

would not well bear such a liberty, as that reverend and judicious divine, the great light of those churches, expressed to a person of great quality, to whom he bore no small respect, a few hours before he departed this life.

CHAP. XII.

The general affairs of the Colony of New Plymouth, during the first lustre of years, from March 25, 1631, to March 25, 1626.

ALTHOUGH the dispensations of God towards his people under the gospel be not like those under the law, in respect of the outward prosperity, so as any time it could be said as in Solomon's reign during the time of his building the house of God or his own palaces, that there was neither adversary nor evil occurrent; yet did the Almighty water this new planted colony with many blessings, causing it by degrees to flourish, taking root downward, that it might in after time bring forth fruit upward. For now the spring of the following year was come, they began to hasten the ship away,* which had tarried the longer, that before it had left the country, it might carry news back of the welfare of the Plantation. The ship's company also, during the winter, growing so weak that the master durst not put to sea till they were better recovered of their sickness and the winter well over.

Early in the spring they planted their first corn, being instructed therein by their friend Squanto, and had better success therein than in some English grain they sowed that year, which might be imputed to the lateness of the season, as well as their own unskillfulness in the soil. But the month of April added much heaviness to their spirits by the loss of Mr. John Carver, who fell sick in that month, and in a few days after died. His funeral rites were attended with [as] great solemnity as the condition of that infant plantation would bear; as indeed the respect due to him justly deserved, if not for

the good he had actually done in the foundation of their Colony, yet for that he was like to have done, if God had spared him his life; he being a gentleman of singular piety, rare humility, and great condescendency; one also of a public spirit, as well as of a public purse, having disbursed the greatest part of that considerable estate God had given him, for the carrying on the interest of the company, as their urgent necessity required. Extreme grief for the loss of him, within a few weeks, hastened the removal of a gracious woman, his wife, which he left behind. At his decease the eyes of the company were generally upon Mr. William Bradford, as in the next place fittest to succeed him in the government: wherefore, as soon as ever he recovered of his great weakness, under which he had languished to the point of death, they chose him to be their Governor instead of Mr. Carver, adding Mr. Isaac Allerton only, to be his Assistant. The second of July following, in imitation of David, who was as ready to acknowledge kindnesses received, as to ask or accept them in the time of his distress, they sent Mr. Edward Winslow, with Mr. Stephen Hopkins, to congratulate their friend Massasoit, by the late league firmly allied to them, partly also to take notice what number of men he had about him,¹ and the other Sachems, as likewise of what strength they were. They found his place forty miles distant from their town, and his people but few in comparison of what formerly they had been, before the great mortality forementioned, that had swept away so many of them. They returned in safety, giving a good account of the business they were sent about; adding moreover what they understood of the nation of the Indians, called Narragansets, seated on the other side of the great bay, adjoining to the country of Massasoit: a people many in number, and more potent than their neighbors at the present juncture, and grown very insolent also, as having escaped the late mortality, which made them aspire to be lords over their neighbors.² On that occasion, the establishing of their peace with the natives near about them was much furthered by an Indian, called Hobbamacke, a proper lusty young man,

¹ *Them* in the MS.—H. ² See Winslow's narrative of this journey to Pokanoket in Young, pp. 202-13.—H.

and of good account amongst the other Indians in those parts for his valor. He continued faithful and constant to the English until his death. The said Habbamucke, with Squanto, being a while after sent amongst the other Indians about business for the English, were surprised about Namasket, (since called Middleborough,) by an Indian Sachem not far off, called Corbitant, upon the only account of their friendship to the English. The said Corbitant, picking a quarrel with Habbamucke, would have stabbed him, but he being a strong man, easily cleared himself of his adversary; and, after his escape, soon brought intelligence to the Governor of his danger, adding withal that he feared Squanto was slain, having been both threatened on the same account; but Captain Standish [being] sent forth with twelve or fourteen men well armed, beset the house, and himself adventuring to enter, found that Corbitant had fled, but yet that Squanto was alive. Two or three Indians pressing out of the house when it was beset, were sorely wounded, whom notwithstanding the English brought to their chirurgeon,¹ by whom, through God's blessing, they were soon cured.² After this exploit they had divers congratulatory messages from sundry of the other Sachems, in order to a settled amity, and Corbitant soon after made use of Massasoit, as a mediator to make peace, being afraid to come near himself for a long time after: the Indians also of the Island Capowake, since called Martha's, commonly Martin's, Vineyard, sent to them to obtain their friendship. By this means the Colony, being better assured of a peace with their neighbors, improved the opportunity to acquaint themselves with such of the Indians that lived more remote, especially those of the Massachusetts; for which purpose they sent thither a boat with ten men, and Squanto for their interpreter, on September 18th following, in part to discover and view the said bay, of which they had heard a great fame, and partly to make way for after trade with the natives of the place, for having lived with the Dutch in Holland, they were naturally addicted to commerce and traffic; and which at this time was very necessary for their support. Therein they were kindly

¹ Mr. Samuel Fuller.—H.

² See an account of this expedition in Young, pp. 219-23.—H.

entertained by the natives of that place, wishing, it seems, they had been seated there¹; but he who appoints to all men their inheritance, and sets to the inhabitants of the earth the bounds of their habitation, had by his Providence otherwise disposed of them; and by his purpose reserved that place for such of their friends, as should come after. Thus far those people had experience of the outgoing of divine favor, blessing their going out and coming in, and giving them encouragement, so they might be instrumental to lay a foundation for many generations. But the remembrance of the cold winter the year before gave them an item that it was time now to fit up their cottages against the same season, now fast approaching upon them, which they suddenly attended after harvest, for now their old store of provision being by this time all finished, they welcomed the first harvest fruits with no little joy. The hand of Providence also in the beginning of winter increased them, as by sending in great plenty of fish and fowl to their great refreshing.

The ninth of November ensuing added thirty-five persons more to their company, which was no small rejoicing to the first planters, nor were the new comers a little glad to see such plenty of provisions beyond expectation. The commander of the vessel was one Mr. Robert Cushman, an active and faithful instrument for the good of the public; yet herein was he overseen, that he so overstored the Plantation with number of people in proportion to the provision he brought with them, for the whole company, having nothing to trust to but the produce of the earth, and what they could procure by fishing and fowling, they were in great strait for provision before the return of the next harvest; nor had they at this time any neat cattle, to afford them any present relief or future increase; nor did it appear they had any benefit considerable by other creatures. Presently after the dispatch of this ship,^a whose stay in the country was not above fourteen days, the Narragansets sent an uncouth messenger unto the Plantation, with a bundle of arrows tied together with a snake's skin, not much unlike that which sometimes the Scythians of old sent to the Per-

¹ See an account of the voyage in Young's *Chronicles of Plymouth*, pp. 224-9.—H.

sian King Darius, when he without cause went to invade their country, of which those of Plymouth were not a whit guilty. Squanto their friend told them, he being their interpreter, that the English of it was a threatening and a challenge, at which the Governor, relying more on the power and promises of God, than the strength or number of his own company, was not a whit dismayed; but did, by another messenger, let him know how he resented their message, sending back their snake's skin full of powder and bullets, with this word, that if they loved war better than peace they might begin when they would; that as they had done them no wrong, so neither did they fear them, nor, if they minded to try, should they find them unprovided. It is thought that their own ambitious humor prompted them to this insolent message, supposing the English might be a bar in their way, in raising a larger dominion upon the ruins of their neighbors, wasted by late sickness, observing that Massasoite, their next rival for sovereignty, had already taken shelter under the wings of the English. However it was a seasonable caution to the English to be more watchful and continually stand upon their guard, closing their dwellings with a strong pale, made with flankers at the corners, and strengthening their watches, having first divided their company into four squadrons, appointing to each their quarter, to which they were to repair, in case of danger upon any alarm, and in case of fire; assigning one company for a guard of their weapons, while the others were employed in putting out what was kindled. Thus having gotten over another of the cold winters, to which their bodies began now to be pretty well inured, they designed the succeeding spring, Anno 1622, to prosecute their commerce with the Massachusetts, as they had certified the natives, about which there was some demur, in the first hand of the year upon some jealousies between Hobbomacke and Squanto, grounded on some surmises raised by one of them, as if the natives of the Massachusetts were like to join in a conspiracy with the Narragansets. But this tempest being soon blown over, they accomplished their voyage with good

success, and returned in safety, having, for the greater security, carried both the said Indians along with them; but after their return they discerned that Squanto, notwithstanding his friendship pretended to the English, began to play the Jack on both sides, endeavoring to advance his own ends betwixt the English and the Indians, making his countrymen believe that he could make war ||or|| peace when he pleased, or at his pleasure. And the more to affright his countrymen and keep them in awe, he told them the English kept the plague under ground, and could send it amongst them when they pleased, meaning, as he said, a barrel of gunpowder hid under ground. By this means however he drew the Indians from their obedience to their Sachem, Massasoit, making them depend more upon himself than upon him, which caused him no small envy from the Sachem, insomuch as it had cost him his life, had it not been for the English, to whom he was constrained ever after to stick more close, so as he never durst leave them till his death, which the other did endeavor to hasten openly, as well as privately, after the discovery of those practices. By this it appears that the very same spirit was then stirring in the father which of late did kindle this late rebellion and war between Philip, his son, and the English, occasioned by a jealousy the said Philip had conceived against Sausaman, whom he had entertained as his secretary and sure counsellor, yet harboring a jealousy in his mind against him, for the respect he bore to the English, which made him contrive his death, so thence have risen all the late differences or mischiefs, as shall be shewed more fully afterwards. But as for the emulation that grew between Hobamacke and Squanto, the English made good use thereof; the Governor seemed to favor one, the Captain the other, whereby they were the better ordered in point of their observance to the English, which was a prudent consideration. The same course was taken of late by the Governor¹ of Plymouth, and him² that immediately preceded with reference to Philip and Josiah, two sagamores within their jurisdiction, but not

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¹ Josiah Winslow.—H.

² Thomas Prince.—H.

with the like success ; for when Governor Prince only seemed more to favor Philip, as the other gentleman, at that time commander-in-chief of all the military forces, did Josiah, Philip conceived such a mortal hatred against the honorable gentleman, that at last it raised this fatal war, and ended in the ruin of himself and all his people, and all those that engaged with him therein.

CHAP. XIII.

Mr. Weston's Plantation of Wasagusquasset.

ABOUT this time, viz. towards the end of May, Anno 1622, it appeared that Mr. Thomas Weston, (who was one of those adventurers that were first engaged in the foundation of Plymouth Colony, and, as is said, had disbursed 500*l.* to advance the interest thereof,) observing how the Plantation began to flourish, was minded to break off and set up for himself, though little to his advantage, as the sequel proved. When men are actuated by private interest and are eager to carry on particular designs of their own, it is the bane of all generous and noble enterprises, but is very often rewarded with dishonor and disadvantages to the undertakers. At the last, this Mr. Weston had gotten for himself a Patent for some part of the Massachusetts about Wessagusquasset, by the English since called Weymouth ; for the carrying on a Plantation there he sent over two ships on his own particular account ; in the one of them, which came first, were sixty young men which he ordered to be set ashore at Plymouth, there to be left till the ship that brought them was returned from Virginia, whither she was to convey the rest of her passengers ; and likewise seven more, that a little before arrived at Plymouth, sent thither from Damarill's Cove, out of a ship employed there by said Weston and another on a fishing design.* In the mean time Mr. Weston's men were courteously entertained by them of Plymouth the most part of that summer, many of them being sick, and all of them wholly unacquainted with setting up of new Plantations. At the ship's return from