

Wherefore, friends and partners, be no way discouraged with the greatness of the debts, etc. But let us not fulfill the proverb to bestow twelve pence

on a purse and put six pence in it. But as you and we have been at great charge and undergone much for settling you there, and to gain experience so as God shall enable us, let us make use of it. And think not with £50 a year sent you over to raise such means as to pay our debts. We see a possibility of good if you be well supplied and fully furnished and, chiefly, if you lovingly agree.

I know I write to godly and wise men such as have learned to bear one another's infirmities and rejoice at anyone's prosperities. And if I were able, I would press this more, because it is hoped by some of your enemies that you will fall out one with another and so overthrow your hopeful business. Nay, I have heard it credibly reported that some have said that till you be disjointed by discontents and factions amongst yourselves, it boots [benefits] not any to go over in hope of getting or doing good in those parts.

But we hope better things of you and that you will not only bear one with another but banish such thoughts and not suffer them to lodge in your breasts. God grant you may disappoint the hopes of your foes and procure the hearty desire of yourselves and friends in this particular.

By this, it appears that there was a kind of concurrence between Mr. Allerton and them in these things and that they gave more regard to his way and course in these things than to the advice from hence, which made him bold to presume above his instructions and to run on in the course

he did, to their greater hurt afterwards, as will appear.

These things did much trouble them here, but they well knew not how to help it, being loath to make any breach or contention hereabout, being so promonished [forewarned], as before in the letter above recited. Another more secret cause was herewith concurrent. Mr. Allerton had married the daughter of their Reverend Elder Mr. Brewster (*a man beloved and honored amongst them and who took great pains in teaching and dispensing the Word of God unto them*), whom they were loath to grieve or any way offend, so as they bore with much in that respect. And withal Mr. Allerton carried so fair with him and procured such letters from Mr. Sherley to him with such applause of Mr. Allerton's wisdom, care, and faithfulness in the business and, as things stood, none were so fit to send about them as he, and if any should suggest otherwise, it was rather out of envy or some other sinister respect than otherwise.

Besides, though private gain I do persuade myself was some case to lead Mr. Allerton aside in these beginnings, yet I think, or at least charity carries me to hope, that he intended to deal faithfully with them in the main and had such an opinion of his own ability and some experience of the benefit that he had made in this singular way as he conceived he might both raise himself an estate and also be a means to bring in such profit to Mr.

Sherley (*and, it may be, the rest*) as might be as likely to bring in their moneys again with advantage.

And it may be sooner than from the general way, or at least it was looked upon by some of them to be a good help thereunto. And that neither he nor any other did intend to charge the general account with anything that ran in particular [private] or that Mr. Sherley or any other did purpose but that the general should be first and fully supplied. I say charity makes me thus conceive, though things fell out otherwise, and they missed of their aims, and the general suffered abundantly hereby, as will afterwards appear.

Together herewith sorted another business contrived by Mr. Allerton and them there without any knowledge of the partners and so far proceeded in as they were constrained to allow thereof and join in the same, though they had no great liking of it but feared what might be the event of the same. I shall relate it in a further part of Mr. Sherley's letter as followeth.

I am to acquaint you that we have thought good to join with one Edward Ashley (a man, I think, that some of you know), but it is only of that place whereof he hath a patent in Mr. Beauchamp's name. And to that end, [we] have furnished him with large provisions, etc.

Now, if you please to be partners with us in this, we are willing you shall. For after we heard how forward Bristol men (and as I hear, some able men of his own kindred) have been to stock and supply him, hoping of profit, we thought it fitter for us to lay hold of such an opportunity and to keep a kind of running plantation than others who have not borne the burthen [burden] of settling a plantation, as we have done. And he, on the other side, like an understanding young man, thought it better to join with those that had means by a plantation to supply and back him there rather than strangers that look but only after profit.

Now, it is not known that you are partners with him, but only we four, Mr. Andrews, Mr. Beauchamp, myself, and Mr. Hatherley, who desired to have the patent, in consideration of our great loss we have already sustained in settling the first plantation there. So we agreed together to take it in our names.

And now as I said before, if you please to join with us, we are willing you should. Mr. Allerton had no power from you to make this new contract; neither was he willing to do anything therein without your consent and approbation. Mr. William Peirce is joined with us in this, for we thought it very convenient because of landing Ashley's and his goods there, if God please, and he will bend his course accordingly.

He hath a new boat with him and boards to make another with four or five lusty [strong] fellows, whereof one is a carpenter. Now, in case you are not willing in this particular to join with us, fearing the charge and doubting the success, yet thus much we entreat of you to afford him all the help you can, either by men, commodities, or boats, yet not but that we will pay you for anything he hath.

And we desire you to keep the accounts apart, though you join with us, because there is, as you see, other partners in this than the other. So for all men's wages, boats' hire, or commodities which we shall have of you, make him debtor for it, and what you shall have of him, make the plantation or yourselves debtors for it to him, and so there will need no mingling of the accounts.

And now, loving friends and partners, if you join in Ashley's patent and business, though we have laid out the money and taken up much to stock this business and the other, yet I think it conscionable and reasonable that you should bear your shares and proportion of the stock. If not by present money, yet by securing us for so much as it shall come to. For it is not barely the interest that is to be allowed and considered of, but also the adventure.

Though I hope in God, by His blessing and your honest endeavors, it may soon be paid, yet the years that this partnership holds is not long nor many. Let all, therefore, lay it to heart and make the best use of the time that possibly we can, and let every

man put to his shoulder, and the burthen [burden] will be the lighter. I know you are so honest and conscionable men as you will consider hereof and return such an answer as may give good satisfaction. There is none of us that would venture as we have done were it not to strengthen and settle you more than our own particular [private] profit.

There is no likelihood of doing any good in buying the debt for the purchase. I know some will not abate the interest and therefore let it run its course. They are to be paid yearly, and so I hope they shall, according to agreement. The Lord grant that our loves and affections may still be united and knit together. And so we rest your ever-loving friends,

*James Sherley
Timothy Hatherley
Bristol, March 19, 1629*

This matter of the buying the debts of the purchase was part of Mr. Allerton's instructions, and in many of them, it might have been done to good profit for ready pay (*as some were*), but Mr. Sherley had no mind to it. But this business about Ashley did not a little trouble them. For though he had wit and ability enough to manage the business, yet some of them knew him to be a very profane young man. And he had for some time lived among the Indians as a savage and went naked amongst them and used their manners (*in which time he got their language*). So they feared he might still run into evil courses (*though he*

promised better) and God would not prosper his ways.

As soon as he was landed at the place intended, called Penobscot, some four score leagues from this place, he writ (*and afterwards came*) for to desire to be supplied with wampumpeag [strings of polished shell beads], corn against winter, and other things. They considered these were of their chief commodities and would be continually needed by him, and it would much prejudice their own trade at Kennebec if they did not join with him in the ordering of things if thus they should supply him.

And on the other hand, if they refused to join with him and also to afford any supply unto him, they should greatly offend their above-named friends and might haply [perhaps] lose them hereby. And he and Mr. Allerton, laying their crafty wits together, might get supplies of these things elsewhere. Besides, they considered that if they joined not in the business, they knew Mr. Allerton would be with them in it and so would swim (*as it were*) between both, to the prejudice of both, but of themselves, especially.

For they had reason to think this business was chiefly of his contriving, and Ashley was a man fit for his turn and dealings. So they, to prevent a worse mischief, resolved to join in the business and gave him supplies in what they could and overlooked [oversaw] his proceedings as well as

they could. The which they did the better by joining an honest young man (Thomas Willett) that came from Leiden with him as his fellow (*in some sort*) and not merely as a servant. Which young man, being discreet and on whom they could trust, they so instructed as kept Ashley (*in some good measure*) within bounds.

And so they returned their answer to their friends in England that they accepted of their motion and joined with them in Ashley's business, and yet withal told them what their fears were concerning him. But when they came to have full notice of all the goods brought them that year, they saw they fell very short of trading goods and Ashley far better supplied than themselves. So as they were forced to buy of the fishermen to furnish themselves, yea, and cottons and kerseys [ribbed wool cloth] and other such like cloth (*for want of trading cloth*) of Mr. Allerton himself, and so to put away a great part of their beaver (*at under-rate in the country*), which they should have sent home to help to discharge their great engagements, which was to their great vexation.

But Mr. Allerton prayed them to be content, and the next year, they might have what they would write for. And their engagements of this year were great indeed when they came to know them (*which was not wholly till two years after*). And that which made them the more, Mr. Allerton had taken up some large sums at Bristol at £50 per cent again, which he excused that he was forced

to it because otherwise he could (*at the spring of year*) get no goods transported. Such were their envy against their trade, but whether this was any more than an excuse, some of them doubted. But however, the burden did lie on their backs, and they must bear it as they did many heavy loads more in the end.

This paying of £50 per cent and difficulty of having their goods transported by the fishing ships at the first of the year (*as was believed*), which was the chief reason for trade, put them upon another project. Mr. Allerton, after the fishing season was over, light of [discovered] a bargain of salt at a good fishing place and bought it, which came to about £113. And shortly after, he might have had £30 clear profit for it without any more trouble about it.

But Mr. Winslow coming that way from Kennebec and some other of their partners with him in the bark [sailboat], they met with Mr. Allerton. And falling into discourse with him, they stayed [kept] him from selling the salt and resolved, if it might please the rest, to keep it for themselves and to hire a ship in the west country to come on fishing for them on shares, according to the custom. And seeing she might have her salt here ready and a stage ready-built and fitted where the salt lay safely landed and housed, instead of bringing salt, they might stow her full of trading goods, as bread, peas, cloth, etc. And so they might have a full supply of goods without paying freight and in

due season, which might turn greatly to their advantage.

Coming home, this was propounded and considered on and approved by all but the governor, who had no mind to it, seeing they had always lost by fishing. But the rest were so earnest as thinking that they might gain well by the fishing in this way, and if they should but save, yea, or lose something by it, the other benefit would be advantage enough. So, seeing their earnestness, he gave way, and it was referred to their friends in England to allow or disallow it, of which more in its place.

Upon the consideration of the business about the patent and in what state it was left, as is before remembered, and Mr. Sherley's earnest pressing to have Mr. Allerton to come over again to finish it and perfect the accounts, etc., it was concluded to send him over this year again, though it was with some fear and jealousy [suspicion]. Yet he gave them fair words and promises of well-performing all their businesses according to their directions and to mend his former errors.

So he was accordingly sent with full instructions for all things with large letters to Mr. Sherley and the rest, both about Ashley's business and their own supply with trading commodities, and how much it did concern them to be furnished therewith, and what they had suffered for want thereof, and of what little use other goods were in

comparison thereof, and so likewise about this fishing ship to be thus hired and fraught with trading goods, which might both supply them and Ashley and the benefits thereof, which was left to their consideration to hire and set her out or not. But in no case not to send any except [unless] she was thus freight[ed] with trading goods. But what these things came to will appear in the next year's passages.

I had like to have omitted another passage that fell out the beginning of this year. There was one Mr. Ralph Smith and his wife and family that came over into the Bay of the Massachusetts and sojourned at present with some straggling people that lived at Nantasket. Here being a boat of this place putting in there on some occasion, he earnestly desired that they would give him and his passage for Plymouth and some such things as they could well carry, having before heard that there was likelihood he might procure houseroom [space within one's house] for some time till he should resolve to settle there if he might or elsewhere as God should depose. For he was weary of being in that uncouth place and in a poor house that would neither keep him nor his goods dry.

So, seeing him to be a grave man and understood he had been a minister, though they had no order for any such thing, yet they presumed and brought him. He was here accordingly kindly entertained and housed and had the rest of his

goods and servants sent for and exercised his gifts amongst them. And afterwards, was chosen into the ministry and so remained for sundry [several] years.

It was before noted that sundry [several] of those that came from Leiden came over in the ships that came to Salem where Mr. Endecott had chief command. And by infection that grew among the passengers at sea, it spread also among them on shore, of which many died, some of the scurvy, other[s] of an infectious fever which continued sometime amongst them (*though our people through God's goodness escaped it*). Upon which occasion, he [Endecott] writ hither for some help, understanding here was one that had some skill that way and had cured divers [several] of the scurvy and others of other diseases by letting blood and other means.

Upon which his request, the governor here sent him unto them and also writ to him from whom he received an answer, the which because it is brief and shows the beginning of their acquaintance and closing [drawing near] in the truth the ways of God, I thought it not unmeet nor without use here to insert it and another showing the beginning of their fellowship and church estate there, being as followeth.

Right Worthy Sir,

It is a thing not usual that servants to one master and of the same household should be strangers. I assure you, I desire it not. Nay, to speak more plainly, I cannot be so to you.

God's people are all marked with one and the same mark and sealed with one and the same seal and have, for the main, one and the same heart, guided by one and same spirit of truth. And where this is, there can be no discord. Nay, here must needs be sweet harmony.

And the same request (with you) I make unto the Lord, that we may as Christian brethren be united by a heavenly and unfeigned love, bending all our hearts and forces in furthering a work beyond our strength with reverence and fear, fastening our eyes always on Him that only is able to direct and prosper all our ways.

I acknowledge myself much bound to you for your kind love and care in sending Mr. Fuller among us and rejoice much that I am by him satisfied. Touching your judgments of the outward form of God's worship, it is, as far as I can yet gather, no other than is warranted by the evidence of truth and the same which I have professed and maintained ever since the Lord in mercy revealed Himself unto me, being far from the common report that hath been spread of you, touching that particular.

But God's children must not look for less here below, and it is the great mercy of God that He strengthens them to go through with it. I shall not need at this time to be tedious unto you, for, God willing, I purpose to see your face shortly. In the meantime, I humbly take my leave of you, committing you to the Lord's blessed protection and rest. Your assured loving friend,

*John Endecott
Naumkeag, May 11, Anno 1629*

This second letter shows their proceedings in their church affairs at Salem, which was the second church erected in these parts. And afterwards, the Lord established many more in sundry [several] places.

Sir,

I make bold to trouble you with a few lines for to certify you how it hath pleased God to deal with us since you heard from us. How notwithstanding all opposition that hath been here and elsewhere, it hath pleased God to lay a foundation, the which I hope is agreeable to His Word in everything.

The twentieth of July, it pleased the Lord to move the heart of our governor to set it apart for a solemn day of humiliation for the choice of a pastor and teacher, the former part of the day being spent in prayer and teaching, the latter part about the election, which was after this manner.

The persons thought on (who had been ministers in England) were demanded concerning their callings. They acknowledged there was a twofold calling, the one an inward calling when the Lord moved the heart of a man to take that calling upon him and fitted him with gifts for the same. The second was an outward calling, which was from the people, when a company of believers are joined together in covenant to walk together in all the ways of God, and every member (being men) are to have a free voice in the choice of their officers, etc.

Now we being persuaded that these two men were so qualified, as the apostle speaks to Timothy where he saith a bishop must be blameless, sober, apt to teach, etc., I think I may say as the eunuch said unto Philip, what should let [prevent] from being baptized, seeing there was water and he believed? So these two servants of God clearing all things by their answers (and being thus fitted), we saw no reason, but we might freely give our voices for their election after this trial.

So Mr. Skelton was chosen pastor and Mr. Higginson to be teacher. And they accepting the choice, Mr. Higginson, with three or four of the gravest members of the church, laid their hands on Mr. Skelton, using prayer therewith. This being done, there was imposition of hands on Mr. Higginson, also. And since that time, Thursday (being, as I take it, the sixth of August) is appointed for another day of humiliation for the choice of elders and deacons and ordaining of them.

And now, good sir, I hope that you and the rest of God's people (who are acquainted with the ways of God) with you will say that here was a right foundation laid and that these two blessed servants of the Lord came in at the door and not at the window. Thus, I have made bold to trouble you with these few lines, desiring you to remember us, etc. And so rest at your service in what I may,

*Charles Gott
Salem, July 30, 1629*

Anno Domini 1630



Ashley, being well supplied, had quickly gathered a good parcel of beaver, and like a crafty pate, he sent it all home and would not pay for the goods he had had of the plantation here but let them stand still on the score and took up still more. Now though they well enough knew his aim, yet they let him go on and writ of it into England. But partly [by] the beaver they received and sold (*of which they were sensible*) and partly by Mr. Morton's extolling of him, they cast more how to supply him than the plantation and something to upbraid them with it.

They were forced to buy him a bark [sailboat] also and to furnish her with a master and men to transport his corn and provisions (*of which he put off much, for the Indians of these parts have no corn growing*) and at harvest after corn is ready, the

weather grows foul and the seas dangerous so as he could do little good with his shallop [shallow-water boat] for that purpose.

They looked earnestly for a timely supply this spring by the fishing ship, which they expected (*and had been at charge to keep a stage for her*), but none came nor any supply heard of for them. At length, they heard some supply was sent to Ashley by a fishing ship, at which they something marveled, and the more that they had no letters either from Mr. Allerton or Mr. Sherley. So they went on in their business as well as they could.

At last, they heard of Mr. Peirce, his arrival in the Bay of the Massachusetts (*who brought passengers and goods thither*). They personally sent a shallop [shallow-water boat], conceiving they should have something by him, but he told them he had none. And a ship was set out on fishing, but after eleven weeks boating at sea, she met with such foul weather as she was forced back again for England and, the season being over, gave off the voyage.

Neither did he hear of much goods in her for the plantation or that she did belong to them, for he had heard something from Mr. Allerton tending that way. But Mr. Allerton had bought another ship and was to come in her and was to fish for bass to the eastward and to bring goods, etc. These things did much trouble them and half

astonished them. Mr. Winslow, having been to the eastward, brought news of the like [same] things with some more particulars and that it was like Mr. Allerton would be late before he came.

At length, they, having an opportunity, resolved to send Mr. Winslow (*with what beaver they had ready into England*) to see how the squares went, being very jealous [suspicious] of those things and Mr. Allerton's courses. And [they] writ such letters and gave him such instructions as they thought meet. And if he found things not well, to discharge Mr. Allerton for being any longer agent for them or to deal any more in the business and to see how the accounts stood, etc.

About the middle of summer arrives Mr. Hatherley in the Bay of Massachusetts (*being one of the partners*) and came over in the same ship that was set out on fishing (*called the Friendship*). They presently sent to him, making no question, but now they had goods come and should know how all things stood. But they found the former news true how this ship had been so long at sea and spent and spoiled her provisions and overthrown the voyage.

And he, being sent over by the rest of the partners to see how things went here, being at Bristol with Mr. Allerton in the ship bought (*called the White Angel*), ready to set sail, overnight came a messenger from Barnstaple to Mr. Allerton and told him of the return of the ship and what had

befallen [happened]. And he, not knowing what to do, having a great charge underhand, the ship lying at his rates and now ready to set sail, got him to go and discharge the ship and take order for the goods.

To be short, they found Mr. Hatherley something reserved and troubled in himself (*Mr. Allerton not being there*), not knowing how to dispose of the goods til he came. But he heard he was arrived with the other ship to the eastward and expected his coming. But he told them there was not much for them in this ship, only two packs of Barnstaple rugs and two hogsheads [sixty-six gallon barrels] of metheglin [spiced honey wine] drawn out in wooden flackets [bottles] (*but when these flackets came to be received, there was left but six gallons of the two hogsheads, it being drunk up under the name leakage, and so lost*).

But the ship was filled with goods for sundry [several] gentlemen and others that were come to plant in the Massachusetts, for which they paid freight by the tun. And this was all the satisfaction they could have at present. So they brought this small parcel of goods and returned with this news and a letter as obscure, which made them much to marvel thereat. The letter was as followeth.

Gentlemen, Partners, and Loving Friends, etc.,

Briefly, thus, we have this year set forth a fishing ship and a trading ship, which latter we have bought and so have disbursed a great deal of money, as may and will appear by the accounts. And because this ship (called the White Angel) is to act two parts (as I may say), fishing for bass and trading, and that while Mr. Allerton was employed about the trading, the fishing might suffer by carelessness or neglect of the sailors, we have entreated your and our loving friend Mr. Hatherley to go over with him, knowing he will be a comfort to Mr. Allerton, a joy to you to see a careful and loving friend, and a great stay to the business and so great content to us. That if it should please God the one should fail (as God forbid), yet the other would keep both reckonings and things upright, for we are now out great sums of money, as they will acquaint you withal, etc.

When we were out but four or five hundred pounds apiece, we looked not much after it but left it to you and your agent (who without flattery deserveth infinite thanks and commendations both of you and us for his pains, etc.). But now we are out double, nay, treble apiece, some of us, etc., which makes us both write and send over our friend (Mr. Hatherley), whom we pray you to entertain kindly (of which we doubt not of).

The main end of sending him is to see the state and account of all the business of all, which we pray you inform him fully, though the ship and business wait for it and him. For we should take it very

unkindly that we should entreat him to take such a journey and that when it pleaseth God he returns, he could not give us content and satisfaction in this particular through default of any of you. But we hope you will so order business as neither he nor we shall have cause to complain but to do as we have ever done, think well of you all, etc.

I will not promise but shall endeavor and hope to effect the full desire and grant of your patent and that ere it be long, I would not have you take anything unkindly. I have not writ out of jealousy [suspicion] of any unjust dealing. Be you all kindly saluted in the Lord. So I rest yours in what I may,

*James Sherley
March 25, 1630*

It needs not be thought strange that these things should amaze and trouble them. First, that this fishing ship should be set out and fraught with other men's goods and scarce any of theirs, seeing their main end was (*as is before remembered*) to bring them a full supply and their special order not to set out any except [unless] this was done. And now a ship to come on their account clean, contrary to their both end and order, was a mystery they could not understand. And so much the worse, seeing she had such ill success as to lose both her voyage and provisions.

The second thing [is] that another ship should be bought and sent out on new designs, a thing not

so much as once thought on by any here, much less not a word intimated or spoken of by any, either by word or letter. Neither could they imagine why this should be. Bass fishing was never looked at by them, but as soon as ever they heard on it, they looked at it as a vain thing that would certainly turn to loss. And for Mr. Allerton to follow any trade for them, it was never in their thoughts.

And thirdly, that their friends should complain of disbursements and yet run into such great things and charge of shipping and new projects of their own heads not only without, but against all order and advice was to them very strange.

And fourthly, that all these matters of so great charge and employments should be thus wrapped up in a brief and obscure letter, they knew not what to make of it. But amidst all their doubt, they must have patience till Mr. Allerton and Mr. Hatherley should come. In the meantime, Mr. Winslow was gone for England, and others of them were forced to follow their employments with the best means they had till they could hear of better.

At length, Mr. Hatherley and Mr. Allerton came unto them (*after they had delivered their goods*), and finding them stricken with some sadness about these things, Mr. Allerton told them that the ship *White Angel* did not belong to them nor their account, neither need they have anything to

do with her except [unless] they would. And Mr. Hatherley confirmed the same and said that they would have had him to have had a part, but he refused. But he made question whether they would not turn her upon the general account if there came loss (*as he now saw was like*), seeing Mr. Allerton laid down this course and put them on this project.

But for the fishing ship, he told them they need not be so much troubled, for he had her accounts here and showed them that her first setting out came not much to exceed £600, as they might see by the account which he showed them. And for this later voyage, it would arrive to profit by the freight of the goods and the sale of some cattle which he shipped and had already sold and was to be paid for, partly here and partly by bills into England. So as they should not have this put on their account at all except [unless] they would.

And for the former, he had sold so much goods out of her in England and employed the money in this second voyage, as it, together with such goods and implements as Mr. Allerton must need about his fishing, would rise to a good part of the money. For he must have the salt and nets, also spikes, nails, etc., all which would rise to near £400.

So with the bearing of their parts of the rest of the losses (*which would not be much above £200*), they would clear them of this whole account, of which

motion they were glad, not being willing to have any accounts lie upon them but about their trade, which made them willing to harken thereunto and demand of Mr. Hatherley how he could make this good if they should agree thereunto.

He told them he was sent over as their agent and had this order from them that whatsoever he and Mr. Allerton did together, they would stand to it, but they would not allow of what Mr. Allerton did alone except [unless] they liked it. But if he [Hatherley] did it alone, they would not gainsay [oppose] it. Upon which they sold to him and Mr. Allerton all the rest of the goods and gave them present possession of them, and a writing was made and confirmed under both Mr. Hatherley's and Mr. Allerton's hands to the effect aforesaid.

And Mr. Allerton, being best acquainted with the people, sold away presently all such goods as he had no need of for the fishing, as nine shallop sails made of good new canvas and the rodes [anchor cables] for them, being all new, with sundry [several] such useful goods for ready beaver by Mr. Hatherley's allowance. And thus, they thought they had well provided for themselves. Yet they rebuked Mr. Allerton very much for running into these courses, fearing the success of them.

Mr. Allerton and Mr. Hatherley brought to the town with them, after he had sold what he could abroad, a great quantity of other goods besides

trading commodities, as linen cloth, bedticks [mattresses], stockings, tape, pins, rugs, etc. and told them they were to have them if they would. But they told Mr. Allerton that they had forbid him before for bringing any such on their account; it would hinder their trade and returns. But he and Mr. Hatherley said if they would not have them, they would sell them themselves and take corn for what they could not otherwise sell. They told them they might if they had order for it. The goods of one sort and other came to upward of £500.

After these things, Mr. Allerton went to the ship about his bass fishing. And Mr. Hatherley (*according to his order*), after he took knowledge how things stood at the plantation (*of all which they informed him fully*), he then desired a boat of them to go and visit the trading houses, both Kennebec and Ashley at Penobscot, for so they in England had enjoined him. They accordingly furnished him with a boat and men for the voyage and acquainted him plainly and thoroughly with all things, by which he had good content and satisfaction and saw plainly that Mr. Allerton played his own game and ran a course not only to the great wrong and detriment of the plantation (*who employed and trusted him*), but abused them in England also in possessing them with prejudice against the plantation, as that they would never be able to repay their moneys (*in regard of their great charge*), but if they would follow his advice

and projects, he and Ashley (*being well-supplied*) would quickly bring in their moneys with good advantage.

Mr. Hatherley disclosed also a further project about the setting out of this ship, the *White Angel*. How she, being well-fitted with good ordnance [artillery] and known to have made a great fight at sea (*when she belonged to Bristol*) and carried away the victory, they had agreed (*by Mr. Allerton's means*) that after she had brought a freight of goods here into the country and fraught herself with fish, she should go from hence to Port Oporto [Portugal] and there be sold, both she, goods, and ordnance, and had for this end had speech with a factor of these parts beforehand to whom she should have been consigned.

But this was prevented at this time (*after it was known*), partly by the contrary advice given by their friends here to Mr. Allerton and Mr. Hatherley, showing how it might ensnare their friends in England (*being men of estate*) if it should come to be known. And for the plantation, they did and would disallow it and protest against it. And partly by their bad voyage, for they both came too late to do any good for fishing and also had such a wicked and drunken company as neither Mr. Allerton nor any else could rule, as Mr. Hatherley, to his great grief and shame, saw and beheld and all others that came near them.

Ashley likewise was taken in a trap (*before Mr. Hatherley returned*) for trading powder and shot with the Indians and was seized upon by some in authority who also would have confiscated above a thousand weight of beaver. But the goods were freed, for the governor here made it appear by a bond under Ashley's hand wherein he was bound to them in £500 not to trade any munition with the Indians or otherwise to abuse himself. It was also manifest against him that he had committed uncleanness with Indian women (*things that they feared at his first employment, which made them take this strict course with him in the beginning*).

So to be short, they got their goods freed, but he was sent home prisoner. And that I may make an end concerning him, after some time of imprisonment in the Fleet [Fleet Prison], by the means of friends, he was set at liberty and intended to come over again, but the Lord prevented it. For he had a motion made to him by some merchants to go into Russia because he had such good skill in the beaver trade, the which he accepted of, and in his return home was cast away at sea. This was his end.

Mr. Hatherley, fully understanding the state of all things, had good satisfaction and could well inform them how all things stood between Mr. Allerton and the plantation. Yea, he found that Mr. Allerton had got within him and got all the goods into his own hands, for which Mr. Hatherley stood jointly engaged to them here

about the ship *Friendship*, as also most of the freight money, besides some of his own particular [private] estate, about which more will appear hereafter. So he returned into England, and they sent a good quantity of beaver with him to the rest of the partners, so both he and it was very welcome unto them.

Mr. Allerton followed his affairs and returned with his *White Angel*, being no more employed by the plantation. But these businesses were not ended till many years after, nor well understood of a long time, but folded up in obscurity and kept in the clouds to the great loss and vexation of the plantation, who in the end were (*for peace[']s sake*) forced to bear the unjust burthen [burden] of them to their almost undoing, as will appear if God give life to finish this history.

They sent their letters also by Mr. Hatherley to the partners there to show them how Mr. Hatherley and Mr. Allerton had discharged them of the *Friendship's* account and that they both affirmed that the *White Angel* did not at all belong to them and therefore desired that their account might not be charged therewith. Also, they writ to Mr. Winslow, their agent, that he in like manner should (*in their names*) protest against it if any such thing should be intended, for they would never yield to the same. As also to signify to them that they renounced Mr. Allerton wholly for being their agent or to have anything to do in any of their business.

[Inserted—] This year, John Billington, the elder (*one that came over with the first*), was arraigned and both by grand and petty jury found guilty of willful murder by plain and notorious evidence and was for the same accordingly executed. This as it was the first execution amongst them, so was it a matter of great sadness unto them. They used all due means about his trial and took the advice of Mr. Winthrop and other the ablest gentlemen in [the] Bay of the Massachusetts that were then newly come over who concurred with them that he ought to die and the land to be purged from blood.

He and some of his had been often punished for miscarriages before, being one of the profanest families amongst them. They came from London, and I know not by what friends shuffled into their company. His fact was that he waylaid a young man, one John Newcomen (*about a former quarrel*), and shot him with a gun, whereof he died. —

Having by a providence a letter or two that came to my hands concerning the proceedings of their reverend friends in the Bay of the Massachusetts who were lately come over, I thought it not amiss here to insert them (*so far as is pertinent and may be useful for after times*) before I conclude this year.

Sir,

Being at Salem the twenty-fifth of July, being the Sabbath, after the evening exercise, Mr. Johnson received a letter from the governor, Mr. John Winthrop, manifesting the hand of God to be upon them and against them at Charlestown in visiting them with sickness and taking divers [several] from amongst them, not sparing the righteous but partaking with the wicked in these bodily judgments.

It was therefore by his desire taken into the godly consideration of the best here what was to be done to pacify the Lord's wrath, etc., where it was concluded that the Lord was to be sought in righteousness. And to that end, the sixth day (being Friday) of this present week is set apart that they may humble themselves before God and seek Him in His ordinances. And that then also, such godly persons that are amongst them and know each to other may publicly at the end of their exercise make known their godly desire and practice the same, viz. solemnly to enter into covenant with the Lord to walk in His ways.

And since they are so disposed of in their outward estates as to live in three distinct places, each having men of ability amongst them there, to observe the day and become three distinct bodies. Not then intending rashly to proceed to the choice of officers or the admitting of any other to their society than a few, to wit, such as are well-known unto them, promising after to receive in such by

confession of faith as shall appear to be fitly qualified for that estate.

They do earnestly entreat that the church of Plymouth would set apart the same day for the same ends, beseeching the Lord as to withdraw His hand of correction from them, so also to establish and direct them in His ways. And though the time be short, we pray you be provoked to this godly work, seeing the causes are so urgent, wherein God will be honored and they and we undoubtedly have sweet comfort. Be you all kindly saluted, etc.

*Your brethren in Christ, etc.
Salem, July 26, 1630*

Sir, etc.,

The sad news here is that many are sick, and many are dead. The Lord, in mercy, look upon them.

Some are here entered into church covenant. The first were four, namely the governor, Mr. John Winthrop; Mr. Johnson, Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Wilson. Since that, five more are enjoined unto them, and others it is like will add themselves to them daily. The Lord increase them both in number and in holiness for His mercy's sake.

Here is a gentleman, one Mr. Coddington (a Boston man), who told me that Mr. Cotton's charge at Hampton was that they should take advice of them at Plymouth and should do nothing to offend them. Here are divers [several] honest Christians that are

desirous to see us, some out of love, which they bear to us, and the good persuasion they have of us. Others to see whether we be so ill as they have heard of us. We have a name of holiness and love to God and His saints. The Lord make us more and more answerable and that it may be more than a name, or else it will do us no good.

Be you lovingly saluted and all the rest of our friends. The Lord Jesus bless us and the whole Israel of God. Amen.

*Your loving brother, etc.
Charlestown, August 2, 1630*

Thus, out of small beginnings, greater things have been produced by His hand that made all things of nothing and gives being to all things that are. And as one small candle may light a thousand, so the light here kindled hath shone to many, yea, in some sort to our whole nation. Let the glorious name of Jehovah have all the praise.

Anno Domini 1631



Ashley being thus by the hand of God taken away and Mr. Allerton discharged of his employment for them, their business began again to run in one channel and themselves better able to guide the same, Penobscot being wholly now at their disposing. And though Mr. William Peirce had a part there, as is before noted, yet now as things stood, he was glad to have his money repaid him and stand out.

Mr. Winslow, whom they had sent over, sent them over some supply as soon as he could, and afterwards, when he came (*which was something long, by reason of business*), he brought a large supply of suitable goods with him, by which their trading was well carried on. But by no means either he or the letters they writ could take off Mr.

Sherley and the rest from putting both the *Friendship* and *White Angel* on the general account, which caused continual contention between them, as will more appear.

I shall insert a letter of Mr. Winslow's about these things, being as followeth.

Sir,

It fell out by God's providence that I received and brought your letters per Mr. Allerton from Bristol to London and do much fear what will be the event of things. Mr. Allerton intended to prepare the ship again to set forth upon fishing. Mr. Sherley, Mr. Beauchamp, and Mr. Andrews—they renounce all particulars [private interests], protesting but for us, they would never have adventured one penny into those parts. Mr. Hatherley stands inclinable to either. And whereas you write that he and Mr. Allerton have taken the White Angel upon them for their partners here, they [partners] profess they never gave any such order nor will make it good. If themselves will clear the account and do it, all shall be well. What the event of these things will be, I know not. The Lord so direct and assist us as He may not be dishonored by our divisions.

I hear (per a friend) that I was much blamed for speaking what I heard in the spring of the year concerning the buying and setting forth of that

ship,¹⁵ sure if I should not have told you what I heard so peremptorily reported (which report I offered now to prove at Bristol), I should have been unworthy my employment. And concerning the commission so long since given to Mr. Allerton, the truth is the thing we feared is come upon us. For Mr. Sherley and the rest have it and will not deliver it, that being the ground of our agent's credit to procure such great sums. But I look for bitter words, hard thoughts, and sour looks from sundry [several], as well for writing this as reporting the former. I would [that] I had a more thankful employment, but I hope a good conscience shall make it comfortable, etc.

Thus far, he. Dated November 16, 1631.

The commission abovesaid was given by them under their hand and seal when Mr. Allerton was first employed by them and redemanded of him in the year '29 when they began to suspect his course. He told them it was amongst his papers, but he would seek it out and give it [to] them before he went. But he being ready to go, it was demanded again. He said he could not find it, but it was amongst his papers, which he must take with him, and he would send it by the boat from the eastward. But there, it could not be had neither, but he would seek it up at sea.

¹⁵ BRADFORD'S SIDE NOTE: *This was about the selling the ship in Spain.*

But whether Mr. Sherley had it before or after, it is not certain. But having it, he would not let it go but keeps it to this day. Wherefore, even amongst friends, men had need be careful whom they trust and not let things of this nature lie long unrecalled.

Some parts of Mr. Sherley's letters about these things in which the truth is best manifested.

Sir,

Yours, I have received by our loving friends Mr. Allerton and Mr. Hatherley who, blessed be God, after a long and dangerous passage with the ship Angel are safely come to Bristol. Mr. Hatherley is come up, but Mr. Allerton, I have not yet seen. We thank you and are very glad you have dissuaded him from his Spanish voyage and that he did not go on in those designs he intended, for we did all utterly dislike of that course, as also of the fishing that the Friendship should have performed. For we wished him to sell the salt and were unwilling to have him undertake so much business, partly for the ill success we formerly had in those affairs and partly being loath to disburse so much money.

But he persuaded us this must be one way that must repay us, for the plantation would be long in doing of it. Nay, to my remembrance, he doubted you could not be able with the trade there to maintain your charge and pay us. And for this very

cause, he brought us on that business with Edward Ashley, for he was a stranger to us, etc.

For the fishing ship, we are sorry it proves so heavy and will be willing to bear our parts. What Mr. Hatherley and Mr. Allerton have done, no doubt but themselves will make good. We gave them no order to make any composition to separate you and us in this or any other.

And I think you have no cause to forsake us, for we put you upon no new thing but what your agent persuaded us to and you, by your letters, desired. If he exceed your order, I hope you will not blame us, much less cast us off when our moneys be laid out, etc. But I fear neither you nor we have been well dealt withal, for sure as you write, half £4000, nay, a quarter in fitting commodities and in seasonable time would have furnished you better than you were. And yet for all this and much more I might write, I dare not but think him honest and that his desire and intent was good. But the wisest may fail.

Well, now that it hath pleased God to give us hope of meeting, doubt not, but we will all endeavor to perfect these accounts just and right as soon as possibly we can. And I suppose you sent over Mr. Winslow and we Mr. Hatherley to certify each other how the state of things stood. We have received some content upon Mr. Hatherley's return, and I hope you will receive good content upon Mr. Winslow[']s return.

Now I should come to answer more particularly your letter, but herein, I shall be very brief. The coming of the White Angel on your account could not be more strange to you than the buying of her was to us. For you gave him commission¹⁶ that what he did, you would stand to. We gave him none and yet, for his credit and your sakes, paid what bills he charged on us, etc. For that, I write she was to act two parts, fishing and trade. Believe me, I never so much as thought of any particular [private] trade nor will side with any that doth if I conceive it may wrong you. For I ever was against it, using these words, "They will eat up and destroy the general."

Other things I omit as tedious and not very pertinent. This was dated November 19, 1631.

[INSERTED—] They were too short in resting on Mr. Hatherley's honest word for his order to discharge them from the *Friendship's* account when he and Mr. Allerton made the bargain with them and they delivered them the rest of the goods and thereby gave them opportunity also to receive all the freight of both voyages without seeing an order (*to have such power*) under their hands in writing, which they never doubted of, seeing he affirmed he had power, and they both

¹⁶ BRADFORD'S SIDE NOTE: *This commission is abused. He never had any for such end, as they well knew. Neither had they any to pay this money nor would have paid a penny if they had not pleased for some other respect.*

knew his honesty and that he was specially employed for their agent at this time.

And he was as short in resting on a verbal order from them, which was now denied when it came to a particular of loss, but he still affirmed same. But they were both now taught how to deal in the world, especially with merchants in such cases. But in the end, this light upon these here also, for Mr. Allerton had got all into his own hand, and Mr. Hatherley was not able to pay it, except they would have utterly undone him, as the sequel will manifest. —

In another letter bearing date the twenty-fourth of this month, being an answer to the general letter, he hath these words.

For the White Angel, against which you write so earnestly and say we thrust her upon you, contrary to the intent of the buyer, herein we say you forget yourselves and do us wrong. We will not take upon us to divine what the thoughts or intents of the buyer was, but what he spake, we heard, and that we will affirm and make good against any that oppose it, which is that unless she were bought and such a course taken, Ashley could not be supplied. And again, if he were not supplied, we could not be satisfied what we were out for you. And further, you were not able to do it, and he gave some reasons which we spare to relate, unless by your unreasonable refusal, you will force us and so

hasten that fire which is a-kindling too fast already, etc.

Out of another of his, bearing dated January 2, 1631.

We purpose to keep the Friendship and the White Angel for the last year[’s] voyages on the general account, hoping together they will rather produce profit than loss and breed less confusion in our accounts and less disturbance in our affections.

As for the White Angel, though we laid out the money and took bills of sale in our own names, yet none of us had so much as a thought (I dare say) of dividing from you in anything this year because we would not have the world (I may say Bristol) take notice of any breach betwixt Mr. Allerton and you, and he and us, and so disgrace him in his proceedings on in his intended voyage.

We have now let him the ship at £30 per month by charterparty [contract of cargo carriage] and bound him in a bond of a £1000 to perform covenants and bring her to London (if God please). And what he brings in her for you shall be marked with your mark and bills of laden taken and sent in Mr. Winslow’s letter, who is this day riding to Bristol about it. So, in this voyage, we deal and are with him as strangers.

He hath brought in three books of accounts, one for the company, another for Ashley’s business, and the

third for the White Angel and Friendship. The books or copies we purpose to send you, for you may discover the errors in them better than we. We can make it appear how much money he hath had of us, and you can charge him with the beaver he hath had of you.

The total sum as he hath put it is £7103-17s-1d. Of this, he hath expended and given to Mr. Vines and others about £543 odd money, and then by your books, you will find whether you had such and so much goods as he chargeth you withal. And this is all that I can say at present concerning these accounts. He thought to dispatch them in a few hours, but he and Straton and Fogg were above a month about them. But he could not stay till we had examined them for losing his fishing voyage, which I fear he hath already done, etc.

We bless God, who put both you and us in mind to send each to other, for, verily, had he run on in that desperate and chargeable course one year more, we had not been able to support him. Nay, both he and we must have lain in the ditch and sunk under the burthen [burden], etc. Had there been an orderly course taken and your business better managed, assuredly (by the blessing of God), you had been the ablest plantation that, as we think or know, hath been undertaken by Englishmen, etc.

Thus far of these letters of Mr. Sherley's.

A few observations from the former letters, and then I shall set down the simple truth of the things (*thus in controversy between them*), at least as far as by any good evidence it could be made to appear, and so labor to be brief in so tedious and intricate a business which hung in expostulation between them many years before the same was ended. That though there will be often occasion to touch these things about other passages, yet I shall not need to be large therein, doing it here once and for all.

1. First, it seems to appear clearly that Ashley's business and the buying of this ship and the courses framed thereupon were first contrived and proposed by Mr. Allerton. As also that the pleas and pretenses which he made of the inability of the plantation to repay their moneys, etc., and the hopes he gave them of doing it with profit was more believed and rested on by them (*at least some of them*) than anything the plantation did or said.

2. It is like, though Mr. Allerton might think not to wrong the plantation in the main, yet his own gain and private ends led him aside in these things. For it came to be known (*and I have it in a letter under Mr. Sherley's hand*) that in the first two or three years of his employment, he had cleared up £400 and put it into a brewhouse of Mr. Collier's in London, at first under Mr. Sherley's name, etc., besides what he might have otherwise. Again, Mr. Sherley and he had particular [private]

dealings in some things, for he bought up the beaver that seamen and other passengers brought over to Bristol and at other places and charged the bills to London, which Mr. Sherley paid. And they got sometimes £50 apiece in a bargain, as was made known by Mr. Hatherley and others, besides what might be otherwise, which might make Mr. Sherley harken unto him in many things. And yet I believe, as he in his aforementioned letter writ, he never would side in any particular [private] trade which he conceived would wrong the plantation and eat up and destroy the general.

3. Thirdly, it may be perceived that seeing they had done so much for the plantation, both in former adventures and late disbursements, and also that Mr. Allerton was the first occasioner of bringing them upon these new designs (*which at first seemed fair and profitable unto them*) and unto which they agreed, but now, seeing them to turn to loss and decline to greater entanglements, they thought it more meet for the plantation to bear them than themselves (*who had borne much in other things already*). And so took advantage of such commission and power as Mr. Allerton had formerly had as their agent to devolve these things upon them.

4. Fourthly, with pity and compassion (*touching Mr. Allerton*), I may say with the apostle to Timothy, 1 Timothy 6:9, they that will be rich fall into many temptations and snares, etc., and pierce

themselves through with many sorrows, etc., for the love of money is the root of all evil, verse 10. God give him to see the evil in his failings that he may find mercy by repentance for the wrongs he hath done to any and this poor plantation, in special. They that do such things do not only bring themselves into snares and sorrows, but many with them (*though in another kind*), as lamentable experience shows and is too manifest in this business.

Now, about these ships and their setting forth. The truth (*as far as could be learned*) is this. The motion about setting forth the fishing ship (*called the Friendship*) came first from the plantation and the reasons of it (*as is before remembered*), but [it was] wholly left to themselves to do or not to do, as they saw cause. But when it fell into consideration, and the design was held to be profitable and hopeful, it was propounded by some of them [partners] why might not they do it of themselves, seeing they must disburse all the money, and what need they have any reference to the plantation in that? They might take the profit themselves towards other losses and need not let the plantation share therein. And if their ends were otherwise answered for their supplies to come to them in time, it would be well enough.

So they hired her and set her out and freighted her as full as she could carry with passengers' goods that belonged to the Massachusetts, which rise to a good sum of money, intending to send

the plantation's supply in the other ship. The effect of this, Mr. Hatherley not only declared afterward upon occasion but affirmed upon oath taken before the governor and deputy governor of the Massachusetts, Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Dudley, that this ship *Friendship* was not set out nor intended for the joint partnership of the plantation, but for the particular [private] account of Mr. James Sherley, Mr. Beauchamp, Mr. Andrews, Mr. Allerton, and himself. This deposition was taken at Boston the twenty-ninth of August 1639, as is to be seen under their hands, besides some other concurrent testimonies declared at several times to sundry [several] of them.

About the *White Angel*, though she was first bought, or at least the price beaten, by Mr. Allerton (*at Bristol*), yet that had been nothing if Mr. Sherley had not liked it and disbursed the money. And that she was not intended for the plantation appears by sundry [several] evidences. As first, the bills of sale or charterparties [contracts of cargo carriage] were taken in their own names, without any mention or reference to the plantation at all, viz. Mr. Sherley, Mr. Beauchamp, Mr. Andrews, Mr. Denison, and Mr. Allerton, for Mr. Hatherley fell off and would not join with them in this. That she was not bought for their account, Mr. Hatherley took his oath before the parties aforesaid the day and year above written.

[INSERTED—] About the *White Angel*, they all met at a certain tavern in London where they had a dinner prepared and had conference with a factor about selling of her in Spain or at Porto Port [Portugal], as hath been before mentioned, as Mr. Hatherley manifested and Mr. Allerton could not deny. —

Mr. Allerton took his oath to like effect concerning this ship, the *White Angel*, before the governor and deputy the seventh of September 1639 and likewise deposed the same time that Mr. Hatherley and himself did, in the behalf of themselves and the said Mr. Sherley, Mr. Andrews, and Mr. Beauchamp, agree and undertake to discharge and save harmless all the rest of the partners and purchasers of and from the said losses of *Friendship* for £200, which was to be discounted thereupon, as by their depositions (*which are in writing*) may appear more at large and some other depositions and other testimonies by Mr. Winslow, etc. But I suppose these may be sufficient to evince the truth in these things against all pretense to the contrary. And yet the burthen [burden] lay still upon the plantation, or to speak more truly and rightly, upon those few that were engaged for all, for they were fain to wade through these things without any help from any.

Mr. Winslow deposed the same time before the governor aforesaid, etc., that when he came into England and the partners inquired of the success

of the *White Angel*, which should have been laden with bass and so sent for Porto of Portugal and their ship and goods to be sold, having informed them that they were like to fail in their lading of bass, that then Mr. James Sherley used these terms, "Feck, we must make one account of all," and thereupon pressed him as agent for the partners in New England to accept the said ship *White Angel* and her accounts into the joint partnership, which he refused for many reasons and after, received instructions from New England to refuse her if she should be offered. Which instructions he showed them, and whereas he was often pressed to accept her, he ever refused her, etc.

Concerning Mr. Allerton's accounts, they were so large and intricate as they could not well understand them, much less examine and correct them without a great deal of time and help and his own presence, which was now hard to get amongst them. And it was two or three years before they could bring them to any good pass but never make them perfect. I know not how it came to pass or what mystery was in it, for he took upon him[self] to make up all accounts till this time, though Mr. Sherley was their agent to buy and sell their goods and did more than he therein. Yet he passed in accounts in a manner for all disbursements, both concerning goods bought which he never saw but were done when he was here in the country or at sea, and all the expenses

of the Leiden people done by others in his absence, the charges about the patent, etc. In all which he made them debtor to him above £300 and demanded payment of it.

But when things came to scanning, he was found above £2000 debtor to them (*this wherein Mr. Hatherley and he being jointly engaged, which he only had being included*), besides I know not how much that could never be cleared and interest moneys which ate them up, which he never accounted. Also, they were fain to allow such large bills of charges as were intolerable. The charges of the patent came to above £500, and yet nothing done in it but what was done at first without any confirmation, £30 given at a clap and £50 spent in a journey. No marvel, therefore, if Mr. Sherley said in his letter [that] if their business had been better managed, they might have been the richest plantation of any English at that time.

Yea, he screwed up his poor old father-in-law's account to above £200 and brought it on the general account. And to befriend him, made most of it to arise out of those goods taken up by him at Bristol at £50 per cent because he knew they would never let it lie on the old man. When, alas, he, poor man, never dreamt of any such thing nor that what he had could arise near that value but thought that many of them had been freely bestowed on him and his children by Mr. Allerton. Neither in truth did they come near that value in

worth, but that sum was blown up by interest and high prices, which the company did for the most part bear (*he deserving far more*), being most sorry that he should have a name to have much when he had in effect little.

This year also, Mr. Sherley sent over an account which was in a manner but a cash account what Mr. Allerton had had of them and disbursed, for which he referred to his accounts, besides an account of beaver sold which Mr. Winslow and some others had carried over and a large supply of goods which Mr. Winslow had sent and brought over. All which was comprised in that account and all the disbursements about the *Friendship* and *White Angel* and what concerned their accounts from first to last or anything else he could charge the partners with. So they were made debtor in the foot of that account £4770-19s-2d, besides £1000 still due for the purchase yet unpaid, notwithstanding all the beaver and returns that both Ashley and they had made, which were not small.

So as a while before, whereas their great care was how to pay the purchase and these other few debts which were upon them, now it was with them as it was sometimes with Saul's father who left caring for the asses and sorrowed for his son, 1 Samuel 10:2. So that which before they looked at as a heavy burthen [burden], they now esteem but a small thing and a light matter in comparison of what was now upon them. And thus, the Lord

oftentimes deals with His people to teach them and humble them that He may do them good in the later end.

In these accounts of Mr. Sherley's, some things were obscure and some things twice charged, as a one hundred of Barnstaple rugs which came in the *Friendship* and cost £75, charged before by Mr. Allerton and now by him again, with other particulars of like nature doubtful to be twice or thrice charged, as also a sum of £600 which Mr. Allerton denied and they could never understand for what it was. They sent a note of these and such like things afterward to Mr. Sherley by Mr. Winslow but (*I know not how it came to pass*) could never have them explained.

Into these deep sums had Mr. Allerton run them in two years, for in the latter end of the year 1628, all their debts did not amount to much above £400, as was then noted, and now come to so many thousands. And whereas in the year 1629, Mr. Sherley and Mr. Hatherley being at Bristol and writ a large letter from thence in which they had given an account of the debts and what sums were then disbursed, Mr. Allerton never left begging and entreating of them till they had put it out. So they blotted out two lines in that letter in which the sums were contained and writ upon it so as not a word could not be perceived, as since by them was confessed and by the letters may be seen. And thus were they kept hoodwinked till now they were so deeply engaged.

And whereas Mr. Sherley did so earnestly press that Mr. Allerton might be sent over to finish the great business about the patent, as may be seen in his letter writ 1629, as is before recorded, and that they should be earnest with his wife to suffer him to go, etc., he hath since confessed by a letter under my hands that it was Mr. Allerton's own doings and not his, and he made him write his words and not his own. The patent was but a pretense and not the thing. Thus were they abused in their simplicity and no better than bought and sold, as it may seem.

And to mend the matter, Mr. Allerton doth in a sort wholly now desert them. Having brought them into the briars, he leaves them to get out as they can. But God crossed him mightily, for he, having hired the ship of Mr. Sherley at £30 a month, he set forth again with a most wicked and drunken crew and, for covetousness's sake, did so overlade her, not only filling her hold but so stuffed her between decks as she was walt [unsteady] and could not bear sail.

And they had like to have been cast away at sea and were forced to put for Milford Haven and new stow her and put some of their ordnance [artillery] and more heavy goods in the bottom, which lost them time and made them come late into the country, lose their season, and made a worse voyage than the year before. But being come into the country, he sells trading

commodities to any that will buy, to the great prejudice of the plantation here.

But that which is worse, what he could not sell, he trusts and sets up a company of base fellows and makes them traders to run into every hole and into the river of Kennebec to glean away the trade from the house there, about the patent and privilege whereof he had dashed away so much money of theirs here. And now what in him lay went about to take away the benefit thereof and to overthrow them.

Yea, not only this, but he furnishes a company and joins with some consorts (*being now deprived of Ashley at Penobscot*) and sets up a trading house beyond Penobscot to cut off the trade from thence, also. But the French, perceiving that that would be greatly to their damage also, they came in their beginning before they were well settled and displanted them, slew two of their men, and took all their goods to a good value, the loss being most, if not all, Mr. Allerton's. For though some of them should have been his partners, yet he trusted them for their parts. The rest of the men were sent into France, and this was the end of that project.

The rest of those he trusted, being loose and drunken fellows, did for the most part but cozen [trick] and cheat him of all they got into their hands, that howsoever he did his friends some hurt hereby for the present, yet he got little good

but went by the loss by God's just hand. After, in time, when he came to Plymouth, the church called him to account for these and other his gross miscarriages. He confessed his fault and promised better walking and that he would wind himself out of these courses so soon as he could, etc.

This year also, Mr. Sherley would needs send them over a new accountant. He had made mention of such a thing the year before, but they writ him word that their charge was great already and they need not increase it, as this would, but if they were well dealt with and had their goods well sent over, they could keep their accounts here themselves. Yet he now sent one which they did not refuse, being a younger brother of Mr. Winslow's whom they had been at charge to instruct at London before he came.

He came over in the *White Angel* with Mr. Allerton and there began his first employment. For though Mr. Sherley had so far befriended Mr. Allerton as to cause Mr. Winslow to ship the supply sent to the partners here in his ship and give him four pounds per tun, whereas others carried for three. And he made them pay their freight ready down before the ship went out of the harbor, whereas others paid upon certificate of the goods being delivered. And their freight came to upward of six score pounds, yet they had much ado to have their goods delivered, for some of them were changed, as bread and peas. Then

were forced to take worse for better; neither could they ever get all. And if Josias Winslow had not been there, it had been worse, for he had the invoice and order to send them to the trading houses.

[Inserted—] This year, their house at Penobscot was robbed by the French and all their goods of any worth. They carried away to the value of £400 or £500 as the cost first penny-worth in beaver three hundred pounds weight and the rest in trading goods as coats, rugs, blanket, biscuit, etc.

It was in this manner. The master of the house and part of the company with him were come with their vessel to the westward to fetch a supply of goods, which was brought over for them. In the meantime comes a small French ship into the harbor (*and amongst the company was a false Scot*). They pretended they were newly come from the sea and knew not where they were and that their vessel was very leaky and desired they might haul her ashore and stop their leaks. And many French compliments they used and congees [ceremonial bows] they made.

And in the end, seeing but three or four simple men that were servants and by this Scotchman understanding that the master and the rest of the company were gone from home, they fell off commending their guns and muskets that lay upon racks by the wall side and took them down to look on them, asking if they were charged. And

when they were possessed of them, one presents a piece [gun] ready-charged against the servants and another a pistol and bid them not stir but quietly deliver them their goods and carries some of the men aboard and made the other help to carry away the goods. And when they had took what they pleased, they set them at liberty and went their way with this mock, bidding them tell their master when he came that some of the Isle of Rey gentlemen had been there. —

[Inserted—] This year, one Sir Christopher Gardiner, being as himself said distended of that house that the Bishop of Winchester came of (*who was so great a persecutor of God's saints in Queen Mary's days*) and being a great traveler, received his first honor of knighthood at Jerusalem, being made Knight of the Sepulcher there. He came into these parts under pretense of forsaking the world and to live a private life in a godly course, not unwilling to put himself upon any mean [lacking eminence] employments and take any pains for his living and sometime offered himself to join to the churches in sundry [several] places.

He brought over with him a servant or two and a comely young woman whom he called his cousin (*but it was suspected she, after the Italian manner, was his concubine [woman who lives unmarried with a man]*), living at the Massachusetts. For some miscarriages which he should have answered, he fled away from authority and got among the Indians of these parts. They sent after

him but could not get him and promised some reward to these that should find him.

The Indians came to the governor here and told where he was and asked if they might kill him. He told them no, by no means, but if they could take him and bring him hither, they should be paid for their pains. They said he had a gun and a rapier, and he would kill them if they went about it, and the Massachusetts Indians said they might kill him. But the governor told them no, they should not kill him, but watch their opportunity and take him.

And so they did, for when they light of [discovered] him by a riverside, he got into a canoe to get from them. And when they came near him, whilst he presented his piece [gun] at them to keep them off, the stream carried the canoe against a rock and tumbled both him and his piece [gun] and rapier into the water. Yet he got out, and having a little dagger by his side, they durst [dared] not close with [approach] him.

But getting long poles, they soon beat his dagger out of his hand, and so he was glad to yield, and they brought him to the governor, but his hands and arms were swollen and very sore with the blows they had given him. So he [governor] used [treated] him kindly and sent him to a lodging where his arms were bathed and anointed, and he was quickly well again and blamed the Indians for

beating him so much. They said that they did but a little whip him with sticks.

In his lodging, those that made his bed found a little notebook that by accident had slipped out of his pocket or some private place in which was a memorial [of] what day he was reconciled to the pope and church of Rome and in what university he took his scapula and such and such degrees. It being brought to the governor, he kept it and sent to the governor of the Massachusetts word of his taking, who sent for him. So the governor sent him [Gardiner] and these notes to the governor there, who took it very thankfully. But after he [Gardiner] got for England, he showed his malice, but God prevented him.

See the governor's letter on the other side.

Sir,

It hath pleased God to bring Sir Christopher Gardiner safe to us with those that came with him. And howsoever I never intended any hard measure to him but to respect and use [treat] him according to his quality, yet I let him know your care of him and that he shall speed the better for your mediation.

It was a special providence of God to bring those notes of his to our hands. I desire that you will please to speak to all that are privy to them not to discover [reveal] them to anyone, for that may

frustrate the means of any further use to be made of them. The good Lord, our God, who hath always ordered things for the good of His poor churches here, direct us in this aright and dispose it to a good issue.

I am sorry we put you to so much trouble about this gentleman, especially at this time of great employment, but I knew not how to avoid it. I must again entreat you to let me know what charge and trouble any of your people have been at about him that it may be recompensed. So with the true affection of a friend desiring all happiness to yourself and yours and to all my worthy friends with you (whom I love in the Lord), I commend you to His grace and good providence and rest your most assured friend,

*John Winthrop
Boston, May 5, 1631*

By occasion hereof, I will take a little liberty to declare what fell out by this man's means and malice, complying with others. And though I doubt not but it will be more fully done by my honored friends whom it did more directly concern and have more particular knowledge of the matter, yet I will here give a hint of the same and God's providence in preventing the hurt that might have come by the same. The intelligence I had by a letter from my much honored and beloved friend Mr. John Winthrop, Governor of Massachusetts.

Sir,

Upon a petition exhibited by Sir Christopher Gardiner, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Captain Mason, etc., against you and us, the cause was heard before the lords of the Privy Council and after reported to the king. The success whereof makes it evident to all that the Lord hath care of His people here.

The passages are admirable and too long to write (I heartily wish an opportunity to impart them unto you, being many sheets of paper), but the conclusion was (against all men's expectation) an order for our encouragement and much blame and disgrace upon the adversaries, which calls for much thankfulness from us all, which we purpose (the Lord willing) to express in a day of thanksgiving to our merciful God (I doubt not but you will consider if it be not fit for you to join in it), who, as He hath humbled us by His late correction, so He hath lifted us up by an abundant rejoicing in our deliverance out of so desperate a danger. So as that which our enemies built their hopes upon to ruin us by, He hath mercifully disposed to our great advantage. As I shall further acquaint you when occasion shall serve.

The copy of the order follows.

AT THE COURT AT WHITEHALL
THE 19 JANUARY 1632

Present

Sigillum [Seal]

*Lord Privy Seal, Lord Cottington
Earl of Dorset, Mr. Treasurer
Lord Viscount Falkland, Mr. Vice Chamberlain
Lord Bishop of London, Mr. Secretary Cooke
Mister Secretary Windebank*

Whereas His Majesty hath lately been informed of great distraction and much disorder in that plantation in the parts of America called New England, which, if they be true and suffered to run on, would tend to the great dishonor of this kingdom and utter ruin of that plantation. For prevention whereof and for the orderly settling of government according to the intention of these patents which have been granted by His Majesty and from his late royal father, King James, it hath pleased His Majesty that the lords and others of his Most Honorable Privy Council should take the same into consideration.

Their lordships, in the first place, thought fit to make a committee of this board to take examination of the matters informed. Which committees, having called divers [several] of the principal adventurers in that plantation and heard those that are complaintants against them, most of the things informed being denied and resting to be proved by parties that must be called from that place, which required a long expense of time.

And at present, their lordships finding the adventurers were upon dispatch of men, victuals [food], and merchandise for that place, all which would be at a stand if the adventurers should have discouragement or take suspicion that the State here had no good opinion of that plantation, their lordships not laying the fault or fancies (if any be) of some particular men upon the general government or principal adventurers (which in due time is further to be inquired into), have thought fit in the meantime to declare that the appearances were so fair and hope so great that the country would prove both beneficial to this kingdom and profitable to the particular [private] adventurers as that the adventurers had cause to go on cheerfully with their undertakings and rest assured if things were carried as was pretended when the patents were granted and accordingly as by the patents it is appointed, His Majesty would not only maintain the liberties and privileges heretofore granted, but supply anything further that might tend to the good government, prosperity, and comfort of his people there of that place, etc.

William Trumbull

Anno Domini 1632



Mr. Allerton returning for England little regarded his bound of a £1000 to perform covenants. For whereas he was bound by the same to bring the ship to London and to pay £30 per month for her hire, he did neither of both, for he carried her to Bristol again, from whence he intended to set her out again and so did the third time into these parts (*as after will appear*). And though she had been ten months upon the former voyage at £30 per month, yet he never paid penny for hire.

It should seem he knew well enough how to deal with Mr. Sherley. And Mr. Sherley, though he would needs tie her and her account upon the general, yet he would dispose of her as himself pleased. For though Mr. Winslow had in their names protested against the receiving her on that

account, or if ever they should hope to prevail in such a thing, yet never to suffer Mr. Allerton to have any more to do in her, yet he the last year let her wholly unto him and enjoined them to send all their supply in her to their prejudice, as is before noted.

And now, though he broke his bonds, kept no covenant, paid no hire nor was ever like to keep covenants, yet now he goes and sells him all, both ship and all her accounts from first to last (*and in effect, he might as well have given him the same*). And not only this, but he doth as good as provide a sanctuary for him, for he gives him one year's time to prepare his account and then to give up the same to them here, and then another year for him to make payment of what should be due upon that account.

And in the meantime writes earnestly to them not to interrupt or hinder him from his business or stay [keep] him about clearing accounts, etc., so as he, in the meantime, gathers up all moneys due for freight and any other debts belonging either to her or the *Friendship's* accounts as his own particular. And after, sells ship and ordnance [artillery], fish, and what he had raised in Spain, according to the first design in effect. And who had or what became of the money, he best knows.

In the meantime, their hands were bound and could do nothing but look on till he had made all away into other men's hands (*save a few cattle*

and a little land and some small matters he had here at Plymouth) and so in the end, removed as he had already his person, so all his from hence. This will better appear by Mr. Sherley's letter.

Sir,

These few lines are further to give you to understand that seeing you and we that never differed yet but about the White Angel which somewhat troubleth us, as I perceive it doth you. And now, Mr. Allerton being here, we have had some conference with him about her and find him very willing to give you and us all content that possibly he can, though he burthen [burden] himself. He is content to take the White Angel wholly on himself, notwithstanding he met with pirates near the coast of Ireland which took away his best sails and other provisions from her. So as, verily, if we should now sell her, she would yield but a small price besides her ordnance [artillery]. And to set her forth again with fresh money, we would not, she being now at Bristol.

Wherefore, we thought it best both for you and us, Mr. Allerton being willing to take her, to accept of his bond of two thousand pounds to give you a true and perfect account and take the whole charge of the White Angel wholly to himself from the first to the last. The account he is to make and perfect within twelve months from the date of this letter and then to pay you at six and six months after, whatsoever shall be due unto you and us upon the

foot of that account. And, verily, notwithstanding all the disasters he hath had, I am persuaded he hath enough to pay all men here and there, only they must have patience till he can gather in what is due to him there. I do not write this slightly but upon some ground of what I have seen (and perhaps you know not of) under the hands and seals of some, etc. I rest your assured friend,

December 6, 1632

But here's not a word of the breach of former bonds and covenants or payment of the ship's hire. This is passed by as if no such thing had been, besides what bonds or obligations soever they had of him. There never came any to the hands or sight of the partners here. And for this that Mr. Sherley seems to intimate (*as a secret*) of his ability under the hands and seals of some, it was but a trick, having gathered up an account of what was owing from such base fellows as he had made traders for him and other debts and then got Mr. Mayhew and some others to affirm under their hand and seal that they had seen such accounts that were due to him.

Mr. Hatherley came over again this year but upon his own occasions and began to make preparation to plant and dwell in the country. He, with his former dealings, had wound in what money he had in the partnership into his own hands and so gave off all partnership (*except in name*) as was found in the issue of things. Neither did he

meddle or take any care about the same. Only he was troubled about his engagement about the *Friendship*, as will after appear, and now partly about that account in some reckonings between Mr. Allerton and him and some debts that Mr. Allerton otherwise owed him upon dealing between them in particular [private]. He drew up an account of above £2000 and would fain have engaged the partners here with it because Mr. Allerton had been their agent. But they told him they had been fooled long enough with such things and showed him that it no way belonged to them but told him he must look to make good his engagement for the *Friendship*, which caused some trouble between Mr. Allerton and him.

Mr. William Peirce did the like [same], Mr. Allerton being wound into his debt also upon particular [private] dealings, as if they had been bound to make good all men's debts. But they easily shook off these things. But Mr. Allerton hereby ran into much trouble and vexation as well as he had troubled others, for Mr. Denison sued him for the money he had disbursed for the sixth part of the *White Angel* and recovered the same with damages.

Though the partners were thus plunged into great engagements and oppressed with unjust debts, yet the Lord preserved their trading that they made yearly large returns and had soon wound themselves out of all, if yet they had otherwise

been well dealt withal, as will more appear hereafter.

Also, the people of the plantation began to grow in their outward estates by reason of the flowing of many people into the country, especially into the Bay of the Massachusetts. By which means, corn and cattle rose to a great price, by which many were much enriched and commodities grew plentiful. And yet, in other regards, this benefit turned to their hurt and this accession of strength to their weakness.

For now, as their stocks increased and the increase vendible, there was no longer any holding them together. But now they must of necessity go to their great lots. They could not otherwise keep their cattle and, having oxen grown, they must have land for plowing and tillage. And no man now thought he could live except [unless] he had cattle and a great deal of ground to keep them, all striving to increase their stocks. By which means they were scattered all over the bay quickly, and the town in which they lived compactly till now was left very thin and in a short time almost desolate.

And if this had been all, it had been thought too much loss. But the church must also be divided, and those that had lived so long together in Christian and comfortable fellowship must now part and suffer many divisions. First, those that lived on their lots on the other side of the bay

(called *Duxbury*), they could not long bring their wives and children to the public worship and church meetings here. But with such burthen [burden] as growing to some competent number, they sued to be dismissed and become a body of themselves. And so they were dismissed (*about this time*), though very unwillingly. But to touch this sad matter and handle things together that fell out afterwards.

To prevent any further scattering from this place and weakening of the same, it was thought best to give out some good farms to special persons that would promise to live at Plymouth and likely to be helpful to the church or commonwealth and so tie the lands to Plymouth as farms for the same. And there, they might keep their cattle and tillage by some servants and retain their dwellings here. And so some special lands were granted at a place general called Green's Harbor, where no allotments had been in the former division, a place very well meadowed and fit to keep and rear cattle good store.

But alas, this remedy proved worse than the disease. For within a few years, those that had thus got footing there rent [tore] themselves away, partly by force and partly wearing the rest with importunity [persistent begging] and pleas of necessity so as they must either suffer them to go or live in continual opposition and contention. And others still, as they conceived themselves straitened or to want accommodation, broke away

under one pretense or other, thinking their own conceived necessity and the example of others a warrant sufficient for them. And this, I fear, will be the ruin of New England, at least of the churches of God there, and will provoke the Lord's displeasure against them.

This year, Mr. William Peirce came into the country and brought goods and passengers in a ship called the *Lion*, which belonged chiefly to Mr. Sherley and the rest of the London partners (*but these here had nothing to do with her*). In this ship (*besides beaver, which they had sent home before*), they sent upward of eight hundred pounds in her and some otter skins and also the copies of Mr. Allerton's accounts, desiring that they would also peruse and examine them and rectify such things as they should find amiss in them. And the rather because they were better acquainted with the goods bought there and the disbursements made than they could be here. Yea, a great part were done by themselves, though Mr. Allerton brought in the account and sundry [several] things seemed to them obscure and had need of clearing.

Also, they sent a book of exceptions against his accounts in such things as they could manifest and doubted not but they might add more thereunto. And also showed them how much Mr. Allerton was debtor to the account and desired seeing they had now put the ship *White Angel* and all wholly into his power and tied their hands

here, that they could not call him to account for anything till the time was expired which they had given him. And by that time, other men would get their debts of him (*as some had done already by suing him*), and he would make all away here quickly out of their reach. And therefore prayed them to look to things and get payment of him there, as it was all the reason they should, seeing they kept all the bonds and covenants they made with him in their own hands. And here they could do nothing by the course they had taken nor had anything to show if they should go about it.

But it pleased God this ship, being first to go to Virginia before she went home, was cast away on that coast not far from Virginia, and their beaver was all lost (*which was the first loss they sustained in that kind*). But Mr. Peirce and the men saved their lives and also their letters and got into Virginia and so safely home, and the accounts were now sent from hence again to them.

A part of Mr. Peirce, his letter from Virginia. It was dated in December 25, 1632, and came to their hands the seventh of April before they heard anything from England.

Dear Friends, etc.,

The bruit [rumor] of this fatal stroke that the Lord hath brought both on me and you all will come to your ears before this cometh to your hands (it is like), and therefore, I shall not need to enlarge the

particulars, etc. My whole estate (for the most part) is taken away and so yours in a great measure by this and your former losses.¹⁷ It is time to look about us before the wrath of the Lord break forth to utter destruction. The good Lord give us all grace to search our hearts and try our ways and turn unto the Lord and humble ourselves under His mighty hand and seek atonement, etc.

Dear friends, you may know that all your beaver and the books of your accounts are swallowed up in the sea. Your letters remain with me and shall be delivered if God bring me home. But what should I more say? Have we lost our outward estates? Yet a happy loss if our souls may gain. There is yet more in the Lord Jehovah than ever we had yet in the world. Oh, that our foolish hearts could yet be weaned from the things here below which are vanity and vexation of spirit. And yet we fools catch after shadows that fly away and are gone in a moment, etc.

Thus, with my continual remembrance of you in my poor desires to the throne of grace, beseeching God to renew His love and favor towards you all in and through the Lord Jesus Christ, both in spiritual and temporal good things as may be most to the glory and praise of His name and your everlasting good. So I rest your afflicted brother in Christ,

¹⁷ BRADFORD'S SIDE NOTE: *He means by the French and Mr. Allerton.*

William Peirce
Virginia, December 25, 1632

And thus much of the passages of this year.

Anno Domini 1633



*This year, Mr. Edward Winslow was
chosen governor.*

By the first return this year, they had letters from Mr Sherley of Mr. Allerton's further ill success and the loss by Mr. Peirce, with many sad complaints but little hope of anything to be got of Mr. Allerton or how their accounts might be either eased or anyway rectified by them there, but now saw plainly that the burthen [burden] of all would be cast on their backs.

The special passages of his letters I shall here insert as shall be pertinent to these things. For though I am weary of this tedious and uncomfortable subject, yet for the clearing of the truth, I am compelled to be more large in the opening of these matters upon which so much

trouble hath ensued and so many hard censures have passed on both sides. I would not be partial to either but deliver the truth in all and as near as I can in their own words and passages and so leave it to the impartial judgment of any that shall come to read or view these things.

His letters are as follows, dated June 24, 1633.

Loving Friends,

My last¹⁸ was sent in the Mary and John by Mr. William Collier, etc. I then certified you of the great and uncomfortable and unseasonable loss you and we had in the loss of Mr. Peirce, his ship the Lion, but the Lord's holy name be blessed who gives and takes as it pleaseth Him. His will be done. Amen.

I then related unto you that fearful accident, or rather judgment, the Lord pleased to lay on London Bridge (by fire) and therein gave you a touch of my great loss. The Lord, I hope, will give me patience to bear it and faith to trust in Him and not in those slippery and uncertain things of this world.

I hope Mr. Allerton is near upon safe with you by this, but he had many disasters here before he could get away. Yet the last was a heavy one. His ship, going out of the harbor at Bristol, by stormy weather, was so far driven on the shore as it cost him above £100 before she could be got off again. Verily, his case was so lamentable as I could not but

¹⁸ BRADFORD'S SIDE NOTE: March 22

afford him some help therein (and so did some mere strangers to him). Besides, your goods were in her, and if he had not been supported, he must have broke off his voyage and so loss could not have been avoided on all sides.

When he first bought her, I think he had made a saving match if he had then sunk her and never set her forth. I hope he sees the Lord's hand against him and will leave off those voyages. I think we did well in parting with her. She would have been but a clog to the account from time to time, and now, though we shall not get much by way of satisfaction, yet we shall lose no more.

And now, as before I have writ, I pray you finish all the accounts and reckonings with him there, for here he hath nothing but many debts that he stands engaged to many men for. Besides, here is not a man that will spend a day or scarce an hour about the accounts but myself, and that business will require more time and help than I can afford. I shall not need to say anymore. I hope you will do that which shall be best and just, to which add mercy, and consider his intent, though he failed in many particulars, which now cannot be helped, etc.

Tomorrow or next day at furthest, we are to pay £300, and Mr. Beauchamp is out of the town, yet the business I must do. Oh, the grief and trouble that man Mr. Allerton hath brought upon you and us. I cannot forget it, and to think on it draws many a sigh from my heart and tears from my eyes. And

now the Lord hath visited me with another great loss, yet I can undergo it with more patience. But this, I have foolishly pulled upon myself, etc.

And in another, he hath this passage.

By Mr Allerton's fair propositions and large promises, I have overrun myself. Verily, at this time, grief hinders me to write, and tears will not suffer me to see. Wherefore as you love these that ever loved you and that plantation, think upon us. Oh, what shall I say of that man who hath abused your trust and wronged our loves! But now to complain is too late. Neither can I complain of your backwardness, for I am persuaded it lies as heavy on your hearts as it doth on our purses or credits.

And had the Lord sent Mr. Peirce safe home, we had eased both you and us of some of those debts. The Lord, I hope, will give us patience to bear these crosses. And that great God whose care and providence is everywhere and specially over all those that desire truly to fear and serve Him, direct, guide, prosper, and bless you so as that you may be able (as I persuade myself you are willing) to discharge and take off this great and heavy burthen [burden] which now lies upon me for your sakes and, I hope in the end, for the good of you and many thousands more. For had not you and we joined and continued together, New England might yet have been scarce known, I am persuaded. Not so replenished and inhabited with honest English people as now it is. The Lord increase and bless

*them, etc. So, with my continual prayers for you all,
I rest your assured, loving friend,*

James Shirley

June 24, 1633

By this, it appears when Mr. Shirley sold him the ship and all her accounts, it was more for Mr. Allerton's advantage than theirs. And if they could get any there, well and good, for they were like to have nothing here, and what course was held to hinder them there hath already been manifested. And though Mr. Shirley became more sensible of his own condition by these losses and thereby more sadly and plainly to complain of Mr. Allerton, yet no course was taken to help them here, but all left unto themselves. Not so much as to examine and rectify the accounts by which it is like some hundreds of pounds might have been taken off, but very probable it is the more they saw was taken off, the loss might come unto themselves. But I leave these matters and come to other things.

Mr. Rogers Williams (*a man godly and zealous, having many precious parts but very unsettled in judgment*) came over first to the Massachusetts but, upon some discontent, left that place and came hither (*where he was friendly entertained according to their poor ability*) and exercised his gifts amongst them and after some time was admitted a member of the church and his teaching well approved, for the benefit whereof I still bless

God and am thankful to him even for his sharpest admonitions and reproofs, so far as they agreed with truth.

He this year began to fall into some strange opinions and from opinion to practice, which caused some controversy between the church and him and, in the end, some discontent on his part, by occasion whereof he left them something abruptly. Yet afterwards, [he] sued for his dismissal to the church of Salem, which was granted with some caution to them concerning him and what care they ought to have of him. But he soon fell into more things there, both to their and the government's trouble and disturbance. I shall not need to name particulars. They are too well known now to all, though for a time, the church here went under some hard censure by his occasion from some that afterwards smarted [suffered] themselves. But he is to be pitied and prayed for, and so I shall leave the matter and desire the Lord to show him his errors and rectify him into the way of truth and give him a settled judgment and constancy in the same. For I hope he belongs to the Lord and that He will show him mercy.

Having had formerly converse and familiarity with the Dutch (*as is before remembered*), they, seeing them seated here in a barren quarter, told them of a river called by them the Fresh River but now is known by the name of Connecticut River, which they often commended unto them for a fine

place both for plantation and trade and wished them to make use of it. But their hands being full otherwise, they let it pass. But afterwards, there coming a company of banished Indians into these parts that were driven out from thence by the potency of the Pequots which usurped upon them and drive [drove] them from thence, they often solicited them to go thither, and they should have much trade, especially if they would keep a house there.

And having now good store of commodities and also need to look out where they could advantage themselves to help them out of their great engagements, they now began to send that way to discover the same and trade with the natives. They found it to be a fine place, but had no great store of trade. But the Indians excused the same in regard of the season and fear the Indians were in of their enemies. So they tried divers [several] times, not without profit, but saw the most certainty would be by keeping a house there to receive the trade when it came down out of the inland.

These Indians, not seeing them very forward to build there, solicited them of the Massachusetts in like sort (*for their end was to be restored to their country again*), but they in the Bay, being but lately come, were not fit for the same. But some of their chief made a motion to join with the partners here to trade jointly with them in that river, the which they were willing to embrace.

And so they should have built and put in equal stock together, a time of meeting was appointed at the Massachusetts, and some of the chief here were appointed to treat with them and went accordingly.

But they [Massachusetts Bay] cast many fears of dangers and loss and the like, which was perceived to be the main obstacles, though they alleged they were not provided of trading goods. But those here offered at present to put in sufficient for both, provided they would become engaged for the half and prepare against the next year. They confessed more could not be offered but thanked them and told them they had no mind to it.

They [Plymouth] then answered they hoped it would be no offense unto them if themselves went on without them if they saw it meet. They said there was no reason they should [be offended], and thus, this treaty broke off. And those here took convenient time to make a beginning there and were the first English that both discovered that place and built in the same, though they were little better than thrust out of it afterward, as may appear.

But the Dutch began now to repent and, hearing of their purpose and preparation, endeavored to prevent them and got in a little before them and made a slight fort and planted two pieces of ordnance [artillery], threatening to stop their

passage. But they, having made a small frame of a house ready and having a great new bark [sailboat], they stowed their frame in her hold and boards to cover and finish it, having nails and all other provisions fitting for their use. This they did the rather that they might have a present defense against the Indians, who were much offended that they brought home and restored the right sachem [chief] of the place (*called Natawanute*). So as they were to encounter with a double danger in this attempt, both the Dutch and the Indians.

When they came up the river, the Dutch demanded what they intended and whither they would go. They answered, "Up the river to trade" (*now their order was to go and seat above them*). They bid them strike and stay, or else they would shoot them (*and stood by their ordnance [weapons] ready fitted*). They answered they had commission from the governor of Plymouth to go up the river to such a place, and [even] if they did shoot, they must obey their order and proceed. They would not molest them but would go on. So they passed along, and though the Dutch threatened them hard, yet they shoot not.

Coming to their place, they clapped up their house quickly and landed their provisions and left the company appointed and sent the bark [sailboat] home and afterwards palisaded their house about and fortified themselves better. The Dutch sent word home to the Manhattan what

was done, and in process of time, they sent a band of about seventy men in warlike manner with colors displayed to assault them. But seeing them strengthened and that it would cost blood, they came to parley and returned in peace. And this was their entrance there who deserved to have held it and not by friends to have been thrust out, as in a sort they were, as will after appear.

They did the Dutch no wrong, for they took not a foot of any land they bought but went to the place above them and bought that tract of land which belonged to these Indians which they carried with them and their friends, with whom the Dutch had nothing to do. But of these matters, more in another place.

It pleased the Lord to visit them this year with an infectious fever of which many fell very sick, and upward of twenty persons died, men and women, besides children, and sundry [several] of them of their ancient friends which had lived in Holland, as Thomas Blossom, Richard Masterson, with sundry [several] others. And in the end (*after he had much helped others*), Samuel Fuller, who was their surgeon and physician and had been a great help and comfort unto them as in his faculty, so otherwise being a deacon of the church, a man godly and forward to do good, being much missed after his death. And he and the rest of their brethren much lamented by them and caused much sadness and mourning amongst them, which caused them to humble themselves and

seek the Lord. And towards winter, it pleased the Lord the sickness ceased. This disease also swept away many of the Indians from all the places near adjoining.

And the spring before, especially all the month of May, there was such a quantity of a great sort of flies, like (*for bigness*) to wasps or bumblebees, which came out of holes in the ground and replenished all the woods and eat the green things and made such a constant yelling noise as made all the woods ring of them and ready to deaf[en] the hearers. They have not by the English been heard or seen before or since. But the Indians told them that sickness would follow, and so it did in June, July, August, and the chief heat of summer.

It pleased the Lord to enable them this year to send home a great quantity of beaver, besides paying all their charges and debts at home, which good return did much encourage their friends in England. They sent in beaver 3366 pounds weight and much of it coat beaver, which yielded twenty shillings per pound and some of it above. And of otter skins, 346 sold also at a good price (*the skin was sold at fourteen shillings and fifteen the pound*). And thus much of the affairs of this year.

Anno Domini 1634



*This year, Mr. Thomas Prence was chosen
governor.*

Mr. Sherley's letters were very brief in answer of theirs this year. I will forbear to copy any part thereof; only name a head or two therein. First, he desires they will take nothing ill in what he formerly writ, professing his good affection towards them as before, etc.

Secondly, for Mr. Allerton's accounts, he is persuaded they must suffer, and that in no small sums, and that they have cause enough to complain, but it was now too late. And that he had failed them there, these here, and himself in his own aims. And that now having thus left them here, he feared God had or would leave him, and

it would not be strange but a wonder if he fell not into worse things, etc.

Thirdly, he blessed God and is thankful to them for the good return made this year. This is the effect of his letters, other things being of more private nature.

I am now to enter upon one of the saddest things that befell [happened to] them since they came. But before I begin, it will be needful to premise such part of their patent as gives them right and privilege at Kennebec, as followeth.

The said Council hath further given, granted, bargained, sold, enfeoffed [deeded in exchange for service], allotted, assigned, and set over, and by these presents do clearly and absolutely give, grant, bargain, sell, alien [transfer], enfeoff, allot, assign, and confirm unto the said William Bradford, his heirs, associates, and assigns:

All that tract of land or part of New England in America aforesaid which lieth within or between and extendeth itself from the utmost limits of Cobbosseecontee which adjoineth to the river of Kennebec towards the western ocean and a place called the Falls of Nequamkick in America aforesaid, and the space of fifteen English miles on each side of the said river commonly called Kennebec River, and all the said river called Kennebec that lieth within the said limits and bounds eastward, westward, northward, and

southward last above mentioned, and all lands, grounds, soils, rivers, waters, fishing, etc.

And by virtue of the authority to us derived by His said late Majesty's letters patents to take, apprehend, seize, and make prize of all such persons, their ships, and goods as shall attempt to inhabit or trade with the savage people of the country within the several precincts and limits of his and their several plantations, etc.

Now it so fell out that one Hocking, belonging to the plantation of Piscatawqua, went with a bark [sailboat] and commodities to trade in that river and would needs press into their limits and not only so, but would needs go up the river above their house (*towards the falls of the river*) and intercept the trade that should come to them. He that was chief of the place forbade them and prayed him that he would not offer them that injury nor go about to infringe their liberties (*which had cost them so dear*). But he answered he would go up and trade there in despite of them and lie there as long as he pleased.

The other told him he must then be forced to remove him from thence or make seizure of him if he could. He bid him do his worst and so went up and anchored there. The other took a boat and some men and went up to him when he saw his time and again entreated him to depart by what persuasion he could, but all in vain. He could get nothing of him but ill words.

So he considered that now was the season for trade to come down and if he should suffer him to lie and take it from them, all their former charge would be lost, and they had better throw up all. So consulting with his men (*who were willing thereto*), he resolved to put him from his anchors and let him drive down the river with the stream but commanded the men that none should shoot a shot upon any occasion except [unless] he commanded them.

He spoke to him again, but all in vain. Then he sent a couple in a canoe to cut his cable, the which one of them performs. But Hocking takes up a piece [gun] which he had laid ready, and as the bark [sailboat] sheered by the canoe, he shot him close under her side in the head (*as I take it*), so he fell down dead instantly. One of his fellows (*which loved him well*) could not hold but with a musket shot Hocking, who fell down dead and never speak word. This was the truth of the thing. The rest of the men carried home the vessel and the sad tidings of these things.

Now, the Lord Saye and the Lord Brooke, with some other great persons, had a hand in this plantation [Piscatawqua]. They writ home to them as much as they could to exasperate them in the matter, leaving out all the circumstances as if he had been killed without any offense of his part, concealing that he had killed another first and the just occasion that he had given in offering such wrong, at which their lordships were much

offended till they were truly informed of the matter.

The bruit [rumor] of this was quickly carried all about (*and that in the worst manner*) and came into the bay to their neighbors there. Their own bark [sailboat] coming home and bringing a true relation of the matter, sundry [several] were sadly affected with the thing, as they had cause.

It was not long before they had occasion to send their vessel into the Bay of the Massachusetts. But they [Massachusetts] were so prepossessed with this matter and affected with the same as they committed Mr. Alden to prison, who was in the bark [sailboat] and had been at Kennebec (*but was no actor in the business*) but went to carry them supply. They dismissed the bark [sailboat] about her business but kept him for some time. This was thought strange here, and they sent Captain Standish to give them true information (*together with their letters*) and the best satisfaction they could and to procure Mr. Alden's release. I shall recite a letter or two which will show the passages of these things, as followeth.

Good Sir,

I have received your letter by Captain Standish and am unfeignedly glad of God's mercy towards you in the recovery of your health or some way thereto. For the business you write of, I thought meet to answer a word or two to yourself, leaving the answer of

your governor's letter to our court, to whom the same, together with myself, is directed.

I conceive (till I hear new matter to the contrary) that your patent may warrant your resistance of any English from trading at Kennebec and that blood of Hocking and the party he slew will be required at his hands (yet do I, with yourself and others, sorrow for their death). I think likewise that your general letters will satisfy our court and make them cease from any further intermeddling in the matter.

I have upon the same letter set Mr. Alden at liberty and his sureties, and yet lest I should seem to neglect the opinion of our court and the frequent speeches of others with us, I have bound Captain Standish to appear the third of June at our next court to make affidavit for the copy of the patent and to manifest the circumstances of Hocking's provocations, both which will tend to the clearing of your innocency. If any unkindness hath been taken from what we have done, let it be further and better considered of, I pray you, and I hope the more you think of it, the less blame you will impute to us. At least you ought to be just in differencing them whose opinions concur with your own from others who were opposites. And yet I may truly say I have spoken with no man in the business who taxed you most, but they are such as have many ways heretofore declared their good affections towards your plantation.

I further refer myself to the report of Captain Standish and Mr. Alden, leaving you for this present to God's blessing, wishing unto you perfect recovery of health and the long continuance of it. I desire to be lovingly remembered to Mr. Prence, your governor; Mr. Winslow, Mr. Brewster, whom I would see if I knew how. The Lord keep you all. Amen. Your very loving friend in our Lord Jesus,

*Thomas Dudley
Newtown, the 22 of May, 1634*

Another of his about these things, as followeth.

Sir,

I am right sorry for the news that Captain Standish and other of your neighbors and my beloved friends will bring now to Plymouth wherein I suffer with you by reason of my opinion which differeth from others who are godly and wise amongst us here, the reverence of whose judgments causeth me to suspect mine own ignorance. Yet must I remain in it until I be convinced thereof. I thought not to have showed your letter writ to me but to have done my best to have reconciled differences in the best season and manner I could. But Captain Standish requiring an answer thereof publicly in the court, I was forced to produce it, and that made the breach so wide, as he can tell you.

I propounded to the court to answer Mr. Prence's letter, your governor, but our court said it required

no answer, itself being an answer to a former letter of ours. I pray you certify Mr. Prence so much and others whom it concerneth that no neglect or ill manners be imputed to me thereabout. The late letters I received from England wrought in me divers [several] fears of some trials which are shortly like to fall upon us, and this unhappy contention between you and us and between you and Piscataqua will hasten them if God with an extraordinary hand do not help us. To reconcile this for the present will be very difficult, but time cooleth distempers, and a common danger to us both approaching will necessitate our uniting again.

I pray you, therefore, sir, set your wisdom and patience a-work and exhort others to the same that things may not proceed from bad to worse, so making our contentions like the bars of a palace, but that a way of peace may be kept open whereat the God of peace may have entrance in His own time. If you suffer wrong, it shall be your honor to bear it patiently, but I go too far in needless putting you in mind of these things. God hath done great things for you, and I desire His blessings may be multiplied upon you more and more. I will commit no more to writing but commending myself to your prayers, do rest your truly loving friend in our Lord Jesus,

*Thomas Dudley
June 4, 1634*

[INSERTED—] There was cause enough of these fears which arise by the underworking of some enemies to the churches here by which this commission following was procured from His Majesty.

CHARLES, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, KING OF
ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, FRANCE, AND
IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, ETC.

To The Most Reverend father in Christ, our well-beloved and faithful counselor William, by divine providence, Archbishop of Canterbury, of all England primate and metropolitan; Thomas Lord Coventry, Keeper of our Great Seal of England; The Most Reverent father in Christ, our well-beloved and most faithful counselor Richard, by divine providence Archbishop of York, primate and metropolitan; our well-beloved and most faithful cousins and counselors Richard Earl of Portland, our High Treasurer of England; Henry Earl of Manchester, Keeper of our Privy Seal; Thomas Earl of Arundel and Surrey, Earl Marshal of England; Edward Earl of Dorset, Chamberlain of our most dear consort the Queen; and our beloved and faithful counselors Francis Lord Cottington, Counselor and Undertreasurer of our Exchequer; Sir Thomas Edmonds knight, Treasurer of our household; Sir Henry Vane knight, Comptroller of the same household; Sir John Cook knight, one of our Privy Secretaries; and Francis Windebank knight, another of our Privy Secretaries, Greeting.

Whereas very many of our subjects and of our late father's of beloved memory, our sovereign lord James, late King of England, by means of license royal, not only with desire of enlarging the territories of our empire but chiefly out of a pious and religious affection and desire of propagating the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, with great industry and expenses have caused to be planted large colonies of the English nation in divers [various] parts of the world altogether unmanured [untilled] and void of inhabitants or occupied of the barbarous people that have no knowledge of divine worship.

We, being willing to provide a remedy for the tranquility and quietness of those people and being very confident of your faith and wisdom, justice and provident circumspection, have constituted you, the aforesaid Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, the Archbishop of York, etc., and any five or more of you, our Commissioners.

And to you and any five or more of you, we do give and commit power for the government and safety of the said colonies drawn, or which out of the English nation into those parts hereafter shall be drawn, to make laws, constitutions, and ordinances pertaining either to the public state of those colonies or the private profit of them.

And concerning the lands, goods, debts, and succession in those parts and how they shall

demean themselves towards foreign princes and their people or how they shall bear themselves towards us and our subjects as well in any foreign parts whatsoever or on the seas in those parts or in their return sailing home or which may pertain to the clergy government or to the cure of souls among the people there living and exercising trade in those parts, by designing out congruent portions arising in tithes, oblations, and other things there according to your sound discretions in political and civil causes.

And by having the advice of two or three bishops for the settling, making, and ordering of the business for the designing of necessary ecclesiastical and clergy portions, which you shall cause to be called and taken to you.

And to make provision against the violation of those laws, constitutions, and ordinances by imposing penalties and mulcts [fines], imprisonment if there be cause, and that the quality of the offense do require it, by deprivation of member or life to be inflicted.

With power also (our assent being had) to remove and displace the governors or rulers of those colonies for causes which to you shall seem lawful and others in their stead to constitute.

And require an account of their rule and government, and whom you shall find culpable, either by deprivation from their place or by

imposition of a mulct [fine] upon the goods of them in those parts to be levied or banishment from those provinces in which they have been governor or otherwise to cashier according to the quantity of the offense.

And to constitute judges and magistrates political and civil for civil cases and under the power and form which to you, five or more of you, shall seem expedient.

And judges and magistrates and dignities to causes ecclesiastical and under the power and form which to you, five or more of you, with the bishops vicegerents (provided by the Archbishop of Canterbury for the time being) shall seem expedient.

And to ordain courts, pretorian and tribunal, as well ecclesiastical as civil, of judgments to determine of the forms and manner of proceedings in the same.

And of appealing from them in matters and causes as well criminal as civil, personal, real, and mixed, and to their seats of justice what may be equal and well ordered and what crimes, faults, or excesses of contracts or injuries ought to belong to the ecclesiastical court and what to the civil court and seat of justice.

Provided nevertheless that the laws, ordinances, and constitutions of this kind shall not be put in

execution before our assent be had thereunto in writing under our signet, signed at least, and this assent being had and the same publicly proclaimed in the provinces in which they are to be executed.

We will and command that those laws, ordinances, and constitutions more fully to obtain strength and be observed and shall be inviolably of all men whom they shall concern.

Notwithstanding, it shall be for you, or any five or more of you (as is aforesaid), although those laws, constitutions, and ordinances shall be proclaimed with our royal assent to change, revoke, and abrogate them and other new ones in form aforesaid from time to time frame and make as aforesaid.

And to new evils arising or new dangers, to apply new remedies as is fitting so often as to you it shall seem expedient.

Furthermore, you shall understand that we have constituted you, and every five or more of you, the aforesaid Archbishop of Canterbury; Thomas Lord Coventry, Keeper of the Great Seal of England; Richard Bishop of York; Richard Earl of Portland; Henry Earl of Manchester; Thomas Earl of Arundel and Surrey; Edward Earl of Dorset; Francis Lord Cottington; Sir Thomas Edwards knight; Sir Henry Vane knight; Sir Francis Windebank knight, our commissioners to hear and determine according to your sound discretions all manner of complaints

either against those colonies or their rulers or governors at the instance of the parties grieved or at their accusation brought concerning injuries from hence or from thence between them and their members to be moved and to call the parties before you, and to the parties or to their procurators from hence or from thence being heard, the full complement of justice to be exhibited.

Giving unto you, or any five or more of you, power that if you shall find any of the colonies aforesaid or any of the chief rulers upon the jurisdictions of others by unjust possession or usurpation or one against another making grievance or in rebellion against us or withdrawing from our allegiance or our commandments not obeying, consultation first with us in that case had, to cause those colonies or the rulers of them for the causes aforesaid or for other just causes either to return to England or to command them to other places designed, even as according to your sound discretions it shall seem to stand with equity and justice or necessity.

Moreover, we do give unto you, or any five or more of you, power and special command over all the charters, letters, patents, and rescripts royal of the regions, provinces, islands, or lands in foreign parts granted for raising colonies to cause them to be brought before you, and the same being received if anything surreptitiously or unduly have been obtained or that by the same privileges, liberties, and prerogatives hurtful to us or to our crown or to foreign princes have been prejudicially suffered or

granted, the same being better made known unto you, five or more of you, to command them according to the laws and customs of England to be revoked and to do such other things which, to the profit and safeguard of the aforesaid colonies and of our subjects resident in the same, shall be necessary.

And therefore, we do command you that about the premises at days and times which for these things you shall make provision, that you be diligent in attendance as it becometh you, giving in precept also and firmly enjoining we do give command to all and singular chief rulers of provinces into which the colonies aforesaid have been drawn or shall be drawn.

And concerning the colonies themselves and concerning others that have been interest therein, that they give attendance upon you and be observant and obedient unto your warrants in those affairs as often as and even as in our name they shall be required at their peril.

In testimony whereof we have caused these, our letters, be made patent, witness ourself at Westminster the twenty-eighth day of April in the tenth year of our reign.

By writ from the Privy Seal,

Willies

Anno Domini 1634 —

By these things, it appears what troubles rise hereupon and how hard they were to be reconciled. For though they here were heartily sorry for what was fallen out, yet they conceived they were unjustly injured and provoked to what was done and that their neighbors (*having no jurisdiction over them*) did more than was meet thus to imprison one of theirs and bind them to court.

But yet being assured of their Christian love and persuaded what was done was out of godly zeal that religion might not suffer nor sin any way covered or borne with, especially the guilt of blood, of which all should be very conscientious in any whomsoever, they did endeavor to appease and satisfy them the best they could. First, by informing them the truth in all circumstances about the matter. Secondly, in being willing to refer the case to any indifferent and equal hearing and judgment of the thing here and to answer it elsewhere when they should be duly called thereunto. And further, they craved Mr. Winthrop's and other of the reverend magistrates there their advice and direction herein.

This did mollify their minds and bring things to a good and comfortable issue in the end, for they had this advice given them by Mr. Winthrop and others concurring with him that from their court, they should write to the neighbor plantations, and especially that of the lords at Piscataqua and theirs of the Massachusetts to appoint some to

give them meeting at some fit place to consult and determine in this matter. So as the parties meeting might have full power to order and bind, etc., and that nothing be done to the infringing or prejudice of the liberties of any place.

And for the clearing of conscience, the law of God is that the priest[’s] lips must be consulted with, and therefore, it was desired that the ministers of every plantation might be present to give their advice in point of conscience. Though this course seemed dangerous to some, yet they were so well assured of the justice of their cause and the equity of their friends as they put themselves upon it and appointed a time of which they gave notice to the several places a month beforehand, viz. Massachusetts, Salem, and Piscataqua, or any other that they would give notice to, and desired them to produce any evidence they could in the case.

The place for meeting was at Boston, but when the day and time came, none appeared but some of the magistrates and ministers of the Massachusetts and their own. Seeing none of Piscataqua or other places came (*having been thus desired and convenient time given them for that end*), Mr. Winthrop and the rest said they could do no more than they had done thus to request them; the blame must rest on them.

So they fell into a fair debating of things themselves, and after all things had been fully

opened and discussed and the opinion of each one demanded, both magistrates and ministers, though they all could have wished these things had never been, yet they could not but lay the blame and guilt on Hocking's own head and withal gave them such grave and godly exhortations and advice as they thought meet, both for the present and future, which they also embraced with love and thankfulness, promising to endeavor to follow the same.

And thus was this matter ended and their love and concord renewed. And also, Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Dudley writ in their behalfs to the Lord Saye and other gentlemen that were interested in that plantation very effectually, with which, together with their own letters and Mr. Winslow's further declaration of things unto them, they rested well satisfied.

Mr. Winslow was sent by them this year into England partly to inform and satisfy the Lord Saye and others in the former matter, as also to make answer and their just defense for the same if anything should by any be prosecuted against them at council table or elsewhere. But this matter took end without any further trouble, as is before noted. And partly to signify unto the partners in England that the term of their trade with the company here was out, and therefore, he was sent to finish the accounts with them and to bring them notice how much debtor they should remain on that account and that they might know

what further course would be best to hold. But the issue of these things will appear in the next year's passages. They now sent over by him a great return which was very acceptable unto them, which was in beaver 3738 pounds weight, a great part of it being coat beaver sold at twenty shillings per pound, and 234 otter skins (*and the skin at fourteen shillings*) which altogether rise to a great sum of money.

[INSERTED—] This year (*in the forepart of the same*), they sent forth a bark [sailboat] to trade at the Dutch plantation, and they met there with one Captain Stone that had lived in [Saint] Christopher's, one of the West Indies Islands, and now had been some time in Virginia and came from thence into these parts. He kept company with the Dutch governor, and I know not in what drunken fit he got leave of the governor to seize on their bark [sailboat] when they were ready to come away and had done their market, having to the value of £500 worth of goods aboard her, having no occasion at all or any color of ground for such a thing, but having made the governor drunk so as he could scarce speak a right word. And when he urged him hereabout, he answered him," *Alsjeblieft* [please]." So he got aboard (*the chief of their men and merchant being ashore*) and, with some of his own men, made the rest of theirs weigh anchor, set sail, and carry her away towards Virginia.

But divers [several] of the Dutch seamen which had been often at Plymouth and kindly entertained there said one to another, "Shall we suffer our friends to be thus abused and have their goods carried away before our faces whilst our governor is drunk?" They vowed they would never suffer it and so got a vessel or two and pursued him and brought him in again and delivered them their bark [sailboat] and goods again.

Afterwards, Stone came into the Massachusetts, and they sent and commenced suit against him for this fact, but by mediation of friends, it was taken up and the suit let fall. And in the company of some other gentlemen, Stone came afterwards to Plymouth and had friendly and civil entertainment amongst them with the rest. But revenge boiled within his breast (*though concealed*), for some conceived he had a purpose (*at one time*) to have stabbed the governor. And [he] put his hand to his dagger for that end, but by God's providence and the vigilance of some was prevented.

He afterward returned to Virginia in a pinnace [two-masted ship] with one Captain Norton and some others. And I know not for what occasion they would needs go up Connecticut River, and how they carried themselves I know not, but the Indians knocked him in the head as he lay in his cabin and had thrown the covering over his

face (*whether out of fear or desperation is uncertain*). This was his end.

They likewise killed all the rest, but Captain Norton defended himself a long time against them all in the cook room till, by accident, the gunpowder took fire, which (*for readiness*) he had set in an open thing before him. Which did so burn and scald him and blind his eyes as he could make no longer resistance but was slain also by them, though they much commended his valor. And having killed the men, they made a prey of what they had and chaffered [traded] away some of their things to the Dutch that lived there. But it was not long before a quarrel fell between the Dutch and them, and they [Indians] would have cut off their bark [sailboat], but they [Dutch] slew the chief sachem with the shot of a murderer [breech-loading swivel gun]. —

I am now to relate some strange and remarkable passages.

There was a company of people [Indians] lived in the country up above in the river of Connecticut a great way from their trading house there and were enemies to those Indians which lived about them and of whom they stood in some fear (*being a stout people*). About a thousand of them had enclosed themselves in a fort, which they had strongly palisaded.

About three or four Dutchmen went up in the beginning of winter to live with them to get their trade and prevent them for bringing it to the English or to fall into amity with them, but at spring to bring all down to their place. But their enterprise failed, for it pleased God to visit these Indians with a great sickness and such a mortality that of a thousand, above nine hundred and a half of them died, and many of them did rot above ground for want of burial.

And the Dutchmen almost starved before they could get away, for ice and snow. But about February, they got with much difficulty to their [Plymouth's] trading house, whom they kindly relieved, being almost spent with hunger and cold. Being thus refreshed by them divers [several] days, they got to their own place, and the Dutch were very thankful for this kindness.

This spring also, those Indians that lived about their trading house there fell sick of the smallpox and died most miserably, for a sorer [more severe] disease cannot befall [happen to] them. They fear it more than the plague, for usually, they that have this disease have them in abundance. And for want of bedding and linen and other helps, they fall into a lamentable condition as they lie on their hard mats, the pox breaking and mattering and running one into another, their skin cleaving [sticking] (*by reason thereof*) to the mats they lie on. When they turn them, a whole side will flay off at once (*as it were*), and they will be all of a

gore blood, most fearful to behold. And then being very sore [severe], what with cold and other distempers, they die like rotten sheep.

The condition of this people was so lamentable, and they fell down so generally of this disease as they were (*in the end*) not able to help one another, no, not to make a fire nor to fetch a little water to drink nor any to bury the dead, but would strive as long as they could. And when they could procure no other means to make fire, they would burn the wooden trays and dishes they ate their meat in and their very bows and arrows. And some would crawl out on all four[s] to get a little water and sometimes die by [on] the way and not be able to get in again.

But those of the English house (*though at first, they were afraid of the infection*) yet seeing their woeful and sad condition and hearing their pitiful cries and lamentations, they had compassion of them and daily fetched them wood and water and made them fires, got them victuals [food] whilst they lived, and buried them when they died, for very few of them escaped. Notwithstanding, they did what they could for them to the hazard of themselves. The chief sachem himself now died and almost all his friends and kindred.

But by the marvelous goodness and providence of God, not one of the English was so much as sick or in the least measure tainted with this disease, though they daily did these offices for them for

many weeks together. And this mercy which they showed them was kindly taken and thankfully acknowledged of all the Indians that knew or heard of the same, and their masters here did much commend and reward them for the same.

Anno Domini 1635



Mr. Winslow was very welcome to them in England and the more in regard of the larger return he brought with him, which came all safe to their hands and was well sold. And he was borne in hand (*at least he so apprehended*) that all accounts should be cleared before his return and all former differences thereabout well settled. And so he writ over to them here that he hoped to clear the account and bring them over with him and that the account of the *White Angel* would be taken off and all things fairly ended.

But it came to pass that being occasioned to answer some complaints made against the country at council board, more chiefly concerning their neighbors in the Bay than themselves here, the which he did to good effect, and further

prosecuting such things as might tend to the good of the whole, as well themselves as others, about the wrongs and encroachments that the French and other strangers both had and were like further to do unto them if not prevented, he preferred this petition following to Their Honors that were deputed commissioners for the plantations.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE LORDS
COMMISSIONERS FOR THE PLANTATIONS IN AMERICA

THE HUMBLE PETITION OF EDWARD WINSLOW ON
THE BEHALF OF THE PLANTATIONS IN NEW ENGLAND

Humbly showeth unto your Lordships that whereas your petitioners have planted themselves in New England under His Majesty's most gracious protection, now so it is, Right Honorable, that the French and Dutch do endeavor to divide the land between them, for which purpose the French have on the east side entered and seized upon one of our houses and carried away the goods, slew two of the men in another place, and took the rest prisoners with their goods.

And the Dutch on the west have also made entry upon Connecticut River within the limits of His Majesty's letters patent, where they have raised a fort and threaten to expel your petitioners thence who are also planted upon the same river, maintaining possession for His Majesty to their great charge and hazard both of lives and goods.

In tender consideration hereof, your petitioners humbly pray that your Lordships will either procure their peace with those foreign states or else to give special warrant unto your petitioners and the English colonies to right and defend themselves against all foreign enemies. And your petitioners shall pray, etc.

This petition found good acceptation with most of them, and Mr. Winslow was heard sundry [several] times by them and appointed further to attend for an answer from their lordships, especially having upon conference with them laid down a way how this might be done without any either charge or trouble to the state, only by furnishing some of the chief of the country here with authority who would undertake it at their own charge and in such a way as should be without any public disturbance.

But this crossed both Sir Ferdinando Gorges's and Captain Mason's design and the Archbishop of Canterbury by them, for Sir Ferdinando Gorges (*by the archbishop's favor*) was to have been sent over General Governor into the country and to have had means from the state for that end, and was now upon dispatch and conclude of the business. And the archbishop's purpose and intent was, by his means and some he should send with him (*to be furnished with episcopal power*), to disturb the peace of the churches here and to overthrow their proceedings and further growth, which was the thing he aimed at. But it so fell out

(*by God's providence*) that though he, in the end, crossed this petition from taking any further effect in this kind, yet by this as a chief means, the plot and whole business of his and Sir Ferdinando's fell to the ground and came to nothing.

When Mr. Winslow should have had his suit granted (*as indeed upon the point it was*) and should have been confirmed, the archbishop put a stop upon it. And Mr. Winslow, thinking to get it freed, went to the board again. But the bishop, Sir Ferdinando, and Captain Mason (*had, as it seems*) procured Morton (*of whom mention is made before and his base carriage*) to complain. To whose complaints Mr. Winslow made answer, to the good satisfaction of the board, who checked Morton and rebuked him sharply and also blamed Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Mason for countenancing him.

But the bishop had a further end and use of his presence. For he now began to question Mr. Winslow of many things, as of teaching in the church publicly, of which Morton accused him and gave evidence that he had seen and heard him do it, to which Mr. Winslow answered that sometime (*wanting a minister*), he did exercise his gift to help the edification of his brethren when they wanted better means, which was not often.

Then about marriage, the which he also confessed that having been called to place of magistracy, he

had sometimes married some and further told their lordships that marriage was a civil thing, and he found nowhere in the Word of God that it was tied to ministry. Again, they were necessitated so to do, having for a long time together at first no minister. Besides, it was no new thing, for he had been so married himself in Holland by the magistrates in their statehouse.

But in the end (*to be short*), for these things, the bishop, by vehement importunity [persistent begging], got the board (*at last*) to consent to his commitment, so he was committed to the Fleet [Fleet Prison] and lay there seventeen weeks or thereabout before he could get to be released. And this was the end of this petition and this business. Only the others' design was also frustrated hereby with other things concurring, which was no small blessing to the people here.

But the charge fell heavy on them here, not only in Mr. Winslow's expenses (*which could not be small*) but by the hindrance of their business both there and here by his personal employment. For though this was as much or more for others than for them here, and by them chiefly he was put on this business (*for the plantation knew nothing of it till they heard of his imprisonment*), yet the whole charge lay on them.

Now for their own business, whatsoever Mr. Sherley's mind was before (*or Mr. Winslow['s] apprehension of the same*), he now declared

himself plainly that he would neither take off the *White Angel* from the account nor give any further account till he had received more into his hands. Only a pretty good supply of goods were sent over but of the most, no note of their prices or so orderly an invoice as formerly, which Mr. Winslow said he could not help because of his restraint. Only now, Mr. Sherley and Mr. Beauchamp and Mr. Andrews sent over a letter of attorney under their hands and seals to recover what they could of Mr. Allerton for the *Angel's* account but sent them neither the bonds nor covenants or such other evidence or accounts as they had about these matters. I shall here insert a few passages out of Mr. Sherley's letters about these things.

Your letter of the 22 July 1634 by your trusty and our loving friend Mr. Winslow I have received and your large parcel of beaver and other skins (blessed be our God). Both he and it came safely to us, and we have sold it in two parcels, the skin at fourteen shillings a pound and some at sixteen; the coat at twenty shillings the pound. The accounts I have not sent you them this year, I will refer you to Mr. Winslow to tell you the reason of it. Yet be assured that none of you shall suffer by the not having of them if God spare me life. And whereas you say the six years are expired that the people put the trade into your and our hands for, for the discharge of that great debt which Mr. Allerton needlessly and unadvisedly ran you and us into, yet it was

promised it should continue till our disbursements and engagements were satisfied. You conceive it is done. We feel and know otherwise, etc.

I doubt not but we shall lovingly agree, notwithstanding all that hath been written on both sides about the White Angel. We have now sent you a letter of attorney, thereby giving you power in our names (and to shadow it the more, we say for our uses) to obtain what may be of Mr. Allerton towards the satisfying of that great charge of the White Angel. And sure he hath bound himself (though at present, I cannot find it), but he hath often affirmed (with great protestations) that neither you nor we should lose a penny by him, and I hope you shall find enough to discharge it so as we shall have no more contesting about it. Yet notwithstanding his unnatural and unkind dealing with you, in the midst of justice, remember mercy and do not all you may do, etc. Set us out of debt, and then let us reckon and reason together, etc. Mr. Winslow hath undergone an unkind imprisonment, but I am persuaded it will turn much to all your good. I leave him to relate particulars, etc. Your loving friend,

*James Sherley
London, September 7, 1635*

This year, they sustained another great loss from the French. Monsieur d'Aulnay, coming into the harbor of Penobscot and having before got some of the chief that belonged to the house aboard his

vessel by subtly coming upon them in their shallop [shallow-water boat], he got them to pilot him in. And after getting the rest into his power, he took possession of the house in the name of the king of France. And partly by threatening and otherwise, made Mr. Willett (*their agent there*) to approve of the sale of the goods there unto him, of which he set the price himself, in effect, and made an inventory thereof (*yet leaving out sundry [several] things*) but made no payment for them, but told them in convenient time, he would do it if they came for it. For the house and fortification, etc., he would not allow nor account anything, saying that they which build on other man's ground do forfeit the same. So thus, turning them out of all (*with a great deal of compliment[s] and many fine words*), he let them have their shallop [shallow-water boat] and some victuals [food] to bring them home.

Coming home and relating all the passages, they here were much troubled at it, having had this house robbed by the French once before and lost then above £500 (*as is before remembered*). And now to lose house and all did much move them, so as they resolved to consult with their friends in the Bay. And if they approved of it (*there being now many ships there*), they intended to hire a ship of force and seek to beat out the French and recover it again.

Their course was well approved on (*if themselves could bear the charge*), so they hired a fair ship of

above three hundred tun well-fitted with ordnance [artillery] and agreed with the master (*one Girling*) to this effect that he and his company should deliver them the house (*after they had driven out or surprised [overtaken] the French*) and give them peaceable possession thereof and of all such trading commodities as should there be found (*and give the French fair quarter and usage [treatment] if they would yield*). In consideration whereof, he was to have seven hundred pounds of beaver to be delivered him there when he had done the thing. But if he did not accomplish it, he was to lose his labor and have nothing.

With him, they also sent their own bark [sailboat] and about twenty men with Captain Standish to aid him (*if need were*) and to order things if the house was regained and then to pay him the beaver which they kept aboard their own bark [sailboat]. So they, with their bark [sailboat], piloted him thither and brought him safe into the harbor. But he was so rash and heady as he would take no advice nor would suffer Captain Standish to have time to summon them (*who had commission and order so to do*), neither would do it himself, the which it was like if it had been done and they come to a fair parley (*seeing their force*), they would have yielded. Neither would he have patience to bring his ship where she might do execution but began to shoot at [a] distance like a madman and did them no hurt at all. The which

when those of the plantation saw, they were much grieved and went to him and told him he would do no good if he did not lay his ship better to pass (*for she might lie within pistol shot of the house*).

At last, when he saw his own folly, he was persuaded and laid her well and bestowed a few shot[s] to good purpose. But now, when he was in a way to do some good, his powder was gone. For though he had pieces of ordnance [artillery], it did now appear he had but a barrel of powder and a piece. So he could do no good but was fain to draw off again, by which means the enterprise was made frustrate and the French encouraged.

For all the while that he shot so unadvisedly, they lay close under a work of earth and let him consume himself. He advised with the captain how he might be supplied with powder, for he had not to carry him home. So he [Captain] told him he would go to the next plantation and do his endeavor to procure him some, and so did. But understanding by intelligence that he [Girling] intended to seize on the bark [sailboat] and surprise [overtake] the beaver, he sent him the powder and brought the bark [sailboat] and beaver home. But Girling never assaulted the place more (*seeing himself disappointed*) but went his way, and this was the end of this business.

Upon the ill success of this business, the governor and assistants here, by their letters, certified their

friends in the Bay how, by this ship, they had been abused and disappointed and that the French partly had and were now likely to fortify themselves more strongly and likely to become ill neighbors to the English. Upon this, they thus writ to them as followeth.

Worthy Sirs,

Upon the reading of your letter and consideration of the weightiness of the cause therein mentioned, the court hath jointly expressed their willingness to assist you with men and munition for the accomplishing of your desires upon the French. But because here are none of yours that have authority to conclude of anything herein, nothing can be done by us for the present. We desire, therefore, that you would, with all convenient speed, send some man of trust furnished with instructions from yourselves to make such agreement with us about this business as may be useful for you and equal for us. So, in haste, we commit you to God and remain your loving friends,

*John Haynes, Governor
R. Bellingham, Deputy
John Winthrop
Thomas Dudley
John Humphrey
William Coddington
William Pynchon
Atherton Hough
Increase Nowell*

Richard Dummer
Simon Bradstreet
Newtown, October 9, 1635

Upon the receipt of the above-mentioned, they presently deputed two of theirs to treat with them, giving them full power to conclude, according to the instructions they gave them. Being to this purpose that if they would afford such assistance as together with their own was like to effect the thing and also bear a considerable part of the charge, they would go on. If not, they (*having lost so much already*) should not be able but must desist and wait further opportunity as God should give to help themselves. But this came to nothing, for when it came to the issue, they would be at no charge but sent them this letter and referred them more at large to their own messengers.

Sir,

Having, upon the consideration of your letter with the message you sent, had some serious consultations about the great importance of your business with the French, we gave our answer to those whom you deputed to confer with us about the voyage to Penobscot. We showed our willingness to help, but withal we declared our present condition and in what state we were for our ability to help, which we, for our parts, shall be willing to improve to procure you sufficient supply of men and munition. But for matter of moneys, we have no

authority at all to promise, and if we should, we should rather disappoint you than encourage you by that help, which we are not able to perform.

We likewise thought it fit to take the help of other eastern plantations, but those things we leave to your own wisdoms. And for other things, we refer you to your own committees, who are able to relate all the passages more at large. We salute you and wish you all good success in the Lord. Your faithful and loving friend,

*R. Bellingham, Deputy
In the name of the rest of the committees
Boston, October 16, 1635*

This thing did not only thus break off, but some of their merchants shortly after sent to trade with them [French] and furnished them both with provisions and powder and shot and so have continued to do till this day, as they have seen opportunity for their profit. So as in truth, the English themselves have been the chiefest supporters of these French, for besides these, the plantation at Pemaquid (*which lies near unto them*) doth not only supply them with what they want but gives them continual intelligence of all things that pass among the English (*especially some of them*). So as it is no marvel though they still grow and encroach more and more upon the English and fill the Indians with guns and munition, to the great danger of the English who lie open and unfortified, living upon husbandry

[farming], and the other closed up in their forts well fortified and live upon trade in good security. If these things be not looked to and remedy provided in time, it may easily be conjectured what they may come to, but I leave them.

This year, the fourteenth or fifteenth of August (*being Saturday*), was such a mighty storm of wind and rain as none living in these parts, either English or Indians, ever saw. Being like (*for the time it continued*) to those hurricanes and typhoons that writers make mention of in the Indies, it began in the morning a little before day and grew not by degrees but came with violence in the beginning, to the great amazement of many.

It blew down sundry [several] houses and uncovered others. Divers [several] vessels were lost at sea and many more in extreme danger. It caused the sea to swell (*to the southward of this place*) above twenty feet right up and down and made many of the Indians to climb into trees for their safety. It took off the boarded roof of a house which belonged to this plantation at Manomet and floated it to another place, the post still standing in the ground.

And if it had continued long without the shifting of the wind, it is like it would have drowned some part of the country. It blew down many hundred thousands of trees, turning up the stronger by the roots and breaking the higher pine trees off in the

middle, and the tall, young oaks and walnut trees of good bigness were wound like a withe [rope of twisted twigs], very strange and fearful to behold. It began in the southeast and parted toward the south and east and veered sundry [several] ways, but the greatest force of it here was from the former quarters. It continued not (*in the extremity*) above five or six hours, but the violence began to abate. The signs and marks of it will remain this one hundred years in these parts where it was sorest [most severe]. The moon suffered a great eclipse the second night after it.

Some of their neighbors in the Bay, hearing of the fame of Connecticut River, had a hankering mind after it (*as was before noted*), and now understanding that the Indians were swept away with the late great mortality, the fear of whom was an obstacle unto them before, which being now taken away, they began now to prosecute it with great eagerness. The greatest differences fell between those of Dorchester Plantation and them here, for they set their mind on that place which they had not only purchased of the Indians but where they had built, intending only (*if they could not remove them*) that they should have but a small moiety [share] left to the house as to a single family. Whose doings and proceedings were conceived to be very injurious to attempt not only to intrude themselves into the rights and possessions of others but, in effect, to thrust them out of all. Many were the letters and passages that

went between them hereabout, which would be too long here to relate. I shall here first insert a few lines that was writ by their own agent from thence.

Sir, etc.,

The Massachusetts men are coming almost daily, some by water and some by land, who are not yet determined where to settle, though some have a great mind to the place we are upon and which was last bought. Many of them look at that which this river will not afford except [unless] it be at this place which we have, namely to be a great town and have commodious dwellings for many together. So as what they will do, I cannot yet resolve you, for [in] this place, there is none of them say anything to me but what I hear from their servants (by whom I perceive their minds). I shall do what I can to withstand them. I hope they will hear reason as that we were here first and entered with much difficulty and danger, both in regard of the Dutch and Indians, and bought the land (to your great charge, already disbursed) and have since held here a shareable possession and kept the Dutch from further encroaching, which would else long before this day have possessed all and kept out all others, etc.

I hope these and such like arguments will stop them. It was your will we should use [treat] their persons and messengers kindly, and so we have done and do daily, to your great charge. For the first

company had well-nigh starved had it not been for this house, for want of victuals [food], I being forced to supply twelve men for nine days together. And those which came last, I entertained the best we could, helping both them (and the other) with canoes and guides. They got me to go with them to the Dutch to see if I could procure some of them to have quiet settling near them, but they did peremptorily withstand them. But this later company did not once speak thereof, etc.

Also, I gave their goods houseroom [space within one's house] according to their earnest request and Mr. Pynchon's letter in their behalf (which I thought good to send you here enclosed). And what trouble and charge I shall be further at, I know not (for they are coming daily), and I expect these back again from below, whither they are gone to view the country. All which trouble and charge we undergo for their occasion may give us just cause (in the judgment of all wise and understanding men) to hold and keep that [which] we are settled upon. Thus, with my duty remembered, etc., I rest yours to be commanded,

*Jonathan Brewster
Matianuck, July 6, 1635*

Amongst the many agitations that passed between them, I shall note a few out of their last letters and, for the present, omit the rest (*except [unless] upon other occasion I may have fitter opportunity*). After their thorough view of the

place, they began to pitch themselves upon their land and near their house, which occasioned much expostulation between them, some of which are such as follow.

[THEIRS:] *Brethren, having lately sent two of our body unto you to agitate and bring to an issue some matters in difference between us about some lands at Connecticut unto which you lay challenge, upon which God by His providence cast us and, as we conceive in a fair way of providence, tendered it to us as a meet place to receive our body now upon removal.*

ANSWER: *We shall not need to answer all the passages of your large letter, etc. But whereas you say God in His providence cast you, etc., we told you before and (upon this occasion) must now tell you still that our mind is otherwise. And that you cast rather a partial, if not a covetous, eye upon that which is your neighbors' and not yours, and in so doing, your way could not be fair unto it. Look that you abuse not God's providence in such allegations.*

THEIRS: *Now albeit we at first judged the place so free that we might, with God's good leave, take and use it without just offense to any man, it being the Lord's waste and for the present altogether void of inhabitants that indeed minded the employment thereof to the right ends for which land was created, Genesis 1:28. And for future intentions of any and uncertain possibilities of this or that to be done by*

any, we, judging them (in such a case as ours, especially) not meet to be equaled with present actions (such as ours was), much less worthy to be preferred before them, and therefore did we make some weak beginnings in that good work in the place aforesaid.

ANSWER: Their answer was to this effect that if it was the Lord's waste, it was themselves that found it so and not they, and have since bought it of the right owners and maintained a chargeable possession upon it all this while, as themselves could not but know. And because they could not presently remove themselves to it because of present engagements and other hindrances which lay at present upon them, must it therefore be lawful for them to go and take it from them? It was well known that they are upon a barren place where they were by necessity cast, and neither they nor theirs could long continue upon the same. And why should they (*because they were more ready and more able at present*) go and deprive them of that which they had (*with charge and hazard*) provided and intended to remove to as soon as they could and were able?

[THEIRS:] They had another passage in their letter [that] they had rather have to do with the lords in England to whom (*as they heard it reported*) some of them should say that they had rather give up their right to them (*if they must part with it*) than to the church of Dorchester, etc. And that they

should be less fearful to offend the lords than they were them.

ANSWER: Their answer was that whatsoever they had heard (*more than was true*), yet the case was not so with them that they had need to give away their rights and adventures either to the lords or them? Yet if they might measure their fear of offense by their practice, they had rather (*in that point*) they should deal with the lords, who were better able to bear it or help themselves than they were.

But lest I should be tedious, I will forbear other things and come to the conclusion that was made in the end. To make any forcible resistance was far from their thoughts (*they had enough of that about Kennebec*), and to live in continual contention with their friends and brethren would be uncomfortable and too heavy a burthen [burden] to bear. Therefore, for peace[']s sake (*though they conceived they suffered much in this thing*), they thought it better to let them have it upon as good terms as they could get, and so they fell to treaty.

The first thing that (*because they had made so many long disputes about it*) they would have them to grant was that they had right to it or else they would never treat about it. The which being acknowledged and yielded unto by them, this was the conclusion they came unto in the end after much ado—that they should retain their house and

have the sixteenth part of all they had bought of the Indians, and the other should have all the rest of the land, leaving such a moiety [share] to those of Newtown as they reserved for them. This sixteenth part was to be taken in two places, one towards the house, the other towards Newtown's proportion. Also, they were to pay according to proportion what had been disbursed to the Indians for the purchase. Thus was the controversy ended, but the unkindness not so soon forgotten.

They of Newtown dealt more fairly, desiring only what they could conveniently spare from a competency reserved for a plantation for themselves, which made them the more careful to procure a moiety [share] for them in this agreement and distribution.

Amongst the other businesses that Mr. Winslow had to do in England, he had order from the church to provide and bring over some able and fit man for to be their minister. And accordingly, he had procured a godly and a worthy man, one Mr. Glover, but it pleased God when he was prepared for the voyage, he fell sick of a fever and died.

Afterwards when he [Winslow] was ready to come away, he became acquainted with Mr. Norton, who was willing to come over but would not engage himself to this place otherwise than he should see occasion when he came here, and if he

liked better elsewhere, to repay the charge laid out for him (*which came to about £70*) and to be at his liberty. He stayed about a year with them after he came over and was well liked of them and much desired by them, but he was invited to Ipswich, where were many rich and able men and sundry [several] of his acquaintance. So he went to them and is their minister. About half of the charge was repaid. The rest he had for the pains he took amongst them.

Anno Domini 1636



*This year, Mr. Edward Winslow was
chosen governor.*

In the former year, because they perceived by Mr. Winslow's later letters that no accounts would be sent, they resolved to keep the beaver and send no more till they had them or came to some further agreement. At least they would forbear till Mr. Winslow came over, that by more full conference with him, they might better understand what was meet to be done. But when he came, though he brought no accounts, yet he persuaded them to send the beaver and was confident upon the receipt of that beaver and his letters [that] they should have accounts the next year. And though they thought his grounds but weak that gave him this hope and made him so

confident, yet by his importunity [persistent begging], they yielded and sent the same, there being a ship at the latter end of year by whom they sent 1150 pounds weight of beaver and two hundred otter skins, besides sundry [several] small furs, as fifty-five minks, two black fox skins, etc.

And this year, in the spring, came in a Dutchman who thought to have traded at the Dutch fort, but they would not suffer him. He, having good store of trading goods, came to this place and tendered them to sell, of whom they bought a good quantity, they being very good and fit for their turn, as Dutch roll [tobacco], kettles, etc., which goods amounted to the value of £500 for the payment of which they passed bids to Mr. Sherley in England, having before sent the aforementioned parcel of beaver and now this year (*by another ship*), sent another good round parcel that might come to his hands and be sold before any of these bills should be due.

The quantity of beaver now sent was 1809 pounds weight and of otters, ten skins, and shortly after (*the same year*) was sent by another ship (*Mr. Langrum, master*) in beaver 0719 pounds weight and of otter skins 199, concerning which Mr. Sherley thus writes.

Your letters I have received with eight hogsheads [sixty-six gallon barrels] of beaver by Edward Wilkinson, master of the Falcon. Blessed be God for

the safe coming of it. I have also seen and accepted three bills of exchange, etc. But I must now acquaint you how the Lord's heavy hand is upon this kingdom in many places, but chiefly in this city, with His judgment of the plague. The last week's bill was 1200 and odd [deaths]. I fear this will be more, and it is much feared it will be a winter sickness, by reason whereof it is incredible the number of people that are gone into the country and left the city—I am persuaded many more than went out the last great sickness. So as here is no trading, carriers from most places put down, nor no receiving of any money, though long due.

Mr. Hall owes us more than would pay these bills, but he, his wife, and all are in the country, sixty miles from London. I writ to him. He came up but could not pay us. I am persuaded if I should offer to sell the beaver at eight shillings per pound, it would not yield money. But when the Lord shall please to cease His hand, I hope we shall have better and quicker markets, so it shall lie by.

Before I accepted the bills, I acquainted Mr. Beauchamp and Mr. Andrews with them and how there could be no money made nor received. And that it would be a great discredit to you which never yet had any turned back and a shame to us, having 1800 pounds of beaver lying by us and more owing than the bills come to, etc. But all was nothing. Neither of them both will put to their finger help.

I offered to supply my third part, but they gave me their answer they neither would nor could, etc. However, your bills shall be satisfied to the parties' good content, but I would not have thought they would have left either you or me at this time, etc. You will and may expect I should write more and answer your letters, but I am not a day in the week at home at town but carry my books and all to Clapham.

For here is the miserablest time that I think hath been known in many ages. I have know[n] three great sicknesses but none like this. And that which should be a means to pacify the Lord and help us—that is taken away, preaching put down in many places, not a sermon in Westminster on the Sabbath nor in many towns about us. The Lord, in mercy, look upon us.

In the beginning of the year was a great drought and no rain for many weeks together so as all was burnt up, hay at £5 a load. And now all rain, so as much summer corn and later hay is spoiled. Thus, the Lord sends judgment after judgment, and yet we cannot see nor humble ourselves and therefore may justly fear heavier judgments unless we speedily repent and return unto Him, which the Lord give us grace to do if it be His blessed will. Thus, desiring you to remember us in your prayers, I ever rest your loving friend,

*James Sherley
September 14, 1636*

This was all the answer they had from Mr. Sherley, by which Mr. Winslow saw his hopes failed him. So they now resolved to send no more beaver in that way which they had done till they came to some issue or other about these things.

But now came over letters from Mr. Andrews and Mr. Beauchamp full of complaints that they marveled that nothing was sent over by which any of their moneys should be paid in. For it did appear by the account sent in Anno 1631 that they were, each of them, out about eleven hundred pounds apiece and all this while had not received one penny towards the same. But now Mr. Sherley sought to draw more money from them and was offended because they denied him and blamed them here very much that all was sent to Mr. Sherley and nothing to them.

They marveled much at this, for they conceived that much of their moneys had been paid in and that yearly, each of them had received a proportional quantity out of the large returns sent home. For they had sent home since the account was received in Anno 1631 (*in which all and more than all their debts with that year's supply was charged upon them*) these sums following.

November 18, Anno 1631 by Mr. Peirce:
0400 pounds weight of beaver and otters 20

July 13, Anno 1632 by Mr. Griffin:
1348 pounds beaver and otters 147

Anno 1633 by Mr. Graves:
3366 pounds beaver and otters 346

Anno 1634 by Mr. Andrews:
3738 pounds beaver and otters 234

Anno 1635 by Mr. Babb:
1150 pounds beaver and otters 200

June 24, Anno 1636 by Mr. Wilkinson:
1809 pounds beaver and otters 010

ibidem by Mr. Landrum:
0719 pounds beaver and otters 199

12,150 [pounds beaver and otters] 1156

All these sums were safely received and well sold, as appears by letter. The coat beaver usually at twenty shillings per pound and some at twenty-four shillings. The skin at fifteen and sometimes sixteen. I do not remember any under fourteen. It may be the last year might be something lower. So also, there were some small furs that are not reckoned in this account and some black beaver at higher rates to make up the defects.

It was conceived that the former parcels of beaver came to little less than £10,000 sterling, and the otter skins would pay all the charge, and they, with other furs, make up besides if anything wanted of the former sum. When the former account was passed, all their debts (*those of White Angel and Friendship included*) came but to £4770. And they could not estimate that all the supplies

since sent them and bills paid for them could come to above £2000, so as they conceived their debts had been paid with advantage or interest. But it may be objected how comes it that they could not as well exactly set down their receipts as their returns, but thus estimate it.

I answer two things were the cause of it. The first and principal was that the new accountant, which they in England would needs press upon them, did wholly fail them and could never give them any account. But, trusting to his memory and loose papers, let things run into such confusion that neither he nor any with him could bring things to rights. But being often called upon to perfect his accounts, he desired to have such a time and such a time of leisure and he would do it.

In the interim, he fell into a great sickness, and in conclusion, it fell out he could make no account at all. His books were, after a little good beginning, left altogether unperfect. And his papers, some were lost and others so confused as he knew not what to make of them himself when they came to be searched and examined.

This was not unknown to Mr. Sherley, and they came to smart [suffer] for it to purpose (*though it was not their fault*) both thus in England and also here. For they conceived they lost some hundreds of pounds for goods trusted out in the place

which were lost for want of clear accounts to call them in.

Another reason of this mischief was that after Mr. Winslow was sent into England to demand accounts and to except against the *White Angel*, they never had any price sent with their goods nor any certain invoice of them, but all things stood in confusion, and they were fain to guess at the prices of them. They writ back to Mr. Andrews and Mr. Beauchamp and told them they marveled they should write they had sent nothing home since the last accounts, for they had sent a great deal. And it might rather be marveled how they could be able to send so much, besides defraying all charge at home and what they had lost by the French and so much cast away at sea when Mr. Peirce lost his ship on the coast of Virginia.

What they had sent was to them all and to themselves as well as Mr. Sherley, and if they did not look after it, it was their own faults. They must refer them to Mr. Sherley, who had received it, to demand it of him. They also writ to Mr. Sherley to the same purpose and what the other complaints were.

This year, two shallops [shallow-water boats] going to Connecticut with goods from the Massachusetts, of such as removed thither to plant, were in an easterly storm cast away in coming into this harbor in the night. The

boatsmen were lost, and the goods were driven all along the shore and strewed up and down at high water mark. But the governor caused them to be gathered up and drawn together and appointed some to take an inventory of them and others to wash and dry such things as had need thereof, by which means most of the goods were saved and restored to the owners.

Afterwards, another boat of theirs (*going thither likewise*) was cast away near unto Manoanscuset, and such goods as came ashore were preserved for them. Such crosses they met within their beginnings, which some imputed as a correction from God for their intrusion (*to the wrong of others*) into the place. But I dare not be bold with God's judgments in this kind.

In the year 1634, the Pequots (*a stout and warlike people*), who had made wars with sundry [several] of their neighbors and puffed up with many victories, grew now at variance with the Narragansetts (*a great people bordering upon them*). These Narragansetts held correspondence and terms of friendship with the English of the Massachusetts. Now the Pequots, being conscious of the guilt of Captain Stone's death, whom they knew to be an Englishman as also those that were with him, and being fallen out with the Dutch, lest they should have over many enemies at once, sought to make friendship with the English of the Massachusetts and for that end sent both

messengers and gifts unto them, as appears by some letters sent from the governor hither.

Dear and worthy Sir, etc.

To let you know somewhat of our affairs, you may understand that the Pequots have sent some of theirs to us to desire our friendship and offered much wampum [strings of polished shell beads] and beaver, etc. The first messengers were dismissed without answer. With the next, we had divers [several] days conference, and taking the advice of some of our ministers and seeking the Lord in it, we concluded a peace and friendship with them upon these conditions, that they should deliver up to us those men who were guilty of Stone's death, etc. And if we desired to plant in Connecticut, they should give up their right to us and so we would send to trade with them as our friends (which was the chief thing we aimed at, being now in war with the Dutch and the rest of their neighbors).

To this, they readily agreed and that we should mediate a peace between them and the Narragansetts, for which end they were content we should give the Narragansetts part of that present they would bestow on us (for they stood so much on their honor as they would not be seen to give anything of themselves).

As for Captain Stone, they told us there were but two left of those who had any hand in his death and that they killed him in a just quarrel. For (say

they)¹⁹ he surprised [overtook] two of our men and bound them to make them by force to show him the way up the river. And he, with two other[s] coming on shore, nine Indians watched him, and when they were asleep in the night, they killed them to deliver their own men. And some of them going afterwards to the pinnace [two-masted ship], it was suddenly blown up. We are now preparing to send a pinnace [two-masted ship] unto them, etc.

In another of his, dated twelfth of the first month, he hath this.

Our pinnace [two-masted ship] is lately returned from the Pequots. They put off but little commodity and found them a very false people, so as they mean to have no more to do with them. I have divers [several] other things to write unto you, etc. Yours ever assured,

*John Winthrop
Boston, 12 of the 1 month, 1634*

After these things and as I take this year, John Oldham (of whom much is spoken before), being now an inhabitant of the Massachusetts, went with a small vessel and slenderly manned a-trading into these south parts. And upon a quarrel between him and the Indians, was put off by them (as hath been before noted) at an Island called by

¹⁹ BRADFORD'S SIDE NOTE: *There is little trust to be given to their relations in these things.*

the Indians Munisses, but since by the English, Block Island. This, with the former about the death of Stone and the baffling of the Pequots with the English of the Massachusetts, moved them to set out some to take revenge and require satisfaction for those wrongs.

But it was done so superficially and without their acquainting of those of Connecticut and other neighbors with the same, as they did little good. But their neighbors had more hurt done, for some of the murderers of Oldham fled to the Pequots. And though the English went to the Pequots and had some parley with them, yet they did but delude them, and the English returned without doing anything to purpose, being frustrate of their opportunity by the other's deceit.

After the English were returned, the Pequots took their time and opportunity to cut off some of the English as they passed in boats and went on fouling and assaulted them the next spring at their habitations, as will appear in it[s] place. I do but touch these things because I make no question they will be more fully and distinctly handled by themselves who had more exact knowledge of them and whom they did more properly concern.

This year, Mr. Smith laid down his place of ministry, partly by his own willingness, as thinking it too heavy a burthen [burden] and partly at the desire and by the persuasion of

others. And the church sought out for some other, having often been disappointed in their hopes and desires heretofore. And it pleased the Lord to send them an able and a godly man (*Mr. John Reynor*) and of a meek and humble spirit, sound in the truth and every way unreprouable in his life and conversation, whom after some time of trial, they chose for their teacher, the fruits of whose labors they enjoyed many years with much comfort in peace and good agreement.

Anno Domini 1637



In the fore part of this year, the Pequots fell openly upon the English at Connecticut in the lower parts of the river and slew sundry [several] of them (*as they were at work in the fields*), both men and women, to the great terror of the rest, and went away in great pride and triumph with many high threats. They also assaulted a fort at the river's mouth, though strong and well-defended. And though they did not there prevail, yet it struck them with much fear and astonishment to see their bold attempts in the face of danger, which made them in all places to stand upon their guard and to prepare for resistance and earnestly to solicit their friends and confederates in the Bay of Massachusetts to send them speedy aid, for they looked for more forcible assaults.

Mr. Vane, being then governor, writ from their General Court to them here to join with them in this war, to which they were cordially willing but took opportunity to write to them about some former things as well as present, considerable hereabout. The which will best appear in the governor's answer which he returned to the same, which I shall here insert.

Sir,

The Lord having so disposed as that your letters to our late governor is fallen into my lot to make answer unto, I could have wished I might have been at more freedom of time and thoughts. Also, that I might have done it more to your and my own satisfaction. But what shall be wanting now may be supplied hereafter, for the matters which from yourself and council were propounded and objected to us, we thought not fit to make them so public as the cognizance of our General Court. But as they have been considered by these of our council, this answer we think fit to return unto you.

1. *(First) Whereas you signify your willingness to join with us in this war against the Pequots, though you cannot engage yourselves without the consent of your General Court, we acknowledge your good affection towards us (which we never had cause to doubt of) and are willing to attend your full resolution when it may most seasonably be ripened.*

2. (Secondly) Whereas you make this war to be our people's and not to concern yourselves otherwise than by consequence, we do in part consent to you therein. Yet we suppose that in case of peril, you will not stand upon such terms, as we hope we should not do towards you, and withal we conceive that you look at the Pequots and all other Indians as a common enemy who, though he may take occasion of the beginning of his rage from some one part of the English, yet if he prevail[s], will surely pursue his advantage to the rooting out of the whole nation. Therefore, when we desired your help, we did it not without respect to your safety, as ours.

3. (Thirdly) Whereas you desire we should be engaged to aid you upon all like occasions, we are persuaded you do not doubt of it. Yet as we now deal with you as a free people and at liberty so as we cannot draw you into this war with us otherwise than as reason may guide and provoke you, so we desire we may be at the like [same] freedom when any occasion may call for help from us. And whereas it is objected to us that we refused to aid you against the French, we conceive the case was not alike. Yet we cannot wholly excuse our failing in that matter.

4. (Fourthly) Whereas you object that we began the war without your privity [private knowledge] and managed it contrary to your advice, the truth is that our first intentions being only against Block Island and the enterprise seeming of small difficulty, we did not so much as consider of taking

advice or looking out for aid abroad. And when we had resolved upon the Pequots, we sent presently or not long after to you about it, but the answer received, it was not seasonable for us to change our counsels except [unless] we had seen and weighed your grounds, which might have outweighed our own.

5. (Fifthly) For our people's trading at Kennebec, we assure you (to our knowledge) it hath not been by any allowance from us, and what we have provided in this and like cases at our last court, Mr. Edward Winslow can certify you.

6. (Sixthly) And whereas you object to us that we should hold trade and correspondency with the French, your enemies, we answer you are misinformed. For besides some letters which hath passed between our late governor and them, to which we were privy, we have neither sent nor encouraged ours to trade with them. Only one vessel or two, for the better conveyance of our letters, had license from our governor to sale thither.²⁰

Divers [several] other things have been privately objected to us by our worthy friend whereunto he received some answer, but most of them concerning the apprehension of particular discourtesies or injuries from some particular person amongst us. It concerns not us to give any other answer to them

²⁰ BRADFORD'S SIDE NOTE: *But by this means, they did furnish them and have still continued to do.*

than this. That if the offenders shall be brought forth in a right way, we shall be ready to do justice as the case shall require. In the meantime, we desire you to rest assured that such things are without our privity [private knowledge] and not a little grievous to us.

Now for the joining with us in this war, which indeed concerns us no otherwise than it may yourselves, viz. the relieving of our friends and Christian brethren who are now first in the danger. Though you may think us able to make it good without you (as if the Lord please to be with us, we may), yet three things we offer to your consideration which (we conceive) may have some weight with you.

First, that if we should sink under this burden, your opportunity of seasonable help would be lost in three respects. First, you cannot recover us or secure yourselves there with three times the charge and hazard, which now you may. Secondly, the sorrows which we should lie under (if through your neglect) would much abate of the acceptableness of your help afterwards. Thirdly, those of yours who are now full of courage and forwardness would be much damped and so less able to undergo so great a burden.

The second thing is this. That it concerns us much to hasten this war to an end before the end of this summer. Otherwise, the news of it will discourage both your and our friends from coming to us next

year. With what further hazard and loss it may expose us unto, yourselves may judge.

The third thing is this. That if the Lord shall please to bless our endeavors so as we end the war or put it in a hopeful way without you, it may breed such ill thoughts in our people towards yours as will be hard to entertain such opinion of your goodwill towards us as were fit to be nourished among such neighbors and brethren as we are. And what ill consequences may follow on both sides, wise men may fear and would rather prevent than hope to redress.

So with my hearty salutations to yourself and all your council and other our good friends with you, I rest yours most assured in the Lord,

*John Winthrop
Boston, the 20 of the 3 month, 1637*

In the meantime, the Pequots, especially in the winter before, sought to make peace with the Narragansetts and used very pernicious arguments to move them thereunto, as that the English were strangers and began to overspread their country and would deprive them thereof in time if they were suffered to grow and increase. And if the Narragansetts did assist the English to subdue them, they did but make way for their own overthrow, for if they were rooted out, the English would soon take occasion to subjugate them.

And if they would harken to them, they should not need to fear the strength of the English, for they would not come to open battle with them but fire their houses, kill their cattle, and lie in ambush for them as they went abroad upon their occasions. And all this they might easily do without any or little danger to themselves. The which course being held, they well saw the English could not long subsist, but they would either be starved with hunger or be forced to forsake the country, with many the like things. Insomuch that the Narragansetts were once wavering and were half-minded to have made peace with them and joined against the English.

But again, when they considered how much wrong they had received from the Pequots and what an opportunity they now had by the help of the English to right themselves, revenge was so sweet unto them as it prevailed above all the rest. So as they resolved to join with the English against them and did.

The court here agreed forthwith [immediately] to send fifty men at their own charge and, with as much speed as possibly they could, got them armed and had made them ready under sufficient leaders and provided a bark [sailboat] to carry them provisions and tend upon them for all occasions. But when they were ready to march (*with a supply from the Bay*), they had word to stay, for the enemy was as vanquished, and there would be no need.

I shall not take upon me exactly to describe their proceedings in these things because I expect it will be fully done by themselves who best know the carriage and circumstances of things. I shall therefore but touch them in general.

From Connecticut (*who were most sensible of the hurt sustained and the present danger*), they set out a party of men, and another party met them from the Bay at the Narragansetts who were to join with them. The Narragansetts were earnest to be gone before the English were well-rested and refreshed (*especially some of them which came last*). It should seem their desire was to come upon the enemy suddenly and undiscovered.

There was a bark [sailboat] of this place newly put in there which was come from Connecticut who did encourage them to lay hold of the Indians' forwardness and to show as great forwardness as they, for it would encourage them, and expedition might prove to their great advantage.

So they went on and so ordered their march as the Indians brought them to a fort of the enemy's (*in which most of their chief men were*) before day. They approached the same with great silence and surrounded it, both with English and Indians, that they might not break out, and so assaulted them with great courage, shooting amongst them, and entered the fort with all speed. And those that first entered found sharp resistance from the

enemy, who both shot at and grappled with them. Others ran into their houses and brought out fire and set them on fire, which soon took in their mats, and standing close together with the wind, all was quickly on aflame and thereby more were burned to death than was otherwise slain.

It burned their bowstrings and made them unserviceable. Those that escaped the fire were slain with the sword, some hewed to pieces, others run through with their rapiers so as they were quickly dispatched and very few escaped. It was conceived they thus destroyed about four hundred at this time.

It was a fearful fight to see them thus frying in the fire and the streams of blood quenching the same, and horrible was the stink and scent thereof. But the victory seemed a sweet sacrifice, and they gave the praise thereof to God, who had wrought so wonderfully for them thus to enclose their enemies in their hands and give them so speedy a victory over so proud and insulting an enemy.

The Narragansett Indians all this while stood round about but aloof off from all danger and left the whole execution to the English except [unless] it were the stopping of any that broke away, insulting over their enemies in this, their ruin and misery, when they saw them dancing in the flames, calling them by a word in their own language signifying *O brave Pequots*, which they

used familiarly among themselves in their own praise in songs of triumph after their victories.

After this service was thus happily accomplished, they marched to the waterside, where they met with some of their vessels by which they had refreshing with victuals [food] and other necessaries. But in their march, the rest of the Pequots drew into a body and accosted them, thinking to have some advantage against them by reason of a neck of land. But when they saw the English prepare for them, they kept aloof so as they neither did hurt nor could receive any.

After their refreshing and repair together for further counsel and directions, they resolved to pursue their victory and follow the war against the rest. But the Narragansett Indians, most of them, forsook them. And such of them as they had with them for guides or otherwise, they found them very cold and backward in the business, either out of envy or that they saw the English would make more profit of the victory than they were willing they should or else deprive them of such advantage as themselves desired by having them become tributaries unto them or the like.

For the rest of this business, I shall only relate the same as it is in a letter which came from Mr. Winthrop to the governor here, as followeth.

Worthy Sir,

I received your loving letter and am much provoked to express my affections towards you, but straitness of time forbids me, for my desire is to acquaint you with the Lord's great mercies towards us in our prevailing against His and our enemies that you may rejoice and praise His name with us.

About eighty of our men, having coasted along towards the Dutch plantation (sometimes by water, but most by land), met here and there with some Pequots whom they slew or took prisoners. Two sachems [chiefs] they took and beheaded. And not hearing of Sassacus (the chief sachem), they gave a prisoner his life to go and find him out. He went and brought them word where he was, but Sassacus, suspecting him to be a spy, after he was gone, fled away with some twenty more to the Mohawks, so our men missed of him, yet dividing themselves and ranging up and down as the providence of God guided them (for the Indians were all gone, save three or four). And they knew not whither to guide them or else would not.

Upon the thirteenth of this month, they light upon [discovered] a great company of them, viz. eighty strong men and two hundred women and children in a small Indian town, fast by a hideous swamp which they all slipped into before our men could get to them. Our captains were not then come together, but there was Mr. Ludlow and Captain Mason with some ten of their men, and Captain Patrick with some twenty or more of his, who, shooting at the Indians, Captain Trask with fifty more came soon

in at the noise. Then they gave order to surround the swamp, it being about a mile about [around]. But Lieutenant Davenport and some twelve more, not hearing that command, fell into the swamp among the Indians.

The swamp was so thick with shrub wood and so boggy withal that some of them stuck fast and received many shot[s]. Lieutenant Davenport was dangerously wounded about his armhole and another shot in the head so as fainting. They were in great danger to have been taken by the Indians, but Sergeant Riggs and Jeffery and two or three more rescued them and slew divers [several] of the Indians with their swords.

After they were drawn out, the Indians desired parley and were offered (by Thomas Stanton, our interpreter) that if they would come out and yield themselves, they should have their lives all that had not their hands in the English blood. Whereupon the sachem [chief] of the place came forth and an old man or two and their wives and children, and after that some other women and children, and so they spoke two hours till it was night. Then Thomas Stanton was sent into them again to call them forth, but they said they would sell their lives there, and so shot at him so thick as, if he had not cried out and been presently rescued, they had slain him

Then our men cut off a place of the swamp with their swords and cooped the Indians into so narrow a compass as they could easier kill them through

the thickets. So they continued all the night, standing about twelve feet one from another, and the Indians coming close up to our men shot their arrows so thick as they pierced their hat brims and their sleeves and stockings and other parts of their clothes, yet so miraculously did the Lord preserve them as not one of them was wounded, save those three who rashly went into the swamp.

When it was near day, it grew very dark so as those of them which were left dropped away between our men, though they stood but twelve or fourteen feet asunder, but were presently discovered and some killed in the pursuit. Upon searching of the swamp the next morning, they found nine slain, and some they pulled up whom the Indians had burned in the mire. So as they do think that of all this company, not twenty did escape, for they after found some who died in their flight of their wound[s] received.

The prisoners were divided, some to those of the river and the rest to us. Of these, we send the male children to Bermuda by Mr. William Peirce,²¹ and the women and maid children are disposed about in the towns. There have been now slain and taken in all about seven hundred. The rest are dispersed and the Indians in all quarters so terrified as all their friends are afraid to receive them. Two of the sachems [chiefs] of Long Island came to Mr. Stoughton and tendered themselves to be tributaries

²¹ BRADFORD'S SIDE NOTE: *But they were carried to the West Indies.*

under our protection, and two of the Nipmuc sachems [chiefs] have been with me to seek our friendship.

Among the prisoners, we have the wife and children of Mononotto, a woman of a very modest countenance and behavior. It was by her mediation that the two English maids were spared from death and were kindly used [treated] by her so that I have taken charge of her. One of her first requests was that the English would not abuse her body and that her children might not be taken from her.

Those which were wounded were fetched off soon by John Gallup, who came with his shallop [shallow-water boat] in a happy hour to bring them victuals [food] and to carry their wounded men to the pinnace [two-masted ship] where our chief surgeon was, with Mr. Wilson being about eight leagues off.

Our people are all in health (the Lord be praised), and although they had marched in their arms all the day and had been in fight all the night, yet they professed they found themselves so fresh as they could willingly have gone to such another business.

This is the substance of that which I received, though I am forced to omit many considerable circumstances. So being in much straightness of time (the ships being to depart within this four days and in them the Lord Lee and Mr. Vane), I here break off, and with hearty salutes to, etc., I rest yours assured,

John Winthrop
The 28 of the 5 month, 1637

The captains report we have slain thirteen sachems [chiefs], but Sassacus and Mononotto are yet living.

That I may make an end of this matter, this Sassacus (*the Pequots' chief sachem*) being fled to the Mohawks, they cut off his head with some other of the chief of them, whether to satisfy the English or rather the Narragansetts (*who, as I have since heard, hired them to do it*) or for their own advantage, I well know not. But thus, this war took end.

The rest of the Pequots were wholly driven from their place, and some of them submitted themselves to the Narragansetts and lived under them. Others of them betook [committed] themselves to the Mohegans under Uncas, their sachem [chief], with the approbation of the English of Connecticut, under whose protection Uncas lived. And he and his men had been faithful to them in this war and done them very good service.

But this did so vex the Narragansetts that they had not the whole sway over them, as they have never ceased plotting and contriving how to bring them under. And because they cannot attain their ends because of the English who have protected them, they have sought to raise a general

conspiracy against the English, as will appear in another place.

They had now letters again out of England from Mr. Andrews and Mr. Beauchamp that Mr. Sherley neither had nor would pay them any money or give them any account, and so, with much discontent, desired them here to send them some, much blaming them still that they had sent all to Mr. Sherley and none to themselves. Now, though they might have justly referred them to their former answer and insisted thereupon, and some wise men counseled them so to do, yet because they believed that they were really out round sums of money (*especially Mr. Andrews*) and they had some in their hands, they resolved to send them what beaver they had (*but stayed it till the next year*).

Mr. Sherley's letters were to this purpose, that as they had left him in the payment of the former bills, so he had told them he would leave them in this, and, believe it, they should find it true? And he was as good as his word, for they could never get penny from him nor bring him to any account, though Mr. Beauchamp sued him in the Chancery [court of equity]. But they, all of them, turned their complaints against them here, where there was least cause and who had suffered most unjustly, first from Mr. Allerton and them in being charged with so much of that which they never had nor drunk for. And now in paying all and more than all (*as they conceived*) and yet still thus

more demanded, and that with many heavy charges.

They now discharged Mr. Sherley from his agency, and forbade him to buy or send over any more goods for them, and pressed him to come to some end about these things.

Anno Domini 1638



This year, Mr. Thomas Prence was chosen governor.

Amongst other enormities that fell out amongst them, this year, three men were (*after due trial*) executed for robbery and murder which they had committed. Their names were these—Arthur Peach, Thomas Jackson, and Richard Stinnings. There was a fourth, Daniel Cross, who was also guilty, but he escaped away and could not be found.

This Arthur Peach was the chief of them and the ringleader of all the rest. He was a lusty [strong] and a desperate young man and had been one of the soldiers in the Pequot War and had done as good service as the most there and one of the forwardest in any attempt. And being now out of

means and loath to work and falling to idle course and company, he intended to go to the Dutch plantation and had stirred these three, being other men's servants and apprentices, to go with him. But another cause there was also of his secret going away in this manner. He was not only run into debt, but he had got a maid with child (*which was not known till after his death*), a man's servant in the town, and fear of punishment made him get away.

The other three complotting with him ran away from their masters in the night and could not be heard of, for they went not the ordinary way but shaped such a course as they thought to avoid the pursuit of any. But falling into the way that lieth between the Bay of Massachusetts and the Narragansetts and being disposed to rest themselves, [they] struck fire and took tobacco a little out of the way by the wayside.

At length, there came a Narragansett Indian by who had been in the Bay a-trading and had both cloth and beads about him (*they had met him the day before, and he was now returning*). Peach called him to drink tobacco with them, and he came and sat down with them. Peach told the other[s] he would kill him and take what he had from him, but they were something afraid. But he said, "Hang him, rogue; he had killed many of them." So they let him alone to do as he would, and when he saw his time, he took a rapier and ran him through the body once or twice and took

from him five fathom [thirty feet] of wampum [strings of polished shell beads] and three coats of cloth and went their way, leaving him for dead.

But he scrambled away when they were gone and made shift to get home (*but died within a few days after*), by which means they were discovered. And by subtlety, the Indians took them, for they desiring a canoe to set them over a water (*not thinking their fact had been known*), by the sachem's [chief's] command, they were carried to Aquidneck Island. and there accused of the murder and were examined and committed upon it by the English there.

The Indians sent for Mr. Williams and made a grievous complaint. His friends and kindred were ready to rise in arms and provoke the rest thereunto, some conceiving they should now find the Pequots' words true that the English would fall upon them. But Mr. Williams pacified them and told them they should see justice done upon the offenders and went to the man and took Mr. James, a physician, with him. The man told him who did it and in what manner it was done, but the physician found his wounds mortal and that he could not live (*as he after testified upon oath before the jury in open court*). And so he died shortly after, as both Mr. Williams, Mr. James, and some Indians testified in court.

The government in the Bay were acquainted with it but referred it hither because it was done in this

jurisdiction (*and yet afterwards they laid claim to those parts in controversy about Seekonk*). But [they] pressed by all means that justice might be done in it or else the country must rise and see justice done. Otherwise, it would raise a war.

Yet some of the rude and ignorant sort murmured that any English should be put to death for the Indians. So at last, they of the island brought them hither, and being often examined and the evidence produced, they all, in the end, freely confessed in effect all that the Indian accused them of and that they had done it in the manner aforesaid. And so upon the aforementioned evidence were cast by the jury and condemned and executed for the same.

And some of the Narragansett Indians and of the party's friends were present when it was done, which gave them and all the country good satisfaction. But it was a matter of much sadness to them here and was the second execution which they had since they came, being both for willful murder, as hath been before related. Thus much of this matter.

They received this year more letters from England full of renewed complaints. On the one side, that they could get no money nor account from Mr. Sherley, and he again that he was pressed thereto, saying he was to account with these here and not with them, etc. So as was before resolved, if nothing came of their last letters, they would now

send them what they could, as supposing when some good part was paid them that Mr. Shirley and they would more easily agree about the remainder.

So they sent to Mr. Andrews and Mr. Beauchamp, by Mr. Joseph Young in the *Mary and Anne*, 1325 pounds weight of beaver divided between them. Mr. Beauchamp returned an account of his moiety [share] that he made £400 sterling of it, freight and all charges paid. But Mr. Andrews, though he had the more and better part, yet he made not so much of his through his own indiscretion and yet turned the loss (*being about £40*) upon them here but without cause.

They sent them more by bills and other payment, which was received and acknowledged by them in money (*and divided between them*) and the like, which was for cattle sold of Mr. Allerton's and the price of a bark [sailboat] sold which belonged to the stock and made over to them in money £434 sterling. The whole sum was £1234 sterling, save what Mr. Andrews lost in the beaver, which was otherwise made good. But yet this did not stay their clamors, as will appear here after more at large.

It pleased God in these times so to bless the country with such access and confluence of people into it as it was thereby much enriched, and cattle of all kinds stood at a high rate for divers [several] years together. Kine [cattle] were

sold at £30 and some at £25 apiece, yea, sometimes at £28, a cow-calf usually at £10, a milch goat at £3 and some at £4, and female kids at thirty shillings and often at forty shillings apiece, by which means the ancient planters which had any stock began to grow in their estates.

Corn also went at a round rate, viz. six shillings a bushel, so as other trading began to be neglected, and the old partners (*having now forbidden Mr. Shirley to send them any more goods*) broke off their trade at Kennebec and as things stood would follow it no longer. But some of them (*with other[s] they joined with*), being loath it should be lost by discontinuance, agreed with the company for it and gave them about the sixth part of their gains for it, with the first fruits of which they built a house for a prison. And the trade there hath been since continued to the great benefit of the place, for some well foresaw that those high prices of corn and cattle would not long continue and that then the commodities there raised would be much missed.

This year, about the first or second of June, was a great and fearful earthquake. It was in this place heard before it was felt. It came with a rumbling noise or low murmur like unto remote thunder. It came from the nor[th]ward and passed southward. As the noise approached nearer, the earth began to shake and came at length with that violence as caused platters, dishes, and such like

things as stood upon shelves to clatter and fall down. Yea, persons were afraid of the houses themselves.

It so fell out that at the same time, divers [several] of the chief of this town were met together at one house, conferring with some of their friends that were upon their removal from the place (*as if the Lord would hereby show the signs of his displeasure in their shaking a pieces and removals one from another*). However, it was very terrible for the time, and as the men were set talking in the house, some women and others were without [outside] the doors, and the earth shook with that violence as they could not stand without catching hold of the posts and pales that stood next them. But the violence lasted not long, and about half an hour or less came another noise and shaking. But neither so loud nor strong as the former but quickly passed over, and so it ceased.

It was not only on the seacoast, but the Indians felt it within land, and some ships that were upon the coast were shaken by it. So powerful is the mighty hand of the Lord as to make both the earth and sea to shake and the mountains to tremble before Him when He pleases, and who can stay His hands?

It was observed that the summers for divers [several] years together after this earthquake were not so hot and seasonable for the ripening of corn and other fruits as formerly but more cold

and moist and subject to early and untimely frosts, by which many times much Indian corn came not to maturity. But whether this was any cause, I leave it to naturalists to judge.

Anno Domini 1639 & Anno Domini 1640



These two years I join together because in them fell out not many things more than the ordinary passages of their common affairs, which are not needful to be touched.

Those of this plantation having at sundry [several] times granted lands for several townships, and amongst the rest to the inhabitants of Scituate (*some whereof issued from themselves*). And also a large tract of land was given to their four London partners in that place, viz. Mr. Sherley, Mr. Beauchamp, Mr. Andrews, and Mr. Hatherley. At Mr. Hatherley's request and choice, it was, by him, taken for himself and them in that place (*for the other three had invested him with power and trust to choose for them*). And this tract of land extended to their utmost limits that

way and bordered on their neighbors of the Massachusetts, who had some years after seated a town (*called Hingham*) on their lands next to these parts. So as now there grew great difference between these two townships about their bounds and some meadow grounds that lay between them.

They of Hingham presumed to allot part of them to their people and measure and stake them out. The other pulled up their stakes and threw them. So it grew to a controversy between the two governments, and many letters and passages were between them about it, and it hung some two years in suspense. The Court of Massachusetts appointed some to range their line according to the bounds of their patent, and (*as they went to work*) they made it to take in all Scituate, and I know not how much more. Again, on the other hand, according to the line of the patent of this place, it would take in Hingham and much more within their bounds.

In the end, both courts agreed to choose two commissioners of each side and to give them full and absolute power to agree and settle the bounds between them, and what they should do in the case should stand irrevocably. One meeting they had at Hingham but could not conclude, for their commissioners stood stiffly on a clause in their grant that from Charles River, or any branch or part thereof, they were to extend their limits and three miles further to the southward or from the

most southward part of the Massachusetts Bay and three mile[s] further.

But they chose to stand on the former terms, for they had found a small river, or brook rather, that a great way within land trended southward and issued into some part of that river taken to be Charles River, and from the most southerly part of this and three mile[s] more southward of the same, they would run a line east to the sea (*about twenty mile[s]*) which will (*say they*) take in a part of Plymouth itself. Now it is to be known that though this patent and plantation were much the ancients, yet this enlargement of the same (*in which Scituate stood*) was granted after theirs, and so theirs were first to take place before this enlargement.

Now their answer was first, that however according to their own plan, they could no way come upon any part of their ancient grant. Secondly, they could never prove that to be a part of Charles River, for they knew not which was Charles River but as the people of this place which came first imposed such a name upon that river, upon which since Charlestown is built (*supposing that was it which Captain Smith in his map so named*). Now, they that first named it have best reason to know it and to explain which is it, but they only took it to be Charles River as far as it was by them navigated, and that was as far as a boat could go.

But that every runlet or small brook that should far within land come into it or mix their streams with it and were by the natives called by other and different names from it should now by them be made Charles River or parts of it, they saw no reason for it.

And [they] gave instance in Humber in Old England which had the Trent, Ouse, and many others of lesser note fell into it and yet were not counted parts of it. And many smaller rivers and brooks fell into the Trent and Ouse, and no parts of them but had names apart and divisions and nomination of themselves. Again, it was pleaded that they had no east line in their patent but were to begin at the sea and go west by a line, etc.

At this meeting, no conclusion was made but things discussed and well prepared for an issue. The next year, the same commissioners had their power continued or renewed and met at Scituate and concluded the matter as followeth.

THE AGREEMENT OF THE BOUNDS BETWIXT PLYMOUTH AND MASSACHUSETTS

Whereas there were two commissions granted by the two jurisdictions, the one of Massachusetts government granted unto John Endecott, gentleman, and Israel Stoughton, gentleman; the other of New Plymouth government to William Bradford, governor, and Edward Winslow, gentleman.

And both these for the setting out, settling, and determining of the bounds and limits of the lands between the said jurisdictions, whereby not only this present age but the posterity to come may live peaceably and quietly in that behalf.

And forasmuch as the said commissioners on both sides have full power so to do, as appeared by the records of both jurisdictions, we, therefore, the said commissioners above-named, do hereby, with one consent and agreement, conclude, determine, and by these presents declare:

That all the marshes at Cohasset that lie of the one side of the river next to Hingham shall belong to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts Plantation.

And all the marshes that lieth on the other side of the river next to Scituate shall belong to the jurisdiction of New Plymouth, excepting sixty acres of marsh at the mouth of the river on Scituate side next to the sea, which we do hereby agree, conclude, and determine shall belong to the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts.

And further, we do hereby agree, determine, and conclude that the bounds of the limits between both the said jurisdictions are as followeth, viz. from the mouth of the brook that runneth into Cohasset Marshes (which we call by the name of Bound Brook) with a straight and direct line to the middle of a great pond that lieth on the right hand of the upper path or common way that leadeth between

Weymouth and Plymouth, close to the path as we go along, which was formerly named (and still we desire may be called) Accord Pond, lying about five or six miles from Weymouth southerly, and from thence with a straight line to the southernmost part of Charles River²² and three miles southerly inward into the country, according as is expressed in the patent granted by His Majesty to the company of the Massachusetts Plantation.

Provided always and nevertheless concluded and determined by mutual agreement between the said commissioners that if it fall out that the said line from Accord Pond to the southernmost part of Charles River and three miles southerly, as is before expressed, straighten or hinder any part of any plantation begun by the government of New Plymouth or hereafter to be begun within ten years after the date of these presents, that then notwithstanding the said line, it shall be lawful for the said government of New Plymouth to assume on the northerly side of the said line, where it shall so entrench as aforesaid so much land as will make up the quantity of eight miles square to belong to every such plantation begun or to [be] begun as aforesaid, which we agree, determine, and conclude to appertain and belong to the said government of New Plymouth.

²² BRADFORD'S SIDE NOTE: *which is Charles River may still be questioned*

And whereas the said line from the said brook which runneth into Cohasset Saltmarsh, called by us Bound Brook and the pond called Accord Pond, lieth near the lands belonging to the townships of Scituate and Hingham, we do therefore hereby determine and conclude that if any divisions already made and recorded by either the said townships do cross the said line, that then it shall stand and be of force according to the former intents and purposes of the said towns granting them (the marshes formerly agreed on excepted).

And that no town in either jurisdiction shall hereafter exceed, but contain themselves with the said lines expressed.

In witness whereof, we, the commissioners of both jurisdictions, do by these presents indented set our hands and seals the ninth day of the fourth month in [the] sixteenth year of our sovereign Lord King Charles and in the year of our Lord 1640.

*William Bradford, Governor
Edward Winslow
John Endecott
Israel Stoughton*

Whereas the patent was taken in the name of William Bradford (*as in trust*) and ran in these terms to him, his heirs, and associates and assigns. And now the number of freemen being much increased and divers [several] townships established and settled in several quarters of the

government, as Plymouth, Duxbury, Scituate, Taunton, Sandwich, Yarmouth, Barnstable, Marshfield, and not long after Seekonk (*called afterward at the desire of the inhabitants, Rehoboth*) and Nauset, it was by the court desired that William Bradford should make a surrender of the same into their hands, the which he willingly did, in this manner following.

Whereas William Bradford and divers [several] others, the first instruments of God in the beginning of this great work of plantation, together with such as the all-ordering hand of God in His providence soon added unto them, have been at very great charges to procure the lands, privileges, and freedoms from all entanglements, as may appear by divers [various] and sundry [several] deeds, enlargements of grants, purchases, and payments of debts, etc., by reason whereof the title to the day of these presents remaineth in the said William Bradford, his heirs, associates, and assigns.

Now for the better settling of the estate of the said lands (contained in the grant or patent), the said William Bradford and those first instruments termed and called in sundry [several] orders upon public records the Purchasers or Oldcomers witness two in special, the one bearing date the third of March 1639, the other in December the first, Anno 1640, where unto these presents have special relation and agreement and whereby they are distinguished from other the freemen and inhabitants of the said corporation.

Be it known unto all men therefore by these presents that the said William Bradford for himself, his heirs, together with the said Purchasers, do only reserve unto themselves, their heirs, and assigns those three tracts of land mentioned in the said resolution, order, and agreement bearing date the first of December 1640, viz. first from the bounds of Yarmouth, three miles to the eastward of Namskaket and from sea to sea cross the neck of land.

The second, of a place called Acoughcouss, which lieth in the bottom of the bay adjoining to the west side of Point Peril and two miles to the western side of the said river to another place called Acushnet River, which entereth at the western end of Nacata and two miles to the eastward thereof, and to extend eight miles up into the country.

The third place, from Sowamsett River to Pawtucket River (with Cawsumsett Neck), which is the chief habitation of the Indians and reserved for them to dwell upon, extending into the land eight miles through the whole breadth thereof. Together with such other small parcels of lands as they or any of them are personally possessed of or interested in by virtue of any former titles or grant whatsoever.

And the said William Bradford doth by the free and full consent, approbation, and agreement of the said Old Planters or Purchasers, together with the liking, approbation, and acceptation of the other part of the said corporation, surrender into the hands of the

whole court consisting of the freemen of this corporation of New Plymouth all that other right and title, power, authority, privileges, immunities, and freedoms granted in the said letters patents, by the said right Honorable Council for New England, reserving his and their personal right of freemen, together with the said Old Planters aforesaid, except the said lands before excepted, declaring the freemen of this corporation, together with all such as shall be legally admitted into the same, his associates.

And the said William Bradford for him, his heirs and assigns, do hereby further promise and grant to do and perform whatsoever further thing or things, act or acts which in him lieth which shall be needful and expedient for the better confirming and establishing the said premises as by counsel learned in the laws shall be reasonably advised and devised when he shall be thereunto required.

In witness whereof, the said Willam Bradford hath in public court surrendered the said letters patents actually into the hands and power of the said court, binding himself, his heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns to deliver up whatsoever specialties are in his hands that do or may concern the same.

In these two years, they had sundry [several] letters out of England to send one over to end the business and account with Mr. Sherley, who now professed he could not make up his accounts without the help of some from hence, especially

Mr. Winslow's. They had serious thoughts of it, and the most part of the partners here thought it best to send, but they had formerly written such bitter and threatening letters as Mr. Winslow was neither willing to go nor that any other of the partners should. For he was persuaded if any of them went, they should be arrested and an action of such a sum laid upon them as they should not procure bail but must lie in prison, and then they would bring them to what they list, or otherwise, they might be brought into trouble by the archbishop's means as the times then stood.

But notwithstanding, they were much inclined to send, and Captain Standish was willing to go. But they resolved, seeing they could not all agree in this thing and that it was weighty and the consequence might prove dangerous, to take Mr. Winthrop's advice in the thing and the rather because Mr. Andrews had by many letters acquainted him with the differences between them and appointed him for his assign to receive his part of the debt (*and though they denied to pay him any as a debt till the controversy was ended, yet they had deposited £110 in money in his hands for Mr. Andrews, to pay to him in part as soon as he would come to any agreement with the rest*).

But Mr. Winthrop was of Mr. Winslow's mind and dissuaded them from sending, so they broke off their resolution from sending and returned this answer that the times were dangerous as things stood with them, for they knew how Mr. Winslow

had suffered formerly and for a small matter was clapped up in the Fleet [Fleet Prison], and it was long before he could get out, to both his and their great loss and damage. And times were not better but worse in that respect.

Yet that their equal and honest minds might appear to all men, they made them this tender to refer the case to some gentlemen and merchants in the Bay of Massachusetts such as they should choose and were well known unto themselves (*as they perceived there were many of their acquaintance and friends there, better known to them than the partners here*). And let them be informed in the case by both sides and have all the evidence that could be produced in writing or otherwise, and they would be bound to stand to their determination and make good their award, though it should cost them all they had in the world.

But this did not please them, but they were offended at it without any great reason for aught I know, seeing neither side could give in clear accounts. The partners here could not, by reason they (*to their smart [suffering]*) were failed by the accountant they sent them. And Mr. Sherley pretended he could not also, save as they conceived it a disparagement to yield to their inferiors in respect of the place and other concurring circumstances. So this came to nothing. And afterward, Mr. Sherley writ that if Mr. Winslow would meet him in France, the Low

Countries [The Netherlands], or Scotland, let the place be known, and he [would] come to him there. But in regard of the troubles that now began to arise into our own nation and other reasons, this did not come to any effect.

That which made them so desirous to bring things to an end was partly to stop the clamors and aspersions raised and cast upon them hereabout, though they conceived themselves to sustain the greatest wrong and had most cause of complaint. And partly because they feared the fall of cattle, in which most part of their estates lay. And this was not a vain fear, for they fell indeed before they came to a conclusion, and that so suddenly as a cow that but a month before was worth £20 and would so have passed in any payment fell now to £5 and would yield no more. And a goat that went at £3 or fifty shillings would now yield but eight or ten shillings at most.

All men feared a fall of cattle, but it was thought it would be by degrees and not be from the highest pitch at once to the lowest as it did, which was greatly to the damage of many and the undoing of some. Another reason was they, many of them, grew aged (*and indeed, a rare thing it was that so many partners should all live together so many years as these did*) and saw [that] many changes were like to befall [occur], so as they were loath to leave these entanglements upon their children and posterity who might be driven to remove places as they had done. Yea,

themselves might do it yet before they died. But this business must yet rest. The next year gave it more ripeness, though it rendered them less able to pay for the reasons aforesaid.

Anno Domini 1641



Mr. Sherley, being weary of this controversy and desirous of an end (*as well as themselves*), writ to Mr. John Atwood and Mr. William Collier, two of the inhabitants of this place and of his special acquaintance, and desired them to be a means to bring this business to an end by advising and counseling the partners here by some way to bring it to a composition by mutual agreement. And he writ to themselves also to that end, as by his letter may appear, so much thereof as concerns the same I shall here relate.

Sir,

My love remembered, etc. I have writ so much concerning the ending of our accounts betwixt us as I profess I know not what more to write, etc. If you desire an end, as you seem to do, there is (as I

conceive) but two ways. That [the first way] is to perfect all accounts from the first to the last, etc. Now, if we find this difficult and tedious, having not been so strict and careful as we should and ought to have done, as for my own part, I do confess I have been somewhat too remiss and do verily think so are you, etc., I fear you can never make a perfect account of all your petty voyages out and home, too and again, etc.²³

So then the second way must be by bidding or compounding [agreeing to discharge initial debt obligation and establish a new one in its place], and this way, first or last, we must fall upon, etc. If we must war at law for it, do not you expect from me, neither will I from you but to cleave the hair [split hairs], and then I daresay the lawyers will be most gainers, etc. Thus, let us set to the work, one way or other, and end, that I may not always suffer in my name and estate, and you are not free. Nay, the gospel suffers by your delaying and causeth the professors [those who openly profess] of it to be hardly spoken of, that you, being many and now able, should combine and join together to oppress and burden me, etc.

Fear not to make a fair and reasonable offer. Believe me, I will never take any advantage to plead it against you or to wrong you. Or else, let Mr. Winslow come over and let him have such full

²³ BRADFORD'S SIDE NOTE: This was but to pretend advantage, for it could not be done; neither did it need.

power and authority as we may end by compounding [agreeing to discharge initial debt obligation and establish a new one in its place], or else the accounts so well and fully made up as we may end by reckoning.

Now, blessed be God, the times be much changed here. I hope to see many of you return to your native country again and have such freedom and liberty as the Word of God prescribes. Our bishops were never so near a downfall as now. God hath miraculously confounded them and turned all their popish and Machiavellian plots and projects on their own heads, etc.

Thus you see what is fit to be done concerning our particular grievances, I pray you take it seriously into consideration. Let each give way a little that we may meet, etc. Be you and all yours kindly saluted, etc. So I ever rest your loving friend,

*James Shirley
Clapham, May 18, 1641*

Being thus by this letter and also by Mr. Atwood's and Mr. Collier's mediation urged to bring things to an end (*and the continual clamors from the rest*), and by none more urged than by their own desires, they took this course (*because many scandals had been raised upon them*). They appointed these two men before mentioned to meet on a certain day and called some other friends on both sides and Mr. Freeman, brother-

in-law to Mr. Beauchamp. And having drawn up a collection of all the remains of the stock in whatsoever it was, as housing, boats, bark [sailboat], and all implements belonging to the same as they were used in the time of the trade, were they better or worse, with the remains of all commodities as beads, knives, hatchets, cloth, or anything else, as well the refuse as the more vendable, with all debts, as well those that were desperate as others more hopeful.

And having spent divers [several] days to bring this to pass, having the help of all books and papers which either any of themselves had or Josias Winslow, who was their accountant. And they found the sum in all to arise (*as the things were valued*) to about £1400. And they, all of them, took a voluntary but a solemn oath in the presence one of another and of all their friends, the persons abovesaid that were now present, that this was all that any of them knew of or could remember, and Josias Winslow did the like [same] for his part.

But the truth is they wronged themselves much in the valuation. For they reckoned some cattle as they were taken of Mr. Allerton, as, for instance, a cow in the hands of one cost £25, and so she was valued in this account. But when she came to be passed away in part of payment after the agreement, she would be accepted but at £4-15s.

Also, being tender of their oaths, they brought in all they knew owing to the stock, but they had not made the like [same] diligent search what the stock might owe to any. So as many scattering debts fell upon afterwards more than now they knew of.

Upon this, they drew certain articles of agreement between Mr. Atwood, on Mr. Sherley's behalf, and themselves. The effect is as followeth.

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT

MADE AND CONCLUDED UPON THE FIFTEENTH DAY
OF OCTOBER 1641, *etc.*

IMPRIMIS [IN THE FIRST PLACE]: *Whereas there was a partnership for divers [several] years agreed upon between James Sherley, John Beauchamp, and Richard Andrews, of London, merchants, and William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Thomas Prence, Myles Standish, William Brewster, John Alden, and John Howland, with Isaac Allerton, in a trade of beaver skins and other furs arising in New England, the term of which said partnership being expired and divers [several] sums of money in goods adventured into New England by the said James Sherley, John Beauchamp, and Richard Andrews and many large returns made from New England by the said William Bradford, Edward Winslow, etc.*

And difference arising about the charge of two ships, the one called the White Angel of Bristol and

the other, the Friendship of Barnstable, and a voyage intended in her, etc., which said ships and their voyages the said William Bradford, Edward Winslow, etc., conceive do not at all appertain to their accounts of partnership.

And whereas the accounts of the said partnership are found to be confused and cannot orderly appear (through the default of Josias Winslow, the book keeper).

And whereas the said William Bradford, etc., have received all their goods for the said trade from the foresaid James Sherley and have made most of their returns to him by consent of the said John Beauchamp and Richard Andrews.

And whereas also, the said James Sherley hath given power and authority to Mr. John Atwood with the advice and consent of William Collier of Duxbury, for and on his behalf, to put such an absolute end to the said partnership with all and every account reckonings, dues, claims, demands, whatsoever, to the said James Sherley, John Beauchamp, and Richard Andrews from the said William Bradford, etc., for and concerning the said beaver trade.

And also the charge the said two ships and their voyages made or pretended, whether just or unjust, from the world's beginning to this present.

As also for the payment of a purchase of £1800 made by Isaac Allerton for and on the behalf of the said William Bradford, Edward Winslow, etc., and of the joint stock, shares, lands, and adventures, whatsoever, in New England aforesaid, as appeareth by a deed bearing date the 6 November 1627.

And also for and from such sum and sums of money or goods as are received by William Bradford, Thomas Prence, and Myles Standish for the recovery of dues by accounts betwixt them, the said James Sherley, John Beauchamp, and Richard Andrews, and Isaac Allerton for the ship called the White Angel.

Now the said John Atwood, with advice and counsel of the said William Collier, having had much communication and spent divers [several] days in agitation of all the said differences and accounts with the said William Bradford, Edward Winslow, etc.

And the said William Bradford, Edward Winslow, etc., have also, with the said bookkeeper, spent much time in collecting and gathering together the remainder of the stock of partnership for the said trade and whatsoever hath been received or is due by the said attorneyship before expressed and all and all manner of goods, debts, and dues thereunto belonging, as well those debts that are weak and doubtful and desperate, as those that are more secure, which in all do amount to the sum of £1400 or thereabout.

And for more full satisfaction of the said James Sherley, John Beauchamp, and Richard Andrews, the said William Bradford and all the rest of the abovesaid partners, together with Josias Winslow, the bookkeeper, have taken a voluntary oath that within the said sum of £1400 or thereabout is contained whatsoever they know to the utmost of their remembrance.

In consideration of all which matters and things before expressed, and to the end that a full, absolute, and final end may be now made and all suits in law may be avoided and love and peace continued, it is therefore agreed and concluded between the said John Atwood with the advice and consent of the said William Collier, for and on the behalf of said James Sherley, to and with the said William Bradford, etc., in manner and form following, viz. that the said John Atwood shall procure a sufficient release and discharge under the hands and seals of the said James Sherley, John Beauchamp, and Richard Andrews to be delivered fair and unconcealed unto the said William Bradford, etc., at or before the last day of August next ensuing the date hereof.

Whereby the said William Bradford, etc., their heirs, executors, and administrators, and every of them shall be fully and absolutely acquitted and discharged of all actions, suits, reckonings, accounts, claims, and demands, whatsoever, concerning the general stock of beaver trade, payment of the said £1800 for the purchase, and all

demands, reckonings, and accounts, just or unjust, concerning the two ships, White Angel and Friendship aforesaid, together with whatsoever hath been received by the said William Bradford of the goods or estate of Isaac Allerton for satisfaction of the accounts of the said ship called the White Angel by virtue of a letter of attorney to him, Thomas Prence, and Myles Standish, directed from the said James Sherley, John Beauchamp, and Richard Andrews for that purpose as aforesaid.

It is also agreed and concluded upon between the said parties to these presents that the said William Bradford, Edward Winslow, etc., shall now be bound in £2400 for payment of £1200 in full satisfaction of all demands as aforesaid to be paid in manner and form following, that is to say, £400 within two months next after the receipt of the aforesaid releases and discharges, one hundred and ten pounds whereof is already in the hands of John Winthrop, Senior, of Boston, Esquire, by the means of Mr. Richard Andrews aforesaid, and eighty pounds weight of beaver now deposited into the hands of the said John Atwood to be both in part of payment of the said £400 and the other £800 to be paid by the £200 per annum to such assigns as shall be appointed, inhabiting either in Plymouth or Massachusetts Bay in such goods and commodities and at such rates as the country shall afford at the time of delivery and payment.

And in the meantime, the said bond of £2400 to be deposited into the hands of the said John Atwood.

And it is agreed upon by and between the said parties to these presents that if the said John Atwood shall not or cannot procure such said releases and discharges as aforesaid from the said James Sherley, John Beauchamp, and Richard Andrews at or before the last day of August next ensuing the date hereof, that then the said John Atwood shall, at the said day precisely, redeliver or cause to be delivered unto the said William Bradford, Edward Winslow, etc., their said bond of £2400 and the said eighty pounds weight of beaver, or the due value thereof, without any fraud or further delay.

And for performance of all and singular the covenants and agreements herein contained and expressed, which, on the one part and behalf of the said James Sherley are to be observed and performed, shall become bound in the sum of £2400 to them, the said William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Thomas Prence, Myles Standish, William Brewster, John Alden, and John Howland.

And it is lastly agreed upon between the said parties that these presents shall be left in trust to be kept for both parties in the hands of Mr. John Reynor, teacher of Plymouth. In witness whereof, all the said parties have hereunto severally set their hands the day and year first above written.

*John Atwood, William Bradford, Edward Winslow,
etc.*

In The Presence Of:
Edmond Freeman
William Thomas
William Pady
Nathaniel Souther

The next year, this long and tedious business came to some issue, as will then appear, though not to a final end with all the parties. But thus much for the present.

I had forgotten to insert in its place how the church here had invited and sent for Mr. Charles Chauncy, a reverend, godly, and very learned man, intending upon trial to choose him pastor of the church here for the more comfortable performance of the ministry (*Mr. Chauncey came to them in the year 1638 and stayed till the latter part of this year, 1641*), with Mr. John Reynor, the teacher of the same. But there fell out some difference about baptizing, he holding it ought only to be by dipping and putting the whole body under water and that sprinkling was unlawful.

The church yielded that immersion or dipping was lawful but, in this cold country, not so convenient. But they could not nor durst [dared] not yield to him in that, that sprinkling (*which all the churches of Christ do for the most part use at this day*) was unlawful and an human invention, as the same was pressed. But they were willing to yield to him as far as they could and to the utmost and were contented to suffer him to practice as he

was persuaded. And when he came to minister that ordinance, he might so do it to any that did desire it in that way, provided he could peaceably suffer Mr. Reynor and such as desired to have theirs otherwise baptized by him by sprinkling or pouring on of water upon them. So as there might be no disturbance in the church hereabout.

But he said he could not yield hereunto. Upon which, the church procured some other ministers to dispute the point with him publicly, as Mr. Ralph Partridge of Duxbury, who did it sundry [several] times very ably and sufficiently, as also some other ministers within this government. But he was not satisfied.

So the church sent to many other churches to crave their help and advice in this matter and, with his will and consent, sent them his arguments written under his own hand. They sent them to the church at Boston in the Bay of Massachusetts to be communicated with other churches there. Also, they sent the same to the churches of Connecticut and New Haven with sundry [several] others and received very able and sufficient answers, as they conceived, from them and their learned ministers, who all concluded against him.

But himself was not satisfied therewith. Their answers are too large here to relate. They conceived the church had done what was meet in the thing, so Mr. Chauncy, having been the most

part of three years here, removed himself to Scituate, where he now remains a minister to the church there.

Also, about these times, now that cattle and other things began greatly to fall from their former rates and persons began to fall into more straits and many being already gone from them (*as is noted before*) both to Duxbury, Marshfield, and other places, and those of the chief sort, as Mr. Winslow, Captain Standish, Mr. Alden, and many other, and still some dropping away daily, and some at this time and many more unsettled, it did greatly weaken the place. And by reason of the straitness and barrenness of the place, it set the thoughts of many upon removal, as will appear more hereafter.

Anno Domini 1642



Marvelous it may be to see and consider how some kind of wickedness did grow and break forth here in a land where the same was so much witnessed against and so narrowly looked unto and severely punished when it was known. As in no place more or so much that I have known or heard of, insomuch as they have been somewhat censured even by moderate and good men for their severity in punishments. And yet all this could not suppress the brewing out of sundry [several] notorious sins (*as this year, besides other, gives us too many sad precedents and instances*), especially drunkenness and uncleanness, not only incontinency between persons unmarried, for which many both men and women have been punished sharply enough, but some married persons also.

But that which is worse, even sodomy and buggery (*things fearful to name*) have broke forth in this land oftener than once. I say it may justly be marveled at and cause us to fear and tremble at the consideration of our corrupt natures, which are so hardly bridled, subdued, and mortified, nay, cannot by any other means but the powerful work and grace of God's spirit.

1. But (*besides this*) one reason may be that the devil may carry a greater spite against the churches of Christ and the gospel here by how much the more they endeavor to preserve holiness and purity amongst them and strictly punisheth the contrary when it arriseth either in church or commonwealth that He might cast blemish and stain upon them in the eyes of [the] world, who use to be rash in judgment. I would rather think thus than that Satan hath more power in these heathen lands, as some have thought, than in more Christian nations, especially over God's servants in them.

2. Another reason may be that it may be in this case as it is with waters when their streams are stopped or dammed up. When they get passage, they flow with more violence and make more noise and disturbance than when they are suffered to run quietly in their own channels. So wickedness being here more stopped by strict laws and the same more nearly looked unto so as it cannot run in a common road of liberty as it

would and is inclined, it searches everywhere and at last breaks out where it gets vent.

3. A third reason may be here (*as I am verily persuaded*) is not more evils in this kind nor nothing near so many by proportion as in other places, but they are here more discovered and seen and made public by due search, inquisition, and due punishment. For the churches look narrowly to their members and the magistrates over all more strictly than in other places. Besides, here the people are but few in comparison of other places, which are full and populous and lie hid, as it were, in a wood or thicket, and many horrible evils by that means are never seen nor known. Whereas here, they are, as it were, brought into the light and set in the plain field or rather on a hill made conspicuous to the view of all.

But to proceed, there came a letter from the governor in the Bay to them here touching matters of the aforementioned nature which, because it may be useful, I shall here relate it and the passages thereabout.

Sir,

Having an opportunity to signify the desires of our General Court in two things of special importance, I willingly take this occasion to impart them to you that you may impart them to the rest of your

magistrates and also to your elders for counsel and give us your advice in them.

The first is concerning heinous offenses in point of uncleanness, the particular cases with the circumstances and the questions thereupon you have here enclosed. The second thing is concerning the islanders at Aquidneck, that seeing the chiefest of them are gone from us in offenses either to churches or commonwealth or both; others are dependents on them, and the best sort are such as close [join] with them in all their rejections of us; neither is it only in a faction that they are divided from us, but in very deed, they rend [tear] themselves from all the true churches of Christ and many of them from all the powers of magistracy.

We have had some experience hereof by some of their underworkers or emissaries who have lately come amongst us and have made public defiance against magistracy, ministry, churches, and church covenants, etc., as anti-Christian, secretly also sowing the seeds of Familism and Anabaptistry to the infection of some and danger of others, so that we are not willing to join with them in any league or confederacy at all but rather that you would consider and advise with us how we may avoid them and keep ours from being infected by them.

Another thing I should mention to you for the maintenance of the trade of beaver. If there be not a company to order it in every jurisdiction among the English which companies should agree in general of

their way in trade, I suppose that the trade will be overthrown, and the Indians will abuse us. For this cause, we have lately put it into order amongst us, hoping of encouragement from you (as we have had) that we may continue the same. Thus, not further to trouble you, I rest with my loving remembrance to yourself, etc., your loving friend,

*Richard Bellingham
Boston, 28 (1) 1642*

The note enclosed follows on the other side.

Worthy and beloved Sir,

Your letter (with the questions enclosed) I have communicated with our assistants, and we have referred the answer of them to such reverend elders as are amongst us, some of whose answers thereto we have here sent you enclosed under their own hands. From the rest, we have not yet received any. Our far distance hath been the reason of this long delay, as also that they could not confer their counsels together.

For ourselves (you know our breedings and abilities), we rather desire light from yourselves and others whom God hath better enabled than to presume to give our judgments in cases so difficult and of so high a nature. Yet under correction and submission to better judgments, we propose this one thing to your prudent considerations.

As it seems to us, in the case even of willful murder, that though a man did smite or wound another with a full purpose or desire to kill him (which is murder in a high degree before God), yet if he did not die (Exodus 21:22; Deuteronomy 19:11; Numbers 35: 16-18) the magistrate was not to take away the other's life. So by proportion in other gross [large] and foul sins, though high attempts and near approaches to the same be made and such as in the sight and account of God may be as ill as the accomplishment of the foulest acts of that sin, yet we doubt whether it may be safe for the magistrate to proceed to death. We think upon the former grounds rather he may not.

As for instance, in the case of adultery (if it be admitted that it is to be punished with death, which to some of us is not clear), if the body be not actually defiled, then death is not to be inflicted. So in sodomy and bestiality if there be not penetration. Yet we confess foulness of circumstances and frequency in the same doth make us remain in the dark and desire further light from you or any as God shall give.

As for the second thing concerning the islanders? We have no conversing with them nor desire to have furdur [further] than necessity or humanity may require. And as for trade? We have, as far as we could ever therein, held an orderly course and have been sorry to see the spoil thereof by others and fear it will hardly be recovered. But in these or any other things which may concern the common

good, we shall be willing to advise and concur with you in what we may. Thus, with my love remembered to yourself and the rest of our worthy friends, your assistants, I take leave and rest your loving friend,

*William Bradford
Plymouth, 17, 3 month, 1642*

Now follows the ministers' answers.

And First,
MR. REYNOR'S

QUESTION: What sodomitical acts are to be punished with death, and what very fact (ipso facto) is worthy of death, or if the fact itself be not capital, what circumstances concurring may make it capital?

ANSWER: In the judicial law (the morality whereof concerneth us), it is manifest that carnal knowledge of man or lying with man as with woman, cum penetratio corporis [with penetration of the body], was sodomy to be punished with death. What else can be understood by Leviticus 18:22 and 20:13, and Genesis 19:5? Secondly, it seems also that this foul sin might be capital, though there was not penetratio corporis [penetration of the body], but only contactus and fricatio usque ad effusionem seminis [touching and rubbing until the emission of semen] for these reasons:

(1) *Because it was sin to be punished with death, Leviticus 20:13, in the man who was lain withal as well as in him that lieth with him. Now, his sin is not mitigated where there is not penetration nor augmented where it is, whereas it's charged upon the women that they were guilty of this unnatural sin as well as men, Romans 1:26-27. The same thing doth furder [further] appear.*

(2) *Because of that proportion betwixt this sin and bestiality wherein if a woman did stand before or approach to a beast for that end to lie down thereto (whether penetration was or not), it was capital, Leviticus 18:23 and 20:16.*

(3) *Thirdly, because something else might be equivalent to penetration where it had not been, viz. the forementioned acts with frequency and long continuance with a high hand, utterly extinguishing all light of nature. Besides, full intention and bold attempting of the foulest acts may seem to have been capital here as well as coming presumptuously to slay with guile was capital, Exodus 21:14.*

Yet it is not so manifest that the same acts were to be punished with death in some other sins of uncleanness, which yet by the law of God were capital crimes, besides other reasons:

(1) *Because sodomy and also bestiality is more against the light of nature than some other capital crimes of uncleanness, which reason is to be*

attended unto as that which most of all made this sin capital.

(2) Because it might be committed with more secrecy and less suspicion and therefore needed the more to be restrained and suppressed by the law.

(Thirdly) Because there was not the like [same] reason and degree of sinning against family and posterity in this sin as in some other capital sins of uncleanness.

2 QUESTION: *How far a magistrate may extract a confession from a delinquent to accuse himself of a capital crime, seeing nemo tenetur prodere seipsum [no one is bound to incriminate himself].*

ANSWER: *A magistrate cannot without sin neglect diligent inquisition into the cause brought before him, Job 29: 16; Proverbs 24:11-12, and 25:2.*

(Secondly) If it be manifest that a capital crime is committed and that common report or probability, suspicion, or some complaint (or the like) be of this or that person, a magistrate ought to require and by all due means to procure from the person (so far already bewrayed [exposed]) a naked confession of the fact as appears by that which is moral and of perpetual equity both in the case of uncertain murder, Deuteronomy 21:1-9, and slander, Deuteronomy 22:13-21.

For though nemo tenetur prodere seipsum [no one is bound to incriminate himself], yet by that which

may be known to the magistrate by the forenamed means, he is bound thus to do or else he may betray his country and people to the heavy displeasure of God, Leviticus 18: 24-25, Joshua 22:18, Psalm 106:30, such as are innocent to the sinful, base, cruel lusts of the profane and such as are delinquents and others with them into the hands of the stronger temptations and more boldness and hardness of heart to commit more and worse villainy, besides all the guilt and hurt he will bring upon himself.

*(Thirdly) To inflict some punishment merely for this reason to extract a confession of a capital crime is contrary to the nature of vindictive justice, which always hath respect to a known crime committed by the person punished, and it will therefore, for anything which can before be known by the provoking and forcing of wrath, compared to the wringing of the nose, Proverb 30:33, which is as well forbidden the fathers of the country as of the family, Ephesians 6:4, as producing many sad and dangerous effects. That an oath (*ex officio*) for such a purpose is no due means hath been abundantly proved by the godly learned and is well known.*

QUESTION 3: In what cases of capital crimes one witness with other circumstances shall be sufficient to convince? Or is there no conviction without two witnesses?

ANSWER: In taking away the life of man, one witness alone will not suffice. There must be two or that which is instar [as good as], the texts are

manifest, Numbers 35:30, Deuteronomy 17:6 and 19:15.

Secondly, there may be conviction by one witness and something that hath the force of another, [such] as the evidency of the fact done by such an one and not another, unforced confession when there was no fear or danger of suffering for the fact, handwritings acknowledged, and confessed.

John Reynor

MR. PARTRIDGE

His Writing in Answer to the Questions

[QUESTION:] *What is that sodomitical act which is to be punished with death?*

[ANSWER:] *Though I conceive probable that a voluntary effusion of seed per modum concubitus [by lying together] of man with man, as of a man with woman, though in concubitu [lying together] there be not penetratio corporis [penetration of the body] is that sin which is forbidden, Leviticus 18:22, and adjudged to be punished with death, Leviticus 20:13, because though there be not penetratio corporis [penetration of the body], yet there may be similitudo concubitus muliebris [likeness of lying with a woman], which is that the law specifieth. Yet I dare not be con[fident?].*

(1) *Because Genesis 19:5, the intended act of the Sodomites (who were the first noted masters of this unnatural act of more than brutish filthiness) is*

*expressed by carnal copulation of man with woman.
“Bring them out unto us that we may know them.”*

(Secondly) Because it is observed among the nations where this unnatural uncleanness is committed, it is with penetration of the body.

(Thirdly) Because in the judicial proceedings of the judges in England, the indict so run (as I have been informed).

QUESTION: How far may a magistrate extract a confession of a capital crime from a suspected and an accused person?

ANSWER: I conceive that a magistrate is bound by careful examination of circumstances and weighing of probabilities to sift the accused and by force of argument to draw him to an acknowledgment of the truth. But he may not extract a confession of a capital crime from a suspected person by any violent means, whether it be by an oath imposed or by any punishment inflicted or threatened to be inflicted for so he may draw forth an acknowledgment of a crime from a fearful innocent. If guilty, he shall be compelled to be his own accuser when no other can, which is against the rule of justice.

QUESTION: In what cases of capital crimes one witness with other circumstances shall be sufficient to convict, or is there no conviction without witnesses?

ANSWER: *I conceive that in the case of capital crimes, there can be no safe proceedings unto judgment without two witnesses, as Numbers 35:30, Deuteronomy 19:15, except [unless] there can some evidence be produced as available and firm to prove the fact as a witness is, then one witness may suffice, for therein the end and equity of the law is attained. But to proceed unto sentence of death upon presumptions where probably there may subesse falsum [be falsehoods], though there be the testimony of one witness, I suppose it cannot be a safe way. Better for such a one to be held in safe custody for further trial, I conceive.*

Ralph Partrich

The Answer Of
MR. CHARLES CHANCY

An contactus et fricatitio usque ad seminis effusionem sine penetratione coporis sit sodomia morte plectenda? [*Does touching and rubbing until the emission of semen without penetration of the body constitute sodomy, punishable by death?*]

QUESTION: *The question is what sodomitical acts are to be punished with death and what very fact committed (ipso facto) is worthy of death, or if the fact itself be not capital, what circumstances concurring may make it capital? The same question may be asked of rape, incest, bestiality, unnatural sins, presumptuous sins. These be the words of the first question.*

ANSWER: *The answer unto this I will lay down (as God shall direct by His Word and Spirit) in these following conclusions.*

1. *That the judicials of Moses that are appendances to the moral law and grounded on the law of nature or the Decalogue [Ten Commandments] are immutable and perpetual, which all orthodox divines acknowledge. See the authors following. [Martin] Luther: Tome 1 Wittenberg, folio 435 and folio 7; [Philip] Melancthon in Loci Communes, loco de conjugio; [John] Calvin: Libro 4, Institutes, Chapter 4, Section 15; [Franciscus] Junius: De Politiae Mosis, Theses 29 and 30; Heinrich Bullinger: Decades 3, Sermon 8; Wolfgang Musculus: Loci Communes in sexti praecepti explanatione; [Martin] Bucer: De Regno Christi, Libro 2, Chapter 7; Theodore Beza: Volume 1, De Haereticis Puniendis, folio 154; [Girolamo] Zanchi: In Tertium Praeceptum; [Zacharias] Ursinus: part 4, Explicatio Catechetica; Johannes Piscator in Aphorismorum Hoc, De Lege Dei, aphorism 17; and more might be added.*

I forbear for brevity's sake to set down their very words. This being the constant and general opinion of the best divines, I will rest in this as undoubtedly true, though much more might be said to confirm it.

2. *That all the sins mentioned in the question were punished with death by the judicial law of Moses, as adultery, Leviticus 20:10, Deuteronomy 22:22, Ezekiel 16:38, John 8:5, which is to be understood*

not only of double adultery when as both parties are married (as some conceive) but whosoever (besides her husband) lies with a married woman, whether the man be married or not, as in the place Deuteronomy 22:22, or whosoever being a married man lieth with another woman (besides his wife) as Peter Martyr saith, Loci Communes, which in divers [several] respects makes the sin worse on the married man's part.

For the Lord in this law hath respect as well to public honesty (the sin being so prejudicial to the church and state) as the private wrongs (saith Junius). So incest is to be punished with death, Leviticus 20:11-22. Bestiality likewise, Leviticus 20:15, Exodus 22:19. Rape in like manner, Deuteronomy 22:25. Sodomy in like sort, Leviticus 18:22 and 20:13. And all presumptuous sins, Numbers 15:30-31.

3. That the punishment of these foul sins with death is grounded on the law of nature and is agreeable to the moral law.

(1) Because the reasons annexed show them to be perpetual, Deuteronomy 22:22, so shalt thou put away evil. Incest, bestiality, are called confusion and wickedness.

(2) Infamy to the whole human nature, Leviticus 22:12, Leviticus 18:23. Rapes are as murder, Deuteronomy 22:25. Sodomy is an abomination, Leviticus 22:22. No holier and juster laws can be

devised by any man or angel than have been by the judge of all the world, the wisdom of the Father, by whom kings do reign, etc.

(3) Because before the giving of the law, this punishment was anciently practiced, Genesis 26:11, 38:24, 39:20, and even by the heathen by the very light of nature, as Peter Martyr shows.

(Fourthly) Because the land is defiled by such sins and spews out the inhabitants, Leviticus 18:24-25, and that in regard of those nations that were not acquainted with the law of Moses.

(5) All the divines above specified consent in this, that the unclean acts punishable with death by the law of God are not only the gross [large] acts of uncleanness by way of carnal copulation but all the evident attempts thereof, which may appear by those several words that are used by the Spirit of God expressing the sins to be punished with death, as the discovering of nakedness, Leviticus 18:20, which is retegere pudenda [to uncover one's shame] as parts per euphemismum [by euphemism] (said Junius) or detegere ad cubandum [to uncover to lie together] (saith Willett), to uncover the shameful parts of the body (saith Ainsworth), which though it reaches to the gross [large] acts, yet it is plain it doth comprehend the other foregoing immodest attempts, as contactum fricationem [contact rubbing], etc.

4. Likewise, the phrase of “lying with” so often used doth not only signify carnal copulation, but other obscure acts preceding the same is implied in Paul’s word arsenokoitai [men who lie with men], 1 Corinthians 6:9; and men lying with men, 1 Timothy 1:9; men defiling themselves with mankind, men burning with lust towards men, Romans 1:26 and Leviticus 18:22; Sodom and sin going after strange flesh, Jude verses 7-8; and lying with mankind as with a woman, Leviticus 18:22.

[Tostatus] Abulensis says that it signifies omnes modos quibus masculus masculo abutatur [all the ways in which a man is abused by a man], changing the natural use into that which is against nature, Romans 1:26; arrogare sibi cubare [to lie oneself down with arrogant presumption], as Junius well translates Leviticus 20:15 to give consent to lie withal, so approaching to a beast and lying down thereto, Leviticus 20:16, ob solum conatu [solely for the effort] (saith Willett) or for going about to do it.

Add to this a notable speech of [Gulielmus] Zepperus, de legibus [on the laws] (who hath enough to end controversies of this nature. Libro 1, he saith in crimine adulterii voluntas (understanding manifest) sine effectu subsecuto de jure attenditur [in the crime of adultery, the desire is taken into account by law regardless of the subsequent result] and he proves it out of good laws in these words: Solicitatores alienarum nuptiarum itemque matrimoniorum interpellatores, etsi effectu sceleris potiri non possunt, propter voluntatem

tamen perniciosae libidinis extra ordinem puniuntur, nam generale est quidem affectem sine effectu [non] puneri sed contrarium observatur in atrocioribus and horum similibus. [Those who solicit other people's marriages and also those who interfere with marriages, even if they are unable to achieve their criminal purpose, are punished beyond the ordinary because of their desire of destructive lust. It is indeed a general rule that desire without result should not be punished, but the opposite is observed in more serious crimes like these.]

5. In concluding punishments from the judicial law of Moses that is perpetual, we must often proceed by analogical proportion and interpretation as a paribus similibus, minore ad maius [of similar equals, from lesser to greater], etc., for there will still fall out some cases in every commonwealth which are not in so many words extant [existing] in Holy Writ, yet the substance of the matter in every kind (I conceive under correction) may be drawn and concluded out of the Scripture by good consequence of an equivalent nature.

As for example, there is no express law against destroying conception in the womb by potions, yet by analogy with Exodus 21:22-23, we may reason that life is to be given for life. Again the question an contactus et frictio [whether touching and rubbing], etc., and methinks that place Genesis 38:9 in the punishment of Onan's sin may give some clear light to it.

It was (saith Pareus) beluina crudelitas quam Deus pari loco cum parricidio habuit, nam semen corrumpere, quid fuit aliud quam hominem ex semine generandum occidere? Propterea juste a Deo occisus est [It was bestial barbarity which God has regarded as equivalent to parricide, for to despoil one's seed—what is it other than to kill the human being which ought to be generated from the seed? Therefore, he was justly slain by God.]. Observe his words. And again, discamus quantopere Deus abominetur omnem seminis genitalis abusum, illicita effusionem and corruptio [let us learn how very much God abhors any abuse of genital seed, unlawful emission, and corruption], etc., very pertinent to this case.

That also is considerable, Deuteronomy 25:11-12, God commanded that if any wife drew nigh to deliver her husband out of the hand of him that smiteth him, etc., her hand should be cut off. Yet such a woman in that case might say much for herself that what she did was in trouble and perplexity of her mind and in her husband's defense. Yet her hand must be cut off for such impurity (and this is moral, as I conceive).

Then we may reason from the less to the greater what grievous sin in the sight of God it is by the instigation of burning lusts set on fire of hell to proceed to contactum and fricationem ad emissionem seminis [touching and rubbing for the emission of semen], etc., and that contra naturam [against nature] or to attempt the gross [large] acts

of unnatural filthiness. Again, if that unnatural lusts of men with men or woman with woman or either with beasts be [are] to be punished with death, then a pari [from an equivalent], natural lusts of men towards children under age are so to be punished.

6. Circumstantiae variant vis e actiones [circumstances vary depending on the action] (saith the lawyers) and circumstances in these cases cannot possibly be all reckoned up, but God hath given laws for those causes and cases that are of greatest moment by which others are to be judged of, as in the difference betwixt chance-medley [accidental homicide] and willful murder, so in the sins of uncleanness.

It is one thing to do an act of uncleanness by sudden temptation and another to lie in wait for it. Yea, to make a common practice of it, this mightily augments and multiplies the sin.

Again, some sins of this nature are simple, others compound, as that is simple adultery or incest or simple sodomy, but when there is a mixture of divers [several] kinds of lust, as when adultery and sodomy and perditio seminis [wasted semen] go together in the same act of uncleanness, this is capital double, and triple.

Again, when adultery or sodomy is committed by professors [those who openly profess] or church members, I fear it comes too near the sin of the

priest's daughter, forbidden and commanded to be punished, Leviticus 21:9, besides the presumption of the sins of such. Again, when uncleanness is committed with those whose chastity they are bound to preserve, this comes very near the incestuous copulation, I fear. But I must hasten to the other questions.

2. QUESTION: *The second upon the point of examination, how far a magistrate may extract a confession from a delinquent to accuse himself in a capital crime, seeing nemo tenetur prodere seipsum [no one is bound to incriminate himself].*

ANSWER: *The words of the question may be understood of extracting a confession from a delinquent either by oath or bodily torment. If it be meant of extracting by requiring an oath (ex officio, as some call it) and that in capital crimes, I fear it is not safe nor warranted by God's Word to extract a confession from a delinquent by an oath in matters of life and death.*

(1) *Because the practice in the Scriptures is otherwise, as in the case of Achan, Joshua 7:19, "Give, I pray, the glory to the Lord God of Israel and make a confession to him and tell me how thou hast done." He did not compel him to swear. So when as Jonathan's life was endangered, 1 Samuel 14:43, Saul said unto Jonathan, "Tell me what thou hast done," he did not require an oath. And notable is that Jeremiah 38:14, Jeremiah was charged by Zedekiah, who said, "I will ask thee a thing; hide it*

not from me.” And Jeremiah said, “If I declare it unto thee, wilt thou not surely put me to death?” Implying that in case of death, he would have refused to answer him.

(2) Reason shows it and experience, Job 2:4, skin for skin, etc. It is to be feared that those words (whatsoever a man hath) will comprehend also the conscience of an oath and the fear of God and all care of religion. Therefore, for laying a snare before the guilty, I think it ought not to be done.

But now if the question be meant as inflicting bodily torments to extract a confession from a malefactor [criminal], I conceive that in matters of highest consequence such as do concern the safety or ruin of states or countries, magistrates may proceed so far to bodily torments as racks, hot irons, etc., to extract a confession, especially where presumptions are strong. But otherwise, by no means. God sometimes hides a sinner till his wickedness is filled up.

QUESTION 3: In what cases of capital crimes one witness with other circumstances shall be sufficient to convict, or is there no conviction without two witnesses?

ANSWER: Deuteronomy 19:25, God hath given an express rule that in no case one witness shall arrive in judgment, especially not in capital cases. God would not put our lives into the power of any one tongue. Besides, by the examination of more

witnesses agreeing or disagreeing, any falsehood ordinarily may be discovered, but this is to be understood of our witness of another.

But if a man witness against himself, his own testimony is sufficient, as in the case of the Amalekite, 2 Samuel 1:16. Again, when there are sure and certain signs and evidences by circumstances, there needs no witness in this case, as in the business of Adonijah desiring Abishag, the Shunammite, to wife [marry] that thereby he might make way for himself unto the kingdom, 1 Kings 2:23-24.

Again, probably by many concurring circumstances, if probability may have the strength of a witness, something may be this way gathered, methinks, from Soloman's judging betwixt the true mother and the harlot, 1 Kings 3:25.

Lastly, I see no cause why, in weighty matters in defect of witnesses and other proofs, we may not have recourse to a lot, as in the case of Achan, Joshua 7:16, which is a clearer way in such doubtful cases (it being solemnly and religiously performed) than any other that I know, if it be made the last refuge, but all thus under correction.

The Lord, in mercy, direct and prosper the desires of His servants that desire to walk before Him in truth and righteousness in the administration of justice and give them wisdom and largeness of heart.

Besides the occasion before mentioned in these writings concerning the abuse of those two children, they had about the same time a case of buggery fell out amongst them which occasioned these questions, to which these answers have been made. And after the time of the writing of these things, befell [occurred] a very sad accident of the like foul nature in this government this very year, which I shall now relate.

There was a youth whose name was Thomas Granger. He was servant to an honest man of Duxbury, being about sixteen or seventeen years of age (*his father and mother lived at the same time at Scituate*). He was this year detected of buggery (*and indicted for the same*) with a mare, a cow, two goats, five sheep, two calves, and a turkey. Horrible it is to mention, but the truth of the history requires it.

He was first discovered by one that accidentally saw his lewd practice towards the mare (*I forbear particulars*), being upon it examined and committed. In the end, he not only confessed the fact with that beast at that time but sundry [several] times before and at several times with all the rest of the forenamed in his indictment. And this, his free confession, was not only in private to the magistrates (*thought at first, he strived to deny it*), but to sundry [several] both ministers and others and afterwards, upon his indictment,

to the whole court and jury. And [he] confirmed it at his execution.

And whereas some of the sheep could not so well be known by his description of them, others with them were brought before him, and he declared which were they and which were not. And accordingly, he was cast by the jury and condemned and after executed about the eighth of September 1642.

A very sad spectacle it was, for first the mare and then the cow and the rest of the lesser cattle were killed before his face, according to the law, Leviticus 20:15, and then he himself was executed. The cattle were all cast into a great and large pit that was rigged of purpose for them, and no use made of any part of them.

Upon the examination of this person and also of a former that had made some sodomitical attempts upon another, it being demanded of them how they came first to the knowledge and practice of such wickedness, the one confessed he had long used it in Old England, and this youth last spoken of said he was taught it by another that had heard of such things from some in England when he was there and they kept cattle together. By which it appears how one wicked person may infect many, and what care all ought to have what servants they bring into their families.

But it may be demanded how came it to pass that so many wicked persons and profane people should so quickly come over into this land and mix themselves amongst them? Seeing it was religious men that began the work, and they came for religion's sake? I confess this may be marveled at, at least in time to come, when the reasons thereof should not be known and the more because here was so many hardships and wants met withal. I shall therefore endeavor to give some answer hereunto.

1. And first, according to that in the gospel, it is ever to be remembered that where the Lord begins to sow good seed, there the envious man will endeavor to sow tares.

2. Men being to come over into a wilderness in which much labor and service was to be done about building and planting, etc., such as wanted help in that respect when they could not have such as that would, were glad to take such as they could. And so many untoward servants, sundry [several] of them proved that were thus brought over, both men and womenkind, who, when their times were expired, became families of themselves, which gave increase hereunto.

3. Another and a main reason hereof was that men finding so many godly disposed persons willing to come into these parts, some began to make a trade of it to transport passengers and their goods and hired ships for that end, and then

to make up their freight and advance their profit, cared not who the persons were, so [long as] they had money to pay them. And by this means, the country became pestered with many unworthy persons who, being come over, crept into one place or other.

4. Again, the Lord's blessing usually following his people as well in outward as spiritual things (*though afflictions be mixed withal*) do make many to adhere to the people of God, as many followed Christ for the loaves' sake, John 6:26, and a mixed multitude came into the wilderness with the people of God out of Egypt of old, Exodus 12:38.

So also, many were sent by their friends, some under hope that they would be made better; others that they might be eased of such burthens [burdens], and they kept from shame at home that would necessarily follow their dissolute courses. And thus, by one means or other, in twenty years' time, it is a question whether the greater part be not grown the worser?

I am now come to the conclusion of that long and tedious business between the partners here and them in England, the which I shall manifest by their own letters as followeth, in such parts of them as are pertinent to the same.

Mr. Sherley's to Mr. Atwood.

Mr. Atwood,

My approved loving friend, your letter of the eighteenth of October last I have received, wherein I find you have taken a great deal of pains and care about that troublesome business betwixt our Plymouth partners and friends and us here and have deeply engaged yourself, for which compliments and words are no real satisfaction, etc.

For the agreement you have made with Mr. Bradford, Mr. Winslow, and the rest of the partners there, considering how honestly and justly I am persuaded they have brought in an account of the remaining stock, for my own part, I am well satisfied. And so, I think, is Mr. Andrews, and I suppose will be Mr. Beauchamp if most of it might accrue to him, to whom the last is due, etc. And now for peace[’s] sake and to conclude as we began lovingly and friendly and to pass by all failings of all, the conclude [conclusion] is accepted of.

I say this agreement that you have made is condescended unto, and Mr. Andrews hath sent his release to Mr. Winthrop with such directions as he conceived fit, and I have made bold to trouble you with mine, and we have both sealed in the presence of Mr. Weld and Mr. Peters and some others. And I have also sent you another for the partners there to seal to me, for you must not deliver mine to them except [unless] they seal and deliver one to me. This is fit and equal, etc. Yours to commend in what I may or can,

James Sherley

June 14, 1642

His to the partners, as followeth.

Loving friends,

Mr. Bradford, Mr. Winslow, Mr. Prence, Captain Standish, Mr. Brewster, Mr. Alden, and Mr. Howland, give me leave to join you all in one letter concerning the final end and conclude [conclusion] of that tedious and troublesome business and, I think I may truly say, uncomfortable and unprofitable to all, etc. It hath pleased God now to put us upon a way to cease all suits and disquieting of our spirits and to conclude with peace and love as we began.

I am contented to yield and make good what Mr. Atwood and you have agreed upon, and for that end have sent to my loving friend Mr. Atwood an absolutely and general release unto you all. And if there want anything to make it more full, write it yourselves, and it shall be done, provided that all you, either jointly or severally, seal the like [same] discharge to me. And for that end, I have drawn one jointly and sent it to Mr. Atwood with that I have sealed to you.

Mr. Andrews hath sealed an acquittance also and sent it to Mr. Winthrop with such directions as he conceived fit and, as I hear, hath given his debt, which he makes £544, unto the gentlemen of the Bay. Indeed, Mr. Weld, Mr. Peters, and Mr. Hibbins

have taken a great deal of pains with Mr. Andrews, Mr. Beauchamp, and myself to bring us to agree, and to that end, we have had many meetings and spent much time about it. But as they are very religious and honest gentlemen, yet they had an end that they drove at and labored to accomplish (I mean not any private end but for the general good of their patent), it had been very well you had sent one over.

Mr. Andrews wished you might have one-third part of the £1200, and the Bay two-thirds, but then we three must have agreed together, which were a hard matter now. But Mr. Weld, Mr. Peters, and Mr. Hibbins and I have agreed they giving you bond (so to compose with Mr. Beauchamp as) to procure his general release and free you from all trouble and charge that he may put you to, which indeed is nothing. For I am persuaded Mr. Weld will, in time, gain him to give them all that is due to him, which in some sort is granted already. For though his demands be great, yet Mr. Andrews hath taken some pains in it and makes it appear to be less than I think he will consent to give them for so good an use. So you need not fear that, for taking bond there to save you harmless, you be safe and well.

Now, our accord is that you must pay to the gentlemen of the Bay £900. They are to bear all charges that may any way arise concerning the free and absolute clearing of you from us three, and you to have the other £300, etc.

Upon the receiving of my release from you, I will send you your bonds for the purchase money. I would have sent them now, but I would have Mr. Beauchamp release as well as I because you are bound to him in them. Now, I know if a man be bound to twelve men, if one release, it is as if all released, and my discharge doth cut them off. Wherefore, doubt you not but you shall have them and your commission or anything else that is fit.

Now you know there is two years of the purchase money that I would not own, for I have formerly certified you that I would but pay seven years, but now you are discharged of all, etc. Your loving and kind friend in what I may or can,

*James Sherley
June 14, 1642*

The copy of his release is as followeth.

Whereas divers [several] questions, differences, and demands have arisen and depended between William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Thomas Prentice, Myles Standish, William Brewster, John Alden, and John Howland, gentlemen, now or lately inhabitants or resident at New Plymouth in New England on the one party, and James Sherley of London, merchant, and others on the other part for and concerning a stock and partable trade of beaver and other commodities and freighting of ships, as the White Angel, Friendship, or others.

And the goods of Isaac Allerton which were seized upon by virtue of a letter of attorney made by the said James Sherley and John Beauchamp and Richard Andrews, or any other matters concerning the said trade either here in Old England or there in New England or elsewhere, all which differences are since by mediation of friends composed, compromised, and all the said parties agreed.

Now know all men by these presents that I, the said James Sherley, in performance of the said compromise and agreement, have remised, released, and quit-claimed and do by these presents remise, release, and for me, mine heirs, executors, and administrators, and for every of us forever quit-claim unto the said William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Thomas Prence, Myles Standish, William Brewster, John Alden, and John Howland, and every of them, their, and every of their heirs, executors, and administrators, all and all manner of actions, suits, debts, accounts, reckonings, commissions, bonds, bills, specialties, judgments, executions, claims, challenges, differences, and demands, whatsoever, with or against the said William Bradford, Edward Winslow, Thomas Prence, Myles Standish, William Brewster, John Alden, and John Howland, or any of them ever I had, now have, or in time to come can, shall, or may have for any matter, cause, or thing whatsoever from the beginning of the world until the day of the date of these presents.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto put my hand and seal, given the second day of June 1642 and in the eighteenth year of the reign of our sovereign Lord King Charles, etc.

James Sherley

Sealed and delivered in the presence of

Thomas Weld

Hugh Peters

William Hibbins

Arthur Tirrey, Scribe

Thomas Sturges, his servant

Mr. Andrews, his discharge was to the same effect. He was by agreement to have £500 of the money, the which he gave to them in the Bay, who brought his discharge and demanded the money. And they took in his release and paid the money according to agreement, viz one-third of the £500 they paid down in hand and the rest in four equal payments to be paid yearly, for which they gave their bonds. And whereas £44 was more demanded, they conceived they could take it off with Mr. Andrews, and therefore, it was not in the bond.

But Mr. Beauchamp would not part with any of his but demanded £400 of the partners here and sent a release to a friend to deliver it to them upon the receipt of the money. But his release was not perfect, for he had left out some of the

partners' names with some other defects and, besides the other, gave them to understand he had not near so much due. So no end was made with him till four years after, of which in it place.

And in that regard that themselves did not agree, I shall insert some part of Mr. Andrews's letter by which he conceives the partners here were wronged, as followeth. This letter of his was writ to Mr. Edmund Freeman, brother-in-law to Mr. Beauchamp.

Mr. Freeman,

My love remembered unto you, etc. I then certified the partners how I found Mr. Beauchamp and Mr. Sherley in their particular demands, which was according to men's principles of getting what they could, although the one will not show any account and the other a very unfair and unjust one. And both of them discouraged me from sending the partners my account, Mr. Beauchamp especially.

Their reason, I have cause to conceive, was that although I do not nor ever intended to wrong the partners or the business, yet if I gave no account, I might be esteemed as guilty as they, in some degree at least, and they might seem to be the more free from taxation in not delivering their accounts (who have, both of them, charged the account with much interest they have paid forth, and one of them would likewise for much interest he hath not paid forth, as appeared by his account, etc.).

And seeing the partners have now made it appear that there is £1200 remaining due between us all and that it may appear by my account I have not charged the business with any interest but do forgive it unto the partners above £200, if Mr. Sherley and Mr. Beauchamp, who have between them wronged the business so many hundred pounds both in principal and interest likewise and have therein wronged me as well and as much as any of the partners, yet if they will not make and deliver fair and true accounts of the same nor be content to take what by computation is more than can be justly due to either, that is, to Mr. Beauchamp £150, as by Mr. Allerton's account and Mr. Sherley's account on oath in Chancery [court of equity], and though there might be nothing due to Mr. Sherley, yet he requires £100, etc.

I conceive, seeing the partners have delivered on their oaths the same remaining in their hands, that they may justly detain the £650 which may remain in their hands after I am satisfied until Mr. Sherley and Mr. Beauchamp will be more fair and just in their ending, etc. And as I intend, if the partners fairly end with me in satisfying in part and engaging themselves for the rest of my said £544 to return back for the poor my part of the land at Scituate, so likewise I intend to relinquish my right and interest in their dear patent on which much of our money was laid forth and also my right and interest in their cheap purchase, the which may have cost me first and last £350.

But I doubt whether other men have not charged or taken on account what they have disbursed in the like [same] case which I have not charged, neither did I conceive any other durst [dared] so do until I saw the account of the one and heard the words of the other, the which gives me just cause to suspect both their accounts to be unfair.²⁴ For it seemeth they consulted one with another about some particulars therein.

Therefore, I conceive the partners ought the rather to require just accounts from each of them before they part with any money to either of them, for merchants understand how to give an account. If they mean fairly, they will not deny to give an account, for they keep memorials to help them to give exact accounts in all particulars and memorial cannot forget his charge if the man will remember.

I desire not to wrong Mr. Beauchamp or Mr. Sherley nor may be silent in such apparent probabilities of their wronging the partners and me likewise, either in denying to deliver or show any account or in delivering one very unjust in some particulars and very suspicious in many more. Either of which, being from understanding merchants, cannot be for weakness or simplicity and therefore the more unfair. So commending you and yours and all the

²⁴ BRADFORD NOTES: *This he means of the first adventures, all which were lost, as hath before been shown, and what he here writes is probable, at least.*

Lord's people unto the gracious protection and blessing of the Lord, and rest your loving friend,

Richard Andrews

April 7, 1643

This letter was writ the year after the agreement, as doth appear. And what his judgment was herein, the contents doth manifest, and so I leave it to the equal judgment of any to consider as they so cause.

Only I shall add what Mr. Sherley furder [further] writ in a letter of his about the same time and so leave this business. His is as followeth on the other side.

Loving friends,

Mr. Bradford, Mr. Winslow, Captain Standish, Mr. Prence, and the rest of the partners with you, I shall write this general letter to you all, hoping it will be a good conclude [conclusion] of a general but a costly and tedious business, I think, to all. I am sure to me, etc.

I received from Mr. Winslow a letter of the twenty-eighth of September last, and so much as concerns the general business, I shall answer in this, not knowing whether I shall have opportunity to write particular letters, etc. I expected more letters from you all, as some particular writes, but it seemeth no fit opportunity was offered.

And now, though the business for the main may stand, yet some particulars is altered. I say my former agreement with Mr. Weld and Mr. Peters, before they could conclude or get any grant of Mr. Andrews, they sought to have my release, and thereupon they sealed me a bond for a £110. So I sent my acquittance, for they said without mine, there would be no end made (and there was good reason for it).

Now, they hoped if they ended with me to gain Mr. Andrews's part, as they did wholly to a pound (at which I should wonder but that I observe some passages), and they also hoped to have gotten Mr. Beauchamp's part. And I did think he would have given it [to] them but if he did well understand himself and that account, he would give it, for his demands make a great sound. But it seemeth he would not part with it, supposing it too great a sum and that he might easily gain it from you. Once, he would have given them £40, but now they say he will not do that. Or rather, I suppose they will not take it, for if they do and have Mr. Andrews's, then they must pay me their bond of £110 three months hence.

Now it will fall out far better for you that they deal not with Mr. Beauchamp, and also for me, if you be as kind to me as I have been and will be to you. And that thus, if you pay Mr. Andrews or the Bay men by his order £544, which is his full demand, but if looked into perhaps might be less. The man is honest and, in my conscience, wouldn't wittingly do

wrong, yet he may forget as well as other men, and Mr. Winslow may call to mind wherein he forgets (but sometimes it is good to buy peace). The gentlemen of the Bay may abate £100, and so both sides have more right and justice than if they exact all, etc.

Now, if you send me a £150, then say Mr. Andrews's full sum, and this, it is near £700. Mr. Beauchamp, he demands £400, and we all know that if a man demands money, he must show wherefore and make proof of his debt, which I know he can never make good proof of one hundred pound due unto him as principal money. So till he can, you have good reason to keep the £500, etc. This, I protest, I write not in malice against Mr. Beauchamp, for it is a real truth.

You may partly see it by Mr. Andrews making up his account, and I think you are all persuaded I can say more than Mr. Andrews concerning that account. I wish I could make up my own as plain and easily, but because of former discontents, I will be sparing till I be called, and you may enjoy the £500 quietly till he begin, for let him take his course here or there. It shall be all one. I will do him no wrong, and if he have not one penny more, he is less loser than either Mr. Andrews or I.

This I conceive to be just and honest. The having or not having of his release matters not. Let him make such proof of his debt as you cannot disprove, and

*according to your first agreement, you will pay it,
etc. Your truly affectioned friend,*

*James Sherley
London, April 27, 1643*

Anno Domini 1643



I am to begin this year with that which was a matter of great sadness and mourning unto them all. About the eighteenth of April died their reverend elder and my dear and loving friend, Mr. William Brewster, a man that had done and suffered much for the Lord Jesus and the gospel's sake and had bore his part in well and woe with this poor persecuted church above thirty-six years in England, Holland, and in this wilderness, and done the Lord and them faithful service in his place and calling.

And notwithstanding the many troubles and sorrows he passed through, the Lord upheld him to a great age. He was near four score years of age (*if not all out*) when he died. He had this blessing added by the Lord to all the rest, to die in his bed in peace amongst the midst of his friends who

mourned and wept over him and ministered what help and comfort they could unto him, and he again recomforted them whilst he could

His sickness was not long, and till the last day thereof, he did not wholly keep his bed. His speech continued till somewhat more than half a day and then failed him, and about nine or ten o'clock that evening, he died without any pangs at all. A few hours before, he drew his breath short, and some few minutes before his last, he drew his breath long, as a man fallen into a sound sleep without any pangs or gasping and so sweetly departed this life unto a better.

I would now demand of any what he was the worse for any former sufferings? What do I say, worse? Nay, sure, he was the better, and they now added to his honor. It is a manifest token (*saith the apostle, 2 Thessalonians 1: 5-6-7*) of the righteous judgment of God that ye may be counted worthy of the kingdom of God for which ye also suffer, seeing it is a righteous thing with God to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you. And to you who are troubled, rest with us when the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven with his mighty angels.

1 Peter 4:14: If you be reproached for the name of Christ, happy are ye, for the spirit of glory and of God restate upon you.

What though he wanted the riches and pleasures of the world in his life? And pompous monuments at his funeral? Yet the memorial of the just shall be blessed when the name of the wicked shall rot (*with their marble monuments*). Proverbs 10:7.

I should say something of his life if to say a little were not worse than to be silent, but I cannot wholly forbear (*though happily more may be done hereafter*). After he had attained some learning, viz. the knowledge of the Latin tongue and some insight in the Greek, and spent some small time at Cambridge, and then being first seasoned with the seeds of grace and virtue, he went to the court and served that religious and godly gentleman Mr. Davison divers [several] years when he was Secretary of State, who found him so discrete and faithful as he trusted him above all other[s] that were about him and only employed him in all matters of greatest trust and secrecy. He esteemed him rather as a son than a servant, and for his wisdom and godliness (*in private*), he would converse with him more like a friend and familiar than a master.

He attended his master when he was sent in ambassage by the queen into the Low Countries [The Netherlands] (*in the Earl of Leicester's time*) as for other weighty affairs of state, so to receive possession of the cautionary towns. And in token and sign thereof, the keys of Flushing being delivered to him in Her Majesty's name, he kept

them some time and committed them to this his servant, who kept them under his pillow on which he slept the first night. And at his return, the states honored him with a gold chain, and his master committed it to him and commanded him to wear it when they arrived in England as they rid through the country till they came to the court. He afterwards remained with him till his troubles that he was put from his place about the death of the Queen of Scots and some good time after, doing him many faithful offices of service in the time of his troubles.

Afterwards, he went and lived in the country in good esteem amongst his friends and the gentlemen of those parts, especially the godly and religious. He did much good in the country, where he lived in promoting and furthering religion, not only by his practice and example and provoking and encouraging of others but by procuring of good preachers to the places thereabout and drawing on of others to assist and help forward in such a work, he himself most commonly deepest in the charge and sometimes above his ability. And in this state, he continued many years doing the best good he could and walking according to the light he saw till the Lord revealed further unto him.

And in the end, by the tyranny of the bishops against godly preachers and people in silencing the one and persecuting the other, he and many more of those times began to look further into

things and to see into the unlawfulness of their callings and the burthen [burden] of many anti-Christian corruptions, which both he and they endeavored to cast off as they also did (*as in the beginning of this treatise is to be seen*).

After they were joined together in communion, he was a special stay and help unto them. They ordinarily met at his house on the Lord's Day (*which was a manor of the bishop's*), and with great love, he entertained them when they came, making provision for them to his great charge, and continued so to do whilst they could stay in England. And when they were to remove out of the country, he was one of the first in all adventurers and forwardest in any charge. He was the chief of those that were taken at Boston and suffered the greatest loss and [was] of the seven that were kept longest in prison and after bound over to the assizes [periodic court sessions].

After he came into Holland, he suffered much hardship after he had spent the most of his means, having a great charge and many children. And in regard of his former breeding and course of life, [he was] not too fit for many employments as others were, especially such as were toilsome and laborious. But yet he ever bore his condition with much cheerfulness and contentation [contentment].

Towards the later part of those twelve years spent in Holland, his outward condition was mended, and he lived well and plentifully, for he fell into a way (*by reason he had the Latin tongue*) to teach many students who had a desire to learn the English tongue to teach them English. And by his method, they quickly attained it with great facility, for he drew rules to learn it by after the Latin manner. And many gentlemen, both Danes and Germans, resorted to him as they had time from other studies, some of them being great men's sons. He also had means to set up printing (*by the help of some friends*) and so had employment enough, and by reason of many books which would not be allowed to be printed in England, they might have had more than they could do.

But now removing into this country, all those things were laid aside again, and a new course of living must be framed unto in which he was no way unwilling to take his part and to bear his burthen [burden] with the rest, living many times without bread or corn many months together, having many times nothing but fish and often wanting that also, and drunk nothing but water for many years together, yea, till within five or six years of his death. And yet he lived (*by the blessing of God*) in health till very old age.

And besides that, he would labor with his hands in fields as long as he was able. Yet when the church had no other minister, he taught twice

every Sabbath and that both powerfully and profitably, to the great contentment of the hearers and their comfortable edification. Yea, many were brought to God by his ministry. He did more in this behalf in a year than many that have their hundreds a year do in all their lives.

For his personal abilities, he was qualified above many. He was wise and discrete and well-spoken, having a grave and deliberate utterance of a very cheerful spirit, very sociable, and pleasant amongst his friends, of humble and modest mind, of a peaceable disposition, undervaluing himself and his own abilities and sometimes overvaluing others. Inoffensive and innocent in his life and conversation, which gained him the love of those without, as well as those within. Yet he would tell them plainly of their faults and evils, both publicly and privately, but in such a manner as usually was well taken from him.

He was tenderhearted and compassionate of such as were in misery, but especially of such as had been of good estate and rank and were fallen unto want and poverty, either for goodness and religion's sake or by the injury and oppression of others. He would say of all men, these deserved to be pitied most. And none did more offend and displease him than such as would hastily and proudly carry and lift up themselves, being risen from nothing and having little else in them to commend them but a few fine clothes or a little riches more than others.

In teaching, he was very moving and stirring of affections. Also very plain and distinct in what he taught, by which means he became the more profitable to the hearers. He had a singular good gift in prayer, both public and private, in ripping up the heart and conscience before God in the humble confession of sin and begging the mercies of God in Christ for the pardon of the same.

He always thought it were better for ministers to pray oftener and divide their prayers than be long and tedious in the same (*except upon solemn and special occasions as in days of humiliation and the like*). His reason was that the heart and spirits of all, especially the weak, could hardly continue and stand bent (*as it were*) so long towards God as they ought to do in that duty without flagging and falling off.

For the government of the church (*which was most proper to his office*), he was careful to preserve good order in the same and to preserve purity both in the doctrine and communion of the same and to suppress any error or contention that might begin to rise up amongst them. And accordingly, God gave good success to his endeavors here in all his days, and he saw the fruit of his labors in that behalf. But I must break off having only thus touched a few, as it were, heads of things.

I cannot but here take occasion not only to mention but greatly to admire the marvelous

providence of God! That notwithstanding the many changes and hardships that these people went through and the many enemies they had and difficulties they met withal, that so many of them should live to very old age! It was not only this reverend man's condition (*for one swallow makes no summer, as they say*), but many more of them did the like [same], some dying about and before this time, and many still living who attained to sixty years of age and to sixty-five, divers [several] to seventy and above, and some near eighty, as he did.

It must needs be more than ordinary and above natural reason that so it should be. For it is found in experience that change of air, famine, or unwholesome food, much drinking of water, sorrows and trouble, etc., all of them are enemies to health, causes of many diseases, consumers of natural vigor and the bodies of men, and shorteners of life. And yet, of all those things, they had a large part and suffered deeply in the same.

They went from England to Holland, where they found both worse air and diet than that they came from. From thence (*enduring a long imprisonment, as it were, in the ships at sea*) into New England. And how it hath been with them here hath already been shown. And what crosses, troubles, fear, wants, and sorrows they have been liable unto is easy to conjecture.

So as in some sort, they may say with the apostle, 2 Corinthians 11:26-27, they were in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils of their own nation, in perils among the heathen, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren, in weariness and painfulness in watching often, in hunger and thirst, in fasting often, in cold and nakedness.

What was it then that upheld them? It was God's visitation that preserved their spirits. Job 10:12: Thou hast given me life and grace, and thy visitation hath preserved my spirit. He that upheld the apostle upheld them. They were persecuted but not forsaken, cast down but perished not, 2 Corinthians 4:9. As unknown and yet known, as dying and behold we live, as chastened and yet not killed, 2 Corinthians 6:9.

God, it seems, would have all men to behold and observe such mercies and works of his providence as these are towards his people, that they, in like cases, might be encouraged to depend upon God in their trials and also bless his name when they see his goodness towards others.

Man lives not by bread only, Deuteronomy 8:3. It is not by good and dainty fare, by peace and rest and hearts' ease in enjoying the contentment and good things of this world only that preserves health and prolongs life. God, in such examples, would have the world see and behold that he can

do it without them, and if the world will shut their eyes and take no notice thereof, yet he would have his people to see and consider it. Daniel could be better liking with puls [farro grain soup] than others were with the king's dainties. Jacob, though he went from one nation to another people and passed through famine, fears, and many afflictions, yet he lived till old age and died sweetly and rested in the Lord, as infinite others of God's servants have done and still shall do (*through God's goodness*), notwithstanding all the malice of their enemies. When the branch of the wicked shall be cut off before his day, Job 15:32, and the bloody and deceitful man shall not live half their days, Psalm 55:23.

By reason of the plotting of the Narragansetts (*ever since the Pequots' War*), the Indians were drawn into a general conspiracy against the English in all parts, as was in part discovered the year before and now made more plain and evident by many discoveries and free confessions of sundry [several] Indians (*upon several occasions*) from divers [various] places concurring in one, with such other concurring circumstances as gave them sufficiently to understand the truth thereof and to think of means how to prevent the same and secure themselves, which made them enter into this more-near union and confederation following.

ARTICLES OF CONFEDERATION

Between the plantations under the government of the MASSACHUSETTS, the plantation under the government of NEW PLYMOUTH, the plantations under the government of CONNECTICUT, and the governments of NEW HAVEN, with the plantations in combination therewith:

Whereas we all came into these parts of America with one and the same end and aim, namely to advance the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ and to enjoy the liberties of the gospel in purity with peace.

And whereas in our settling (by a wise providence of God), we are further dispersed upon the seacoasts and rivers than was at first intended, so that we cannot, according to our desires with conveniency, communicate in one government and jurisdiction.

And whereas we live encompassed with people of several nations and strange languages, which hereafter may prove injurious to us and our posterity.

And forasmuch as the natives have formerly committed sundry [several] insolencies and outrages upon several plantations of the English and have of late combined themselves against us.

And seeing by reason of those distractions in England (which they have heard of) and by which they know we are hindered from that humble way of seeking advice or reaping those comfortable fruits

of protection which at other times we might well expect.

We therefore do conceive it our bounden duty without delay to enter into a present consociation amongst ourselves for mutual help and strength in all our future concernments.

That as in nation and religion, so in other respects, we be and continue one, according to the tenor and true meaning of the ensuing articles.

1. Wherefore, it is fully agreed and concluded by and between the parties or jurisdictions above named, and they jointly and severally, do by these presents agree and conclude that they all be and henceforth be called by the name of the UNITED COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND.

2. The said United Colonies for themselves and their posterities do jointly and severally hereby enter into a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity for offense and defense, mutual advice, and succor [help] upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truth of the gospel and for their own mutual safety and welfare.

3. It is further agreed that the plantations which at present are or hereafter shall be settled with[in] the limits of the Massachusetts shall be forever under the Massachusetts and shall have peculiar jurisdiction among themselves in all cases as an entire body. And that Plymouth, Connecticut, and

New Haven shall, each of them, have like peculiar jurisdiction and government within their limits.

And in reference to the plantations which already are settled or shall be hereafter be erected or shall settle within their limits, respectively, provided that no other jurisdiction shall hereafter be taken in as a distinct head or member of this confederation nor shall any other plantation or jurisdiction in present being and not already in combination or under the jurisdiction of any of these confederates be received by any of them. Nor shall any two of the confederates join in one jurisdiction without consent of the rest, which consent to be interpreted as is expressed in the sixth article ensuing.

4. It is by these confederates agreed that the charge of all just wars, whether offensive or defensive upon what part or member of this confederation soever they fall, shall both in men, provisions, and all other disbursements be borne by all the parts of this confederation in different proportions according to their different abilities in manner following.

Namely that the commissioners for each jurisdiction, from time to time as there shall be occasion, bring a true account and number of all those males in every plantation, or any way belonging to or under their several jurisdictions, of what quality or condition soever they be, from sixteen years old to sixty, being inhabitants there.

And that according to the different numbers which from time to time shall be found in each jurisdiction upon a true and just account, the service of men and all charges of the war be borne by the poll, each jurisdiction or plantation being left to their own just course and custom of rating themselves and people according to their different estates, with due respect to their qualities and exemptions amongst themselves, though the confederates take no notice of any such privilege.

And that according to their different charge of each jurisdiction and plantation, the whole advantage of the war (if it please God to bless their endeavors), whether it be in lands, goods, or persons, shall be proportionally divided among the said confederates.

5. It is further agreed that if these jurisdictions or any plantation under or in combination with them be invaded by any enemy whomsoever, upon notice and request of any three magistrates of that jurisdiction of invaded, the rest of the confederates, without any further meeting or expostulation, shall forthwith [immediately] send aid to the confederate in danger but in different proportion, namely the Massachusetts, an hundred men sufficiently armed and provided for such a service and journey, and each of the rest, forty-five so armed and provided, or any lesser number if less be required, according to the proportion.

But if such confederate in danger may be supplied by their next confederates, not exceeding the

number hereby agreed, they may crave help there and seek no further for the present the charge to be borne, as in this article is expressed, and at the return, to be victualed [supplied with food] and supplied with powder and shot for their journey (if there be need) by that jurisdiction which employed or sent for them, but none of the jurisdictions to exceed those numbers till, by a meeting of the commissioners for this confederation, a greater aid appear necessary.

And this proportion to continue till upon knowledge of greater numbers in each jurisdiction, which shall be brought to the next meeting and some other proportion be ordered.

But in such case of sending men for present aid, whether before or after such order or alteration, it is agreed that at the meeting of the commissioners for this confederation that the cause of such war or invasion be duly considered, and if it appear that the fault lay in the parties so invaded, that then that jurisdiction or plantation make just satisfaction both to the invaders whom they have injured and bear all the charges of the war themselves without requiring any allowance from the rest of the confederates towards the same.

And further, that if any jurisdiction see any danger of any invasion approaching and there be time for a meeting, that in such a case, three magistrates of that jurisdiction may summon a meeting at such convenient place as themselves shall think meet to

consider and provide against the threatened danger, provided when they are met, they may remove to what place they please.

Only whilst any of these four confederates have but three magistrates in their jurisdiction, their request or summons from any two of them shall be accounted of equal force with the three mentioned in both the clauses of this article till there be an increase of magistrates there.

6. It is also agreed that for the managing and concluding of all affairs proper and concerning the whole confederation, two commissioners shall be chosen by and out of each of these four jurisdictions, namely two for the Massachusetts, two for Plymouth, two for Connecticut, and two for New Haven, being all in church fellowship with us, which shall bring full power from their several general courts, respectively, to hear, examine, weigh, and determine all affairs of war or peace, leagues, aids, charges, and numbers of men for war, divisions of spoils and whatsoever is gotten by conquest, receiving of more confederates or plantations into combination with any of the confederates, and all things of like nature which are the proper concomitants or consequences of such a confederation for amity, offense, and defense, not intermeddling with the government of any of the jurisdictions which, by the third article, is preserved entirely to themselves.

But if these eight commissioners, when they meet, shall not all agree, yet it [is] concluded that any six of the eight agreeing shall have power to settle and determine the business in question.

But if six do not agree, that then such propositions, with their reasons so far as they have been debated, be sent and referred to the four general courts, viz. the Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, and if, at all the said general courts, the business so referred be concluded, then to be prosecuted by the confederates and all their members.

It was further agreed that these eight commissioners shall meet once every year besides extraordinary meetings (according to the fifth article) to consider, treat, and conclude of all affairs belonging to this confederation, which meeting shall ever be the first Thursday in September.

And that the next meeting after the date of these presents, which shall be accounted the second meeting, shall be at Boston in the Massachusetts, the third at Hartford, the fourth at New Haven, the fifth at Plymouth, and so in course successively if, in the meantime, some middle place be not found out and agreed on which may be commodious for all the jurisdictions.

7. It is further agreed that at each meeting of these eight commissioners, whether ordinary or extraordinary, they all six of them agreeing, as

before, may choose a president out of themselves whose office and work shall be to take care and direct for order and a comely carrying on of all proceedings in the present meeting.

But he shall be invested with no such power or respect as by which he shall hinder the propounding or progress of any business or any way cast the scales otherwise than in the precedent article is agreed.

8. It is also agreed that the commissioners for this confederation hereafter at their meetings, whether ordinary or extraordinary, as they may have commission or opportunity, do endeavor to frame and establish agreements and orders in general cases of a civil nature wherein all the plantations are interested for the preserving of peace amongst themselves and preventing as much or 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, not receiving those that remove from one plantation to another without due certificate.

How all the jurisdictions may carry towards the Indians that they neither grow insolent nor be injured without due satisfaction, lest war break in upon the confederates through such miscarriages.

It is also agreed that if any servant run away from his master into another of these confederated jurisdictions, that in such case, upon the certificate

of one magistrate in the jurisdiction out of which the said servant fled or upon other due proof, the said servant shall be delivered either to his master or any other that pursues and brings such certificate or proof.

And that upon the escape of any prisoner whatsoever or fugitive for any criminal cause, whether breaking prison or getting from the officer or otherwise escaping, upon the certificate of two magistrates of the jurisdiction out of which the escape is made that he was a prisoner or an offender at the time of the escape, the magistrates or some of them of that jurisdiction where for the present the said prisoner or fugitive abideth shall forthwith [immediately] grant such a warrant as the case will bear for the apprehending of any such persons and the delivering of him into the hands of the officer or other person who pursues him.

And if there be help required for the safe returning of any such offender, then it shall be granted to him that craves the same, he paying the charges thereof.

9. And for that the justest wars may be of dangerous consequence, especially to the smaller plantations in these United Colonies, it is agreed that neither the Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, nor New Haven, nor any member of any of them shall at any time hereafter begin, undertake, or engage themselves or this confederation or any part thereof in any war whatsoever (sudden exigents [demands] with the

necessary consequence thereof excepted) which are also to be moderated as much as the case will permit without the consent and agreement of the aforementioned eight commissioners, or at the least six of them, as in the first article is provided.

And that no charge be required of any of the confederates in case of a defensive war till the said commissioners have met and approved the justice of the war and have agreed upon the sum of money to be levied, which sum is then to be paid by the several confederates in proportion according to the fourth article.

10. That in extraordinary occasions when meetings are summoned by three magistrates of any jurisdiction or two, as in the fifth article, if any of the commissioners come not, due warning being given or sent, it is agreed the four of the commissioners shall have power to direct a war which cannot be delayed and to send for due proportions of men out of each jurisdiction as well as six might do if all met, but not less than six shall determine the justice of the war or allow the demands or bills of charges or cause any levies to be made for the same.

11. It is further agreed that if any of the confederates shall hereafter break any of these present articles or be any other ways injurious to any one of the other jurisdictions, such breach of agreement or injury shall be duly considered and ordered by the commissioners for the other

jurisdiction that both peace and this present confederation may be entirely preserved without violation.

12. Lastly, this perpetual confederation and the several articles thereof being read and seriously considered both by the General Court for the Massachusetts and by the commissioners for Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven were fully allowed and confirmed by three of the forenamed confederates, namely the Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven.

Only the commissioners for Plymouth, having no commission to conclude, desired respite till they might advise with their General Court.

Whereupon it was agreed and concluded by the said court of the Massachusetts and the commissioners for the other two confederates that if Plymouth consent, then the whole treaty as it stands in these present articles is and shall continue firm and stable without alteration.

But if Plymouth come not in, yet the other three confederates do by these presents confirm the whole confederation and the articles thereof.

Only in September next, when the second meeting of the commissioners is to be at Boston, new consideration may be taken of the sixth article, which concerns numbers of commissioners for meeting and concluding the affairs of this

confederation to the satisfaction of the Court of the Massachusetts and the commissioners for the other two confederates, but the rest to stand unquestioned.

In the testimony whereof, the General Court of the Massachusetts, by their secretary, and the commissioners for Connecticut and New Haven have subscribed these present articles this nineteenth of the third month, commonly called May, Anno Domini 1643.

At a meeting of the commissioners for the confederation held at Boston the seventh of September, it appearing that the General Court of New Plymouth and the several townships thereof have read and considered and approved these articles of confederation as appeared by commission from their General Court bearing date the twenty-ninth of August 1643 to Mr. Edward Winslow and Mr. William Collier to ratify and confirm the same on their behalves. We, therefore, the commissioners for the Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven, do also for our several governments subscribe unto them.

John Winthrop, Governor of the Massachusetts

Thomas Dudley

George Fenwick

Theophilus Eaton

Edward Hopkins

Thomas Gregson

These were the articles of agreement in the union and confederation which they now first entered into, and in this, their first meeting held at Boston the day and year abovesaid, amongst other things, they had this matter of great consequence to consider on. The Narragansetts, after the subduing of the Pequots, thought to have ruled over all the Indians about them. But the English, especially those of Connecticut, holding correspondence and friendship with Uncas, sachem [chief] of the Mohegan Indians which lived near them (*as the Massachusetts had done with the Narragansetts*), and he had been faithful to them in the Pequot War, they were engaged to support him in his just liberties and were contented that such of the surviving Pequots as had submitted to him should remain with him and quietly under his protection.

This did much increase his power and augment his greatness, which the Narragansetts could not endure to see. But Miantonomo, their chief sachem (*an ambitious and politic man*), sought privately and by treachery (*according to the Indian manner*) to make him away by hiring some to kill him. Sometime, they assayed to poison him. That not taking, then in the nighttime to knock him in the head in his house or secretly to shoot him, and such like attempts.

But none of these taking effect, he [Miantonomo] made open war upon him [Uncas] (*though it was against the covenants, both between the English and them, as also between themselves and a plain*

breach of the same). He came suddenly upon him with nine hundred or a thousand men (*never denouncing any war before*). The other's power at that present was not about half so many, but it pleased God to give Uncas the victory, and he slew many of his men and wounded many more. But the chief of all was he took Miantonomo prisoner, and seeing he was a great man and the Narragansetts a potent people and would seek revenge, he would do nothing in the case without the advice of the English. So he (*by the help and direction of those of Connecticut*) kept him prisoner till this meeting of the commissioners.

The commissioners weighed the cause and passages as they were clearly represented and sufficiently evidenced betwixt Uncas and Miantonomo, and the things being duly considered, the commissioners apparently saw that Uncas could not be safe whilst Miantonomo lived, but either by secret treachery or upon force, his life would be still in danger. Wherefore, they thought he might justly put such a false and bloodthirsty enemy to death, but in his own jurisdiction, not in the English plantations. And they advised in the manner of his death all mercy and moderation should be showed, contrary to the practice of the Indians who exercise tortures and cruelty.

And Uncas having hitherto showed himself a friend to the English and, in this, craving their advice if the Narragansett Indians or others shall

unjustly assault Uncas for this execution, upon notice and request, the English promise to assist and protect him as far as they may against such violence.

This was the issue of this business. The reasons and passage hereof are more at large to be seen in the acts and records of this meeting of the commissioners. And Uncas followed this advice and accordingly executed him [Miantonomo] in a very fair manner, according as they advised, with due respect to his honor and greatness. But what followed on the Narragansetts' part will appear hereafter.

Anno Domini 1644



*Mr. Edward Winslow was chosen governor
this year.*

Many having left this place (*as is before noted*) by reason of the straitness and barrenness of the same and their finding of better accommodations elsewhere more suitable to their ends and minds and sundry [several] others still upon every occasion desiring their dismissions, the church began seriously to think whether it were not better jointly to remove to some other place than to be thus weakened and, as it were, insensibly dissolved. Many meetings and much consultation was held hereabout, and divers [various] were men's minds and opinion.

Some were still for staying together in this place, alleging men might here live if they would be content with their condition and that it was not for want or necessity so much that they removed as for the enriching of themselves. Others were resolute upon removal and so signified that here they could not stay, but if the church did not remove, they must. Insomuch as many were swayed, rather than there should be a dissolution, to condescend to a removal if a fit place could be found that might more conveniently and comfortably receive the whole with such accession of others as might come to them for their better strength and subsistence and some such like cautions and limitations.

So as with the aforesaid provisos, the greater part consented to a removal to a place called Nauset, which had been superficially viewed and the goodwill of the purchasers (*to whom it belonged*) obtained, with some addition thereto from the court. But now they began to see their error that they had given away already the best and most commodious places to others and now wanted themselves. For this place was about fifty miles from hence and at an outside of the country, remote from all society. Also, that it would prove so strait as it would not be competent to receive the whole body, much less be capable of any addition or increase, so as (*at least in a short time*), they should be worse there than they are now here. The which with sundry [several] other like

considerations and inconveniences, made them change their resolutions.

But such as were before resolved upon removal took advantage of this agreement and went on, notwithstanding. Neither could the rest hinder them, they having made some beginning. 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 later time being like children translated into other families and she like a widow left only to trust in God, thus, she that had made many rich became herself poor.

Some things handled and pacified by the commissioner this year.

Whereas by a wise providence of God, two of the jurisdictions in the western parts, viz. Connecticut and New Haven, have been lately exercised by sundry [several] insolencies and outrages from the Indians, as first, an Englishman running from his master out of the Massachusetts was murdered in the woods in or near the limits of Connecticut jurisdiction. And about six weeks after, upon discovery by an Indian, the Indian sagamore [chief] in these parts promised to deliver the murderer to the English, bound and having accordingly brought him within the sight of Uncaway, by their joint consent.

As it is informed, he was there unbound and left to shift for himself, whereupon ten English men forthwith [immediately] coming to the place, being sent by Mr. Ludlow at the Indians' desire to receive the murderer, who, seeing him escaped, laid hold of eight of the Indians there present, amongst whom there was a sagamore [chief] or two, and kept them in hold two days till four sagamores [chiefs] engaged themselves within one month to deliver the prisoner.

And about a week after this agreement, an Indian came presumptuously and with guile in the daytime and murderously assaulted an English woman in her house at Stamford and, by three wounds supposed mortal, left her for dead after he had robbed the house. By which passages, the English were provoked and called to a due consideration of their own safety. And the Indians generally in those parts arose in an hostile manner, refused to come to the English to carry on treaties of peace, departed from their wigwams, left their corn unweeded, and showed themselves tumultuously about some of the English plantations and shot off pieces [guns] within hearing of the town.

And some Indians came to the English and told them the Indians would fall upon them, so that most of the English thought it unsafe to travel in those parts by land. And some of the plantations were put upon strong watches and ward night and day and could not attend their private

occasions and yet distrusted their own strength for their defense. Whereupon Hartford and New Haven were sent unto for aid and saw cause both to send into the weaker parts of their own jurisdiction thus in danger. And New Haven, for conveniency of situation, sent aid to Uncaway, though belonging to Connecticut.

Of all which passages they presently acquainted the commissioners in the Bay and had the allowance and approbation from the General Court there, with directions neither to hasten the war nor to bear such insolencies too long. Which courses, though chargeable to themselves, yet through God's blessing, they hope fruit is and will be sweet and wholesome to all the colonies. The murderers are since delivered to justice, the public peace preserved for the present, and probability it may be better secured for the future.

Thus, this mischief was prevented, and the fear of a war hereby diverted. But now, another broil was begun by the Narragansetts, though they unjustly had made war upon Uncas (*as is before declared*) and had, the winter before this, earnestly pressed the governor of the Massachusetts that they might still make war upon them to revenge the death of their sagamore [chief] which, being taken prisoner, was by them put to death (*as before was noted*), pretending that they had first received and accepted his ransom and then put him to death.

But the governor refused their presents and told them that it was themselves had done the wrong and broken the conditions of peace, and he nor the English neither could nor would allow them to make any further war upon him. But if they did, [the English] must assist him and oppose them. But if it did appear upon good proof that he had received a ransom for his life before he put him to death, when the commissioners met, they should have a fair hearing, and they would cause Uncas to return the same.

But notwithstanding, at the spring of the year, they gathered a great power and fell upon Uncas and slew sundry [several] of his men and wounded more and also had some loss themselves. Uncas called for aid from the English. They told him what the Narragansetts objected [that Uncas had received a ransom for Miantonomo before killing him]; he deny [denied] the same. They told him it must come to trial, and if he was innocent, if the Narragansetts would not desist, they would aid and assist him.

So at this meeting, they sent both to Uncas and the Narragansetts and required their sagamores [chiefs] to come or send to the commissioners now met at Hartford, and they should have a fair and impartial hearing in all their grievances and would endeavor that all wrongs should be rectified where they should be found. And they promised that they should safely come and return without any danger or molestation and sundry

[several] the like things, as appears more at large in the messenger's instructions.

Upon which, the Narragansetts sent one sagamore [chief] and some other deputies with full power to do in the case as should be meet. Uncas came in person accompanied with some chief about him. After the agitation of the business, the issue was this. The commissioners declared to the Narragansett deputies as followeth.

1. That they did not find any proof of any ransom agreed on.
2. It appears not that any wampum [strings of polished shell beads] had been paid as a ransom or any part of a ransom for Miantonomo's life.
3. That if they had in any measure proved their charge against Uncas, the commissioners would have required him to have made answerable satisfaction.
4. That if hereafter they can make satisfying proof, the English will consider the same and proceed accordingly.
5. The commissioners did require that neither themselves nor the Niantics make any war or injurious assaults upon Uncas or any of his company until they make proof of the ransom charge, and that due satisfaction be denied unless he first assault them.

6. That if they assault Uncas, the English are engaged to assist him.

Hereupon, the Narragansett sachem [chief], advising with the other deputies, engaged himself in the behalf of the Narragansetts and Niantics that no hostile acts should be committed upon Uncas or any of his until after the next planting of corn. And that after that, before they begin any war, they will give thirty days warning to the governor of the Massachusetts or Connecticut.

The commissioners, approving of this offer and taking their engagement under their hands, required Uncas, as he expected, the continuance of the favor of the English to observe the same terms of peace with the Narragansetts and theirs.

These foregoing conclusions were subscribed by the commissioners for the several jurisdictions the nineteenth of September 1644.

Edward Hopkins, President
Simon Bradstreet
William Hathorne
Edward Winslow
John Browne
George Fenwick
Theophilus Eaton
Thomas Gregson

The forenamed Narragansetts deputies did further promise that if contrary to this agreement, any of

the Niantic Pequots should make any assault upon Uncas or any of his, they would deliver them up to the English to be punished according to their demerits. And that they would not use any means to procure the Mohawks to come against Uncas during this truce. These were their names subscribed with their marks.

Weetowish
Pampiamett
Chinnough
Pummunish

Anno Domini 1645



The commissioners this year were called to meet together at Boston before their ordinary time, partly in regard of some differences fallen between the French and the government of the Massachusetts about their aiding of Monsieur La Tour against Monsieur d'Aulnay and partly about the Indians who had broken the former agreements about the peace concluded the last year. This meeting was held at Boston the twenty-eighth of July.

Besides some underhand assaults made on both sides, the Narragansetts gathered a great power and fell upon Uncas and slew many of his men and wounded more by reason that they far exceeded him in number and had got store of pieces [guns], with which they did him most hurt. And as they did this without the knowledge and

consent of the English (*contrary to former agreement*), so they were resolved to prosecute the same, notwithstanding anything the English said or should do against them.

So, being encouraged by their late victory and promise of assistance from the Mohawks (*being a strong, warlike, and desperate people*), they had already devoured Uncas and his in their hopes, and surely they had done it indeed if the English had not timely set in for his aid. For those of Connecticut sent him forty men who were a garrison to him till the commissioners could meet and take further order.

Being thus met, they forthwith [immediately] sent three messengers, viz. Sergeant John Davis, Benedict Arnold, and Francis Smith, with full and ample instructions both to the Narragansetts and Uncas to require them that they should either come in person or send sufficient men fully instructed to deal in the business. And if they refused or delayed, to let them [the Narragansetts and Uncas] know (*according to former agreements*) that the English are engaged to assist against these hostile invasions and that they have sent their men to defend Uncas and to know of the Narragansetts whether they will stand to the former peace or they will assault the English also, that they may provide accordingly.

But messengers returned not only with a slighting but a threatening answer from the Narragansetts

(as will more appear hereafter). Also, they brought a letter from Mr. Roger Williams, wherein he assures them that the war would presently break forth and the whole country would be all of aflame and that the sachems [chiefs] of the Narragansetts had concluded [ended] a neutrality with the English of Providence and those of Aquidneck Island.

Whereupon the commissioners, considering the great danger and provocations offered and the necessity we should be put unto of making war with the Narragansetts and being also careful in a matter of so great weight and general concernment, to see the way cleared and to give satisfaction to all the colonies, did think fit to advise with such of the magistrates and elders of the Massachusetts as were then at hand and also with some of the chief military commanders there who, being assembled, it was then agreed:

First, that our engagement bound us to aid and defend Uncas.

Second, that this aid could not be intended only to defend him and his fort or habitation, but *(according to the common acceptance of such covenants or engagements considered with the grounds or occasion thereof)* so to aid him as he might be preserved in his liberty and estate.

Thirdly, that his aid must be speedy lest he might be swallowed up in the meantime and so come too late.

Fourthly, the justice of this war being cleared to ourselves and the rest then present, it was thought meet that the case should be stated and the reasons and grounds of the war declared and published.

Fifthly, that a day of humiliation should be appointed, which was the fifth day of the week following.

Sixthly, it was then also agreed by the commissioners that the whole number of men to be raised in all the colonies should be three hundred: whereof from the Massachusetts a 190, Plymouth forty, Connecticut forty, New Haven thirty. And considering that Uncas was in present danger, forty men of this number were forthwith [immediately] sent from the Massachusetts for his succor [help], and it was but need for the other forty from Connecticut had order to stay but a month, and their time being out, they returned.

And the Narragansetts, hearing thereof, took the advantage and came suddenly upon him [Uncas] and gave him another blow to his further loss and were ready to do the like [same] again, but these forty men being arrived, they returned and did nothing.

The declaration which they set forth I shall not transcribe, it being very large and put forth in print, to which I refer those that would see the same, in which all passages are laid open from the first. I shall only note their [the Narragansetts'] proud carriage and answers to the three messengers sent from the commissioners.

They received them with scorn and contempt and told them they resolved to have no peace without Uncas, his head. Also, they gave them this further answer that it mattered not who began the war; they were resolved to follow it and that the English should withdraw their garrison from Uncas, or they would procure the Mohawks against them.

And withal gave them this threatening answer that they would lay the English cattle on heaps as high as their houses and that no Englishman should stir out of his door to piss but he should be killed. And whereas they required guides to pass through their country to deliver their message to Uncas from the commissioners, they denied them but at length (*in way of scorn*) offered them an old Pequot woman.

Besides also, they conceived themselves in danger, for whilst the interpreter was speaking with them about the answer he should return, three men came and stood behind him with their hatchets according to their murderous manner. But one of his fellows gave him notice of it, so they broke off

and came away with sundry [several] such like affronts, which made those Indians they carried with them to run away for fear and leave them to go home, as they could.

Thus, whilst the commissioners in care of the public peace sought to quench the fire kindled amongst the Indians, these children of strife breathe out threatenings, provocations, and war against the English themselves. So that unless they should dishonor and provoke God by violating a just engagement and expose the colonies to contempt and danger from the barbarians, they cannot but exercise force when no other means will prevail to reduce the Narragansetts and their confederates to a more just and sober temper.

So as hereupon they went on to hasten the preparations according to the former agreement and sent to Plymouth to send forth their forty men with all speed to lie at Seekonk lest any danger should befall [happen to] it before the rest were ready, it lying next [to] the enemy, and there to stay till the Massachusetts should join with them. Also, Connecticut and New Haven forces were to join together and march with all speed and the Indian confederates of those parts with them, all which was done accordingly.

And the soldiers of this place [Plymouth] were at Seekonk, the place of their rendezvous, eight or ten days before the rest were ready. They were

well-armed, all with snaphance [springlock] pieces [guns], and went under the command of Captain Standish. Those from other places were led likewise by able commanders as Captain Mason for Connecticut, etc., and Major Gibbons was made general over the whole, with such commissions and instructions as was meet.

Upon the sudden dispatch of these soldiers (*the present necessity requiring it*), the deputies of the Massachusetts court (*being now assembled immediately after the setting forth of their forty men*) made a question whether it was legally done without their commission. It was answered that howsoever it did properly belong to the authority of the several jurisdictions (*after the war was agreed upon by the commissioners and the number of men*) to provide the men and means to carry on the war, yet in this present case, the proceeding of the commissioners and the commission given was as sufficient as if it had been done by the General Court.

1. First, it was a case of such present and urgent necessity as could not stay the calling of the court or council.
2. Secondly, in the Articles of Confederation, power is given to the commissioners to consult, order, and determine all affairs of war, etc., and the word “determine” comprehends all acts of authority belonging thereunto.

3. Thirdly, the commissioners are the judges of the necessity of the expedition.

4. Fourthly, the General Court have made their own commissioners their solo counsel for these affairs.

5. Fifthly, these counsels could not have had their due effect except [unless] they had power to proceed in this case as they have done, which were to make the commissioners' power and the main end of the confederation to be frustrate and that merely for observing a ceremony.

6. Sixthly, the commissioners having sole power to manage the war for number of men, for time, place, etc.; they only know their own counsels and determinations, and therefore, none can grant commission to act according to these but themselves.

All things being thus in readiness and some of the soldiers gone forth and the rest ready to march, the commissioners thought it meet before any hostile act was performed to cause a present to be returned which had been sent to the governor of the Massachusetts from the Narragansett sachems [chiefs] but not by him received, but laid up to be accepted or refused as they should carry themselves and observe the covenants. Therefore, they violating the same and standing out thus to a war, it was again returned by two messengers and an interpreter.

And further, to let know that their men already sent to Uncas (*and other[s] where sent forth*) have hitherto had express order only to stand upon his and their own defense and not to attempt any invasion of the Narragansetts' country. And yet, if they have due reparation for what is past and good security for the future, it shall appear they are as desirous of peace and shall be as tender of the Narragansetts' blood as ever.

If, therefore, Pessicus, Innemo, with other sachems [chiefs] will (*without further delay*) come along with you to Boston, the commissioners do promise and assure them they shall have free liberty to come and return without molestation or any just grievance from the English. But deputies will not now serve nor may the preparations in hand be now stayed or the directions given recalled till the aforementioned sagamores [chiefs] come and some further order be taken. But if they will have nothing but war, the English are providing and will proceed accordingly.

Pessicus, Mixanno, and Witowash, three principal sachems [chiefs] of the Narragansett Indians, and Aumsequen, deputy for the Niantics, with a large train of men, within a few days after came to Boston. And to omit all other circumstances and debates that passed between them and the commissioners, they came to this conclusion following.

It was agreed betwixt the Commissioners of the United Colonies and the aforementioned sagamores [chiefs] and Niantic deputy:

1. *That the said Narragansetts and Niantic sagamores [chiefs] should pay or cause to be paid at Boston to the Massachusetts commissioners the full sum of two thousand fathom [12,000 feet] of good white wampum [strings of polished shell beads] or a third part of black wampumpeag [strings of polished shell beads], in four payments, namely five hundred fathom [three thousand feet] within twenty days, five hundred fathom within four months, five hundred fathom at or before next planting time, and five hundred fathom within two years next after the date of these presents, which two thousand fathom the commissioners accept for satisfaction of former chargers expended.*

2. *The aforesaid sagamores [chiefs] and deputy, on the behalf of the Narragansett and Niantic Indians, hereby promise and covenant that they, upon demand and proof, satisfy and restore unto Uncas, the Mohegan sagamore [chief], all such captives, whether men or women or children, and all such canoes as they or any of their men have taken, or as many of their own canoes in the room of them full as good as they were, with full satisfaction for all such corn as they or any of their men have spoiled or destroyed of his or his men's since last planting time, and the English commissioners hereby promise that Uncas shall do the like.*

3. Whereas there are sundry [several] differences and grievances betwixt Narragansett and Niantic Indians and Uncas and his men (which in Uncas his absence cannot now be determined), it is hereby agreed that Narragansett and Niantic sagamores [chiefs] either come themselves or send their deputies to the next meeting of the commissioners for the colonies, either at New Haven in September 1646 or sooner (upon convenient warning if the said commissioners do meet sooner), fully instructed to declare and make due proof of their injuries and to submit to the judgment of the commissioners in giving or receiving satisfaction. And the said commissioners (not doubting but Uncas will either come himself or send his deputies in like manner furnished) promising to give a full hearing to both parties with equal justice without any partial respects, according to their allegations and proof.

4. The said Narragansett and Niantic sagamores [chiefs] and deputies do hereby promise and covenant to keep and maintain a firm and perpetual peace, both with all the English United Colonies and their successors, and with Uncas, the Mohegan sachem [chief], and his men, with Ousemequin, Pomham, Socanoket, Cutshamakin, Shoanan, Passaconaway, and all other Indian sagamores [chiefs] and their companies who are in friendship with or subject to any of the English, hereby engaging themselves that they will not at any time hereafter disturb the peace of the country by any assaults, hostile attempts, invasions, or other

injuries to any of the United Colonies or their successors or to the aforesaid Indians, either in their persons, buildings, cattle, or goods, directly or indirectly. Nor will they confederate with any other against them.

And if they know of any Indians or others that conspire or intend hurt against said English or any Indians subject to or in friendship with them, they will, without delay, acquaint and give notice thereof to the English commissioners or some of them. Or if any questions or differences shall at any time hereafter arise or grow betwixt them and Uncas or any Indians before mentioned, they will, according to former engagements (which they hereby confirm and ratify), first acquaint the English and crave their judgments and advice therein and will not attempt or begin any war or hostile invasion till they have liberty and allowance from the commissioners of the United Colonies so to do.

5. The said Narragansetts and Niantic sagamores [chiefs] and deputies do hereby promise that they will forthwith [immediately] deliver and roster all such Indian fugitives or captives which have at any time fled from any of the English and are now living or abiding amongst them or give due satisfaction for them to the commissioners for the Massachusetts. And further, that they will (without more delays) pay or cause to be paid a yearly tribute a month before harvest every year after this at Boston to the English colonies for all such Pequots as live amongst them, according to the

former treaty and agreement made at Hartford, 1638, namely one fathom [six feet] of white wampum [strings of polished shell beads] for every Pequot man, and half a fathom [three feet] for each Pequot youth, and one hand length for each male child. And if Weequashcook refuse[s] to pay this tribute for any Pequot with him, the Narragansetts sagamores [chiefs] promise to assist the English against him. And they further covenant that they will resign and yield up the whole Pequot country and every part of it to the English colonies, as due to them by conquest.

6. The said Narragansett and Niantic sagamores [chiefs] and deputy do hereby promise and covenant that within fourteen days, they will bring and deliver to the Massachusetts commissioners, on the behalf of the colonies, four of their children, viz. Pessicus, his eldest son; the son Tassaquanawit, brother to Pessicus; Awashaw, his son; and Ewangso's son, a Niantic, to be kept as hostages and pledges by the English till both the aforementioned two thousand fathom [12,000 feet] of wampum [strings of polished shell beads] be paid at the times appointed and the differences betwixt themselves and Uncas be heard and ordered and till these articles be underwritten at Boston by Ianemo and Wipetock.

And further, they hereby promise and covenant that if at any time hereafter any of the said children shall make escape or be conveyed away from the English before the promises be fully accomplished,

they will either bring back and deliver to the Massachusetts commissioners the same children or if they be not to be found, such and so many other children to be chosen by the commissioners for the United Colonies or their assigns and that within twenty days after demand. And in the meantime, until the said four children be delivered as hostages, the Narragansett and Niantic sagamores [chiefs] and deputy do freely and of their own accord leave with the Massachusetts commissioners as pledges for present security four Indians, namely Witowash, Pumamis, Jawasho, Wanghwanuio, who also freely consent and offer themselves to stay as pledges till the said children be brought and delivered as above said.

7. The commissioners for the United Colonies do hereby promise and agree that at the charge of the United Colonies, the four Indians now left as pledges shall be provided for and that the four children to be brought and delivered as hostages shall be kept and maintained at the same charge. That they will require Uncas and his men, with all other Indian sagamores [chiefs] before named, to forbear all acts of hostility against the Narragansetts and Niantic Indians for the future. And further, all the promises being duly observed and kept by the Narragansett and Niantic Indians and their company, they will, at the end of two years, restore the said children delivered as hostages and retain a firm peace with the Narragansetts and Niantic Indians and their successors.

8. *It is fully agreed by and betwixt the said parties that if any hostile attempt be made while this treaty is in hand or before notice of this agreement (to stay further preparations and directions) can be given, such attempts and the consequences thereof shall on neither part be accounted a violation of this treaty nor a breach of the peace here made and concluded.*

9. *The Narragansetts and Niantic sagamores [chiefs] and deputy hereby agree and covenant to and with the commissioners of the United Colonies that henceforth, they will neither give, grant, sell or in any manner alienate [transfer] any part of their country nor any parcel of land therein either to any of the English or others without consent or allowance of the commissioners.*

10. *Lastly, they promise that if any Pequot or other be found and discovered amongst them who hath in time of peace murdered any of the English, he or they shall be delivered to just punishment.*

In witness whereof the parties above named have interchangeably subscribed these presents the day and year above written.

*John Winthrop, President
Herbert Pelham
Thomas Prence
John Browne
George Fenwick
Edward Hopkins*

Theophilus Eaton
Steven Goodyear

Pessicus, his mark
Meekesano, his mark
Witowash, his mark
Aumsequen, his mark
Abdas, his mark
Pumash, his mark
Cutchamakin, his mark

This treaty and agreement betwixt the commissioners of the United Colonies and the sagamores [chiefs] and deputy of Narragansetts and Niantic Indians was made and concluded, Benedict Arnold being interpreter upon his oath, Sergeant Collicott, and an Indian, his man, being present, and Josias and Cutshamakin, two Indians acquainted with the English language, assisting therein, who opened and cleared the whole treaty and every article to the sagamores [chiefs] and deputy there present. And thus was the war at this time stayed and prevented.

Anno Domini 1646



About the middle of May this year came in three ships into this harbor (*in war-like order*). They were found to be men-of-war. The captain's name was Cromwell, who had taken sundry [several] prizes from the Spaniards in the West Indies. He had a commission from the Earl of Warwick. He had aboard his vessels about eighty lusty [strong] men (*but very unruly*) who, after they came ashore, did so distemper themselves with drink as they became like madmen. And though some of them were punished and imprisoned, yet could they hardly be restrained. Yet, in the end, they became more moderate and orderly.

They continued here about a month or six weeks and then went to the Massachusetts, in which time they spent and scattered a great deal of

money among the people and yet more sin (*I fear*) than money, notwithstanding all the care and watchfulness that was used towards them to prevent what might be. In which time, one sad accident fell out.

A desperate fellow of the company fell a-quarreling with some of his company. His captain commanded him to be quiet and surcease his quarreling, but he would not, but reviled his captain with base language and, in the end, half drew his rapier and intended to run at his captain. But he [captain] closed with [approached] him and wrestled his rapier from him and gave him a box on the ear [hit on the side of the head], but he would not give over but still assaulted his captain.

Whereupon he [captain] took the same rapier as it was in the scabbard and gave him a blow with the hilt. But it light on his head, and the small end of the bar of the rapier hilt pierced his scull, and he died a few days after. But the captain was cleared by a council of war. This fellow was so desperate a quarreler as the captain was fain many times to chain him under hatches from hurting his fellows, as the company did testify, and this was his end.

This Captain Thomas Cromwell set forth another voyage to the West Indies from the Bay of the Massachusetts well-manned and victualed [supplied with food] and was out three years and took sundry [several] prizes and returned rich

unto the Massachusetts. And there died the same summer, having got a fall from his horse, in which fall, he fell on his rapier hilt and so bruised his body as he shortly after died thereof with some other distempers which brought him into a fever. Some observed that there might be something of the hand of God herein, that as the forenamed man died of the blow he gave him with the rapier hilt, so his own death was occasioned by a like means.

This year, Mr. Edward Winslow went into England upon this occasion. Some discontented persons under the government of the Massachusetts sought to trouble their peace and disturb (*if not innovate their government*) by laying many scandals upon them and intended to prosecute against them in England by petitioning and complaining to the parliament. Also, Samuel Gorton and his company made complaints against them. So as, they made choice of Mr. Winslow to be their agent to make their defense and gave him commission and instructions for that end, in which he so carried himself as did well answer their ends and cleared them from any blame or dishonor, to the shame of their adversaries.

But by reason of the great alterations in the state [England], he was detained longer than was expected and afterwards fell into other employments there so as he hath now been absent this four years, which hath been much to the

weakening of this government, without whose consent he took these employments upon him.

Anno Domini 1647 and 1648



[BLANK]

The Names of Those Which Came Over First

*in the year 1620 and were (by the blessing
of God) the first beginners and (in a sort)
the foundation of all the plantations and
colonies in New England
(and their families).*



- 8 Mr. John Carver; Katherine, his wife; Desire Minter; and two man-servants, John Howland, Roger Wilder; William Latham, a boy; and a maidservant; and a child that was put to him called Jasper More.
- 6 Mr. William Brewster; Mary, his wife; with two sons whose names were Love and Wrestling; and a boy that was put to him called Richard More; and another of his brothers. The rest of his children were left behind and came over afterwards.
- 5 Mr. Edward Winslow; Elizabeth, his wife; and two men servants called George Soule and Elias Story; also, a little girl was put to him called Ellen, the sister of Richard More.

- 2 William Bradford and Dorothy, his wife, having but one child, a son left behind who came afterward.
- 6 Mr. Isaac Allerton and Mary, his wife, with three children, Bartholomew, Remember, and Mary, and a servant boy, John Hooke.
- 2 Mr. Samuel Fuller and a servant called William Batten. His wife was behind with a child which came afterwards.
- 2 John Crackston and his son, John Crackston.
- 2 Captain Myles Standish and Rose, his wife.
- 4 Mr. Christopher Martin and his wife and two servants, Solomon Power and John Langemore.
- 5 Mr. William Mullins and his wife and two children, Joseph and Priscilla, and a servant, Robert Carter.
- 6 Mr. William White and Susanna, his wife; and one son called Resolved and one born a-shipboard called Peregrine; and two servants named William Holbeck and Edward Thompson.
- 8 Mr. Steven Hopkins and Elizabeth, his wife; and two children called Giles and Constance, a daughter, both by a former wife; and two more by this wife called Damaris and

Oceanus (*the last was born at sea*); and two servants called Edward Doty and Edward Lister.

- 1 Mr. Richard Warren. But his wife and children were left behind and came afterwards.
- 4 John Billington and Ellen, his wife, and two sons, John and Francis.
- 4 Edward Tilley and Ann, his wife, and two children that were their cousins, Henry Samson and Humility Cooper.
- 3 John Tilley and his wife and Elizabeth, their daughter.
- 2 Francis Cooke and his son John. But his wife and other children came afterwards.
- 2 Thomas Rogers and Joseph, his son. His other children came afterwards.
- 2 Thomas Tinker and his wife and a son.
- 2 John Rigsdale and Alice, his wife.
- 3 James Chilton and his wife and Mary, their daughter. They had another daughter that was married came afterward.
- 3 Edward Fuller and his wife and Samuel, their son.

- 3 John Turner and two sons. He had a daughter came some years after to Salem, where she is now living.
- 3 Francis Eaton and Sarah, his wife, and Samuel, their son, a young child.
- 10 Moses Fletcher, John Goodman, Thomas Williams, Degory Priest, Edmond Margesson, Peter Brown, Richard Britteridge, Richard Clarke, Richard Gardiner, Gilbert Winslow
- 1 John Alden was hired for a cooper at Southampton, where the ship victualed [was supplied with food] and, being a hopeful young man, was much desired but left to his own liking to go or stay when he came here, but he stayed and married here.
- 2 John Allerton and Thomas English were both hired, the latter to go master of a shallop [shallow-water boat] here, and the other was reputed as one of the company but was to go back (being a seaman) for the help of others behind. But they both died here before the ship returned.
- 2 There were also other two seamen hired to stay a year here in the country, William Trevor and one Ely. But when their time was out, they both returned.

These being about a hundred souls came over in this first ship and began this work, which God of

his goodness hath hitherto blessed, let His holy name have praise.

And seeing it hath pleased Him to give me to see thirty years completed since these beginnings, and that the great works of his providence are to be observed, I have thought it not unworthy my pains to take a view of the decreasing and increasing of these persons and such changes as hath passed over them and theirs in this thirty years. It may be of some use to such as come after. But however I shall rest in my own benefit.

I will therefore take them in order as they lie.

[0] Mr. Carver and his wife died the first year, he in the spring, she in the summer. Also, his man Roger and the little boy, Jasper, died before either of them of a common infection.

Desire Minter returned to her friends and proved not very well and died in England.

His servant boy, Latham, after more than twenty years' stay in the country, went into England and from thence to the Bahama Islands in the West Indies and there with some others was starved for want of food.

His maid servant married and died a year or two after here in this place.

15 His servant John Howland married the daughter of John Tilley, Elizabeth, and they

are both now living and have ten children now all living, and their eldest daughter hath four children, and their second daughter, one, all living, and other of their children marriageable, so fifteen are come of them.

- 4 Mr. Brewster lived to very old age, about eighty years he was when he died, having lived some twenty-three or twenty-four years here in the country. And though his wife died long before, yet she died aged. His son Wrestling died a young man, unmarried. His son Love lived till this year, 1650, and died and left four children now living. His daughters which came over after him are dead but have left sundry [several] children alive.
- 2 His eldest son is still living and hath nine or ten children, one married who hath a child or two.
- 4 Richard More, his brother died the first winter, but he is married and hath four or five children, all living.
- 2 Mr. Edward Winslow, his wife died the first winter, and he married with the widow of Mr. White and hath two children living by her, marriageable, besides sundry [several] that are dead. One of his servants died, as also the little girl soon after the ship arrival.

- 8 But his man George Soule is still living and hath eight children.
- 4 William Bradford, his wife died soon after their arrival, and he married again and hath four children, two whereof are married.
- 8 Mr. Allerton, his wife died with the first and his servant, John Hooke. His son Bartle is married in England, but I know not how many children he hath. His daughter Remember is married at Salem and hath three or four children living. And his daughter Mary is married here and hath four children. Himself married again with the daughter of Mr. Brewster and hath one son living by her, but she is long since dead. And he is married again and hath left this place long ago. So I account his increase to be eight, besides his sons in England.
- 2 Mr. Fuller, his servant died at sea, and after his wife came over, he had two children by her which are living and grown up to years. But he died some fifteen years ago.
- [0] John Crackston died in the first mortality, and about some five or six years after, his son died, having lost himself in the woods. His feet became frozen, which put him into a fever, of which he died.

- 4 Captain Standish, his wife died in the first sickness, and he married again and hath four sons living, and some are dead.
- [0] Mr. Martin and all his died in the first infection, not long after the arrival.
- 15 Mr. Mullins and his wife, his son, and his servant died the first winter. Only his daughter Priscilla survived and married with John Alden, who are both living and have eleven children. And their eldest daughter is married and hath five children.
- 7 Mr. White and his two servants died soon after their landing. His wife married with Mr. Winslow (*as is before noted*). His two sons are married, and Resolved hath five children, Peregrine, two, all living. So their increase are seven.
- 5 Mr. Hopkins and his wife are now both dead but they lived above twenty years in this place and had one son and four daughters born here. Their son became a seaman and died at Barbados. One daughter died here, and two are married. One of them hath two children, and one is yet to marry. So their increase which still survive are five.
- 4 But his son Giles is married and hath four children.

- 12 His daughter, Constance, is also married and hath twelve children, all of them living and one of them married.
- 4 Mr. Richard Warren lived some four or five years and had his wife come over to him, by whom he had two sons before [he] died, and one of them is married and hath two children, so his increase is four. But he had five daughters more came over with his wife who are all married and living and have many children.
- 8 John Billington, after he had been here ten years, was executed for killing a man, and his eldest son died before him, but his second son is alive and married and hath eight children.
- 7 Edward Tilly and his wife both died soon after their arrival, and the girl, Humility, their cousin, was sent for into England and died there. But the youth, Henry Samson, is still living and is married and hath seven children.
- [0] John Tilly and his wife both died a little after they came ashore, and their daughter Elizabeth married with John Howland and hath issue, as is before noted.
- 8 Francis Cooke is still living, a very old man, and hath seen his children's children have children. After his wife came over (*with other of his children*), he hath three still living by

her, all married, and have five children, so their increase is eight.

- 4 And his son John which came over with him is married and hath four children living.
- 6 Thomas Rogers died in the first sickness, but his son Joseph is still living and is married and hath six children. The rest of Thomas Rogers' [children] came over and are married and have many children.
- [0] Thomas Tinker and his wife and son all died in the first sickness.
- [0] And so did John Rigsdale and his wife.
- 10 James Chilton and his wife also died in the first infection, but their daughter Mary is still living and hath nine children, and one daughter is married and hath a child, so their increase is ten.
- 4 Edward Fuller and his wife died soon after they came ashore, but their son Samuel is living and married and hath four children or more.
- [0] John Turner and his two sons all died in the first sickness, but he hath a daughter still living at Salem, well-married and approved of.

4 Francis Eaton, his first wife died in the general sickness, and he married again, and his second wife died, and he married the third and had by her three children. One of them is married and hath a child. The other are living, but one of them is an idiot. He died about 16 years ago.

1 His son, Samuel, who came over a suckling child, is also married and hath a child.

[0] Moses Fletcher, Thomas Williams, Degory Priest, John Goodman, Edmond Margesson, Richard Britteridge, Richard Clarke. All these died soon after their arrival in the general sickness that befell [occurred]. But Degory Priest had his wife and children sent hither afterwards, she being Mr. Allerton's sister. But the rest left no posterity here.

[0] Richard Gardiner became a seaman and died in England or at sea.

Gilbert Winslow, after divers [several] years abroad here, returned into England and died there.

6 Peter Browne married twice. By his first wife, he had two children who are living and both of them married, and the one of them hath two children. By his second wife, he had two more. He died about sixteen years since.

[0] Thomas English and John Allerton died in the general sickness.

John Alden married with Priscilla, Mr. Mullins' his daughter, and had issue by her, as is before related.

7 Edward Doty and Edward Leister, the servants of Mr. Hopkins. Leister, after he was at liberty, went to Virginia and there died, but Edward Doty, by a second wife, hath seven children and both he and they are living.

Of these one hundred persons which came first over in this first ship together, the greater half died in the general mortality and most of them in two or three months' time. And for those which survived, though some were ancient and past procreation and others left the place and country, yet of those few remaining are sprung up above 160 persons in this thirty years and are now living in this present year, 1650, besides many of their children which are dead and come not within this account.

And of the old stock (*of one and other*), there are yet living this present year 1650 near thirty persons. Let the Lord have the praise who is the high preserver of men.

