

who had been ministers in the West Country. These were among the first adventurers that came over to New England to plant the wilderness and lay a foundation for others, in after time, to build upon.

CHAP. XXV.

The first planting the Massachusetts Bay with towns, after the arrival of the Governor and company that came along with him ; and other occurrents that then fell out. 1630, 1631, 1632.

THE people that arrived at the Massachusetts in the fleet, Anno 1630, were not much unlike the family of Noah at their first issuing out of the ark, and had, as it were, a new world to people ; being uncertain where to make their beginning. Salem was already planted, and supplied with as many inhabitants as at that time it was well able to receive. Therefore the Governor and most of the gentlemen that came along with him, having taken a view of the bottom of the Massachusetts Bay, and finding that there was accommodation enough for several towns, took the first opportunity of removing thither with their friends and followers ; and at the first pitched down on the north side of Charles River, where they laid the foundation of the first township. But the chiefest part of the gentlemen made provision for another Plantation on the neck of land on the south side of the said river, (which was after, on the account of Mr. Cotton, called Boston,) by erecting such small cottages as might harbor them in the approaching winter, till they could build themselves more convenient dwellings another year. And accordingly, the Governor and Deputy Governor, with most of the Assistants, removed their families thither about November ; and being settled there for the present they took further time for consideration, where to find a convenient place to make a fortified town, which then was their aim. Some scattering inhabitants had a few years before taken up their habitations on each side the said Charles River: some at a place called Mattapan, (since Dorchester,) situate on the south side of the Massachusetts Bay,

three or four miles from Boston, and faced on two sides with the sea. This place was at the same time seized by Mr. Ludlow and his friends, with whom joined Mr. Maverick and Mr. Warham, as their ministers. Mr. Pynchon and some others chose a place in the midway between Dorchester and Boston for their habitation; and the year after obtained Mr. Eliot, that came the same year¹ for their minister, and called the place Roxbury. Sir Richard Saltonstall settled his family and friends at a place higher up the north side of Charles River, with whom joined Mr. Phillips, as their minister, and called the place Watertown. The reason of the name was not left upon record, nor is it easy to find; most of the other Plantations being well watered, though none of them planted on so large a fresh stream as that was.

Those who at first planted on each side of Charles River, at the bottom of the Bay, made but one congregation for the present, unto whom Mr. Wilson was minister at the first. But he going to England the next spring,² and not returning with his family until the year 1632,³ those of the north side called one Mr. James to be their pastor,⁴ and named their town, from the river it was seated upon, Charlestown: as those on the other side, being now become a distinct town of themselves, and retaining Mr. Wilson for their minister, afterward called their Plantation Boston, with respect to Mr. Cotton, who came from a town in Lincolnshire so called, when he came into New England.

The whole company being thus, as it were, disposed into their winter quarters, they had the more leisure, (though, no doubt, in those their first beginnings they had all their heads full of business, and their hands full of work,) to consider of a convenient place for their fortified town.

The 6th of December following the Governor and most of the Assistants, with others, had a meeting at Roxbury; when they agreed to build it on the neck of land between Roxbury and Boston; and a committee was appointed to consider of all things requisite there-

¹ Eliot arrived at Nantasket, in the *Lyon*, Nov. 2, 1631, and was dismissed to the Church at Roxbury, Nov. 5, 1632. *Sav. Win.* i. 63-4, 93.—H.

² He sailed from Salem, April 1, and arrived at London, April 29. *Ibid.* 52.—H. ³ May 26, in the *Whale*. *Ibid.* 77.—H. ⁴ He was elected and ordained Nov. 2, 1632. *Prince*, pp. 407-8.—H.

unto. But the week after the committee meeting again, upon further consideration, concluded that the former place would not be convenient, for want of running water, and other reasons. On the 21st of December they met again at Watertown, where, upon view of a place a mile beneath the town, they pitched upon that as a place convenient for their purpose, and there agreed to build the fortified town; yet took time to consider further about it. Till that time they had fair open weather, with only gentle frosts in the night; but soon after the wind coming at north-west, very sharp and cold, made them all betake themselves to the fireside, and contrive show to keep themselves warm, till the winter was over. But in the spring they were forward with the design again, and intended to carry it on amain. The Governor had the frame of an house set up in the place where he first pitched his tent; and Mr. Dudley had not only framed, but finished, his house thereabouts, and removed himself and family thereinto before the next winter. . But upon some other considerations, which at first came not into their minds, the Governor took down his frame, and brought it to Boston, where he intended to take up his residence for the future; which was no small disappointment to the rest of the company that were minded to build there on the north side of the river, and accompanied with some little disgust between the two chief gentlemen; but they were soon after satisfied in the grounds of each other's proceedings. The place wherein Mr. Dudley and others had built, was after called New-Towne; who yet were without any settled minister till Mr. Hooker came over in the year 1633. Mr. Winthrop, the Governor, still remaining at Boston, which was like to be the place of chiefest commerce, he prepared his dwelling accordingly, and had liberty to attend the public affairs of the country, which then needed the exerting of his authority, for the settling of things as well relating to the civil, as the ecclesiastical, state of the country. For though the company that came over in the fleet were all of one heart and mind, and aimed at one and the same end, to make and maintain a settled and orderly Plantation, yet there wanted not secret enemies on the place, as well as some more open

further off, that labored what they could, either to undermine their power, or obstruct their proceedings: as some also soon after were raised up from among themselves, who, if not false brethren, yet acting upon false principles, occasioned much disturbance to the towns and churches of the whole Plantation. The chief of the first sort were Thomas Morton, (of whom there hath been too much occasion to speak before,) and one Philip Ratcliffe,¹ that had been employed there, the one by Mr. Weston, the other by Mr. Cradock, or some other gentlemen, to trade with the Indians; and being accustomed to a loose and dissolute kind of life, knew not how to bear restraint, and therefore, perceiving what government was like to be set up and carried on in the Massachusetts, they set themselves, what they could, to oppose the authority that was like to be there established, and make disturbance: and therefore were they, as soon as ever the Governor and Assistants had any liberty to keep Courts, called to an account; the one in the year 1630, the other in the year following. They were both sentenced to undergo imprisonment, as well as other severe punishments for their several misdemeanors, till they could be sent back to England, that the Plantation here might be no longer pestered with them. Captain Brock,² master of the ship called the Gift, ([which] arrived here the 20th of August, and was to return the next month,) might have had the honor to carry one of them, viz. Morton, back into England; but he professed he was not *gifted* that way, nor his ship neither, for such a purpose, as not willing to trouble himself nor his country with such vagabonds, from which they had been happily freed for some years before.

The same summer, viz. 1630, arrived at Pascataqua one Captain Neale, sent from Sir Ferdinando Gorges and others, in the bark or ship Warwick; sent, as was said, while the New English fleet lay at the Isle of Wight, to find out the Great Lake at the northward, and so to interrupt the trade of beaver. It was feared she had been taken by those of Dunkirk, with whom our nation at that time was at variance. But Providence so favoring,

¹ See pages 141 and 145.—H. ² Brook, says Savage's Winthrop, i. 35—H.

she came with her passengers to Pascataqua in the end of that summer, 1630; of whose designs there may be occasion to speak more afterwards.¹

In this manner was the remaining part of the summer and autumn spent in looking out convenient places where to bestow themselves, so as the winter came upon them before they were well aware: although it held off that year till the end of December, when it began in good earnest to bite their fingers' ends, with greater severity than ever the new planters had known in Europe; of which three of the Governor's servants had a very sensible demonstration on the 24th of December, meeting with the sharpest Christmas Eve that they had felt before. However, they were fairly warned for the future to betake themselves to their winter quarters before that time of the year; the necessity of which others were taught by the sad calamity which befel one Richard Garn,² and one Harwood, both counted godly, and of the congregation of Boston. They, with three or four more, would needs adventure toward Plymouth in a shallop, contrary to the advice of their friends. They set out on the 22d^a of December that winter, and came well to the point called \S the \S Gurnet's Nose, entering into Plymouth harbor: but then the wind so overblew at northwest, that they were put by the mouth of the harbor, driven from their anchor, and at last forced ashore at Cape Cod, fifty miles from the place they were bound to; and were so frozen with the severity of the cold and boisterousness of the waves, that many of them lost either their limbs or lives thereby. And those that escaped best yet continued long under the surgeon's hands before they recovered the use of their hands and feet, notwithstanding they might say, as Paul at Malta, that the barbarians shewed them no small kindness at their first landing. But it was to be feared that they had not so good a call to run the hazard of a winter's voyage, in an unknown country; and the words of Paul himself might have been applied to them: that they should have hearkened to their friends, and not to have sailed from a good

¹ See pages 216-17, 219-20.—H.

² Garrett, say Winthrop and Prince.—H.

harbor at Boston to have gained that harm and loss to themselves and friends.¹

But thus were these poor people, for want of experience and judgment in things of such a nature, ready to expose themselves to many hazards in an unknown wilderness, and met with much hardship, some by fire, as others by water, in their first settlement, before they were well acquainted with the state of new Plantations, and nature of the climate. Some suffered much damage by the burning of their hay-stacks, left in the meadows, to the starving of their cattle; as others had by burning their small cottages, either framed or covered with very combustible matter, to which they were not accustomed in their former dwellings; and so were taught, by many temptations and sufferings, to stoop to a wilderness condition, which they had freely chosen to themselves, for the quiet of their minds, and good of posterity. Many of those that were compelled to live long in tents, and lie upon, or too near, the cold and moist earth, before they could be provided of more convenient dwellings, were seized of the scurvy, of which many died about Boston and Charlestown. But it pleased God of his great mercy very seasonably, the 5th of February following, to send in Mr. William Peirse, in the ship *Lyon* of Bristol,² of about two hundred tons, who (being acquainted with the nature of the country and state of the people,) brought in store of juice of lemons, with the use of which many speedily recovered from their scorbutic distempers, as was observed for the most part, unless it were in such persons as had the said disease in their minds, by discontent, and lingering after their English diet, of all which scarce any were known ever to recover. And many that, out of dislike to the place and for fear of death, would return back to their own country, either found that they sought to escape, in their way thither, or soon after they arrived there.

It went much the harder with this poor people, in their first beginnings, because of the scarcity of all sorts of grain that year in England; every bushel of wheat meal standing them in fourteen shillings, and every bushel of

¹ See Savage's *Winthrop*, i. 30-41.—H.

² He sailed for Ireland, to procure provisions, in Aug. 1630; left Bristol Dec. 1, and arrived at Nantasket Feb. 5, 1630-1.—H.

peace in ten¹ shillings, and not easy to be procured neither; which made it the more excusable in them that at that time sold the Indian corn, which they brought from Virginia,² at ten shillings per bushel. For at this time, the people of the country in general were, like the poor widow, brought to the last handful of meal in the barrel, before the said ship arrived, which made them improve part of the new supply in a solemn day of thanksgiving that spring.

Things thus happening in the Plantations of New England, it carried the resemblance of a cloud of darkness to some, as of light to others; which appeared by the return of some to England the next opportunity, with intent never to see New England again, as did Mr. Sharp and some others: while others returned only to fetch over their families and the residue of their estates, as did Mr. Wilson, who (with Mr. Coddington, that went from Boston,³ April the 1st, 1631, and arrived at London, April the 29th of the same month,) having commended the congregation of Boston to the grace of God by fervent prayers when he took his leave of them, and to the care of Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Dudley, with other godly and able Christians in the time of his absence, for carrying on the worship of God on the Lord's day, by prophesying (as they called it in those times at Plymouth,) till his return. No doubt but these prayers were heard, as well for the protection and preservation of them that staid, as of them that were going to sea, both for themselves and them that were going that way about the same time: as was found in several of the fleet that returned not till the spring,⁴ and were at that time mercifully preserved.

The Ambrose being new masted at Charlestown, had spent all her masts by a storm about Newfoundland, and was left as a wreck upon the sea in a perishing condition, had not Mr. Peirse in the Lyon, (with whom they consorted,) towed them home to Bristol. Three other ships of the fleet, viz, the Charles, the Success, and the Whale, were set upon by the Dunkirkers, near Plymouth in England, and after long fight, having lost many men,

¹ About eleven, say Winthrop and Dudley.—H.

² In a pinnace of eighteen tons, to Salem, May 27, 1631. Sav. Win. i. 56.—H.

³ An error; it should be Salem. Ibid. 51-2.—H.

⁴ A mistake; they returned to England in Aug. 1630.—H.

and being much torn, (especially the Charles,) they got safe into Plymouth at last.

But as some were earnestly striving by prayer, travels, and other endeavors, to promote the welfare of this Colony of the Massachusetts, so were others found as active and busy to obstruct and hinder the progress thereof; stirred up, no doubt, by the same spirit which moved Amalek of old to set upon Israel in their rear, when they were weak and unable to defend themselves.

For about the 14th¹ of June, 1631, a shallop from Pascataqua arrived at Boston, which brought news of a small English ship, by the which² Captain Neal, Governor of Pascataqua, sent a packet of letters to the Governor, directed to Sir Christopher Gardiner, which were opened, because they were sent to one that was their prisoner; and thereby it was understood that they came from Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who claimed a great part of the Bay of Massachusetts. In the same packet came another letter to Thomas Morton, sent prisoner before into England by order from thence. By that letter it was perceived likewise, that the writer of them had some secret design to recover his pretended right, and that he reposed much trust in Sir Christopher Gardiner for that end. But the said Gardiner being now imprisoned at Boston, (of which more shall be said afterwards, chap. xxvi,) in order for his sending home for England, after Morton, the said letters were opened by authority of the country,³ being sent to them that were illwillers to the place. And Ratcliffe also being fallen under the same or worse condemnation, the Colony was now at peace and quiet to attend the necessary occasions at home, leaving their three grand enemies to carry on their purposes (as they saw good) elsewhere. But it appeared in the issue that no weapon formed against them whom God hath a mind to preserve and bless, shall ever prosper and take place.

July the 6th of this year, 1631, a small ship, called the Plough,⁴ came into Nantasket with a company of Familists, called the Husbandmen⁵ Company, bound for Sagadahock, called by some the Plough-Patent. But not liking the place they returned to Boston, and carrying their

¹ 25th, says Winthrop.—H.

² I. e. the shallop.—H.

³ Perhaps it should be *Governor*.—H.

⁴ "Mr. Graves, master," says Winthrop, i. 58.—H.

⁵ *Husband and* in the MS.; evidently a mistake in transcribing. Ib. 58.—H.

vessel up towards Watertown, (a Plantation for husbandmen principally,) they laid her bones there; but themselves soon after vanished away, and came to nothing.¹

October 22, 1631, came a letter from Captain Wiggan of Pascataqua River, informing of a murder committed by an Indian sagamore and his company upon one Walter Bagnall, called Great Watt, and one I. P.,² that kept with him, at Richmond's Island. The Indians having killed the two men, burnt the house, and carried away the goods. He persuaded the Governor to send twenty men presently after them to take revenge. But the Governor, advising with the Council, understood that Captain Neal had sent after them, and having no boats fit for such an expedition, thought it best to sit still awhile.

It was commonly reported that the said Bagnall had been servant to one in the Bay, and the last three years had lived alone, with one other in his company, at the said isle, where he had shewed himself a very wicked fellow, and had much wronged the Indians, who were now, by the just hand of God, let loose upon him. "He that gathereth riches, and not by right," (for he had gotten £300³ estate by such ways,) "is like a partridge that scrapeth eggs together and hatcheth them not; and in the end shall die a fool."³

But these things being premised, it is in the next place to be considered what troubles did arise among themselves. For the people, at their first coming over hither, were not much unlike a stock of bees newly swarmed from their old hive, which are not oftentimes without much difficulty settled in their new one, and are very apt to be disturbed with every little occasion, and not easily quieted again, as may appear by what fell out in one of the first churches. For in the congregation settled at Watertown in the year 1630, under the charge of Mr. George Phillips, (an able and faithful minister of the Gospel at Bocksted, near Groton, in Suffolk,) was no little trouble raised by Richard Browne, their ruling elder, (who was thought sometimes to overrule the church there,) a man of a violent disposition, and one of the Separation in England, and by his natural temper fit for

¹ See Savage's Winthrop, i. 59, 60; and page 368.—H.

² About £400. Ibid. 63.—H.

³ Jerem. xvii. 11.—H.

their purpose. He had raised a great dust in the place by the eager defending of a question (at that time needlessly started) about the truth of the present Church of Rome: the said Browne stiffly maintained the truth of the said Church. Sure it was not out of his charity to the Romish Christians, to provide them a place of safety to retreat unto, in case other churches should declare against them as a synagogue of Satan, rather than the spouse of Christ, (although the Reformed Churches did not use to rebaptize those that renounce the religion of Rome and embrace that of the Reformation,) and so unchurch them: but the violence of some men's tempers makes them raise debates, when they do not justly offer themselves, and like millstones grind one another when they want other grist.

The Governor¹ wrote a letter to the congregation, directed to the pastor and brethren; to advise them to take it into consideration, whether the said Browne was fit to be continued their elder or not. The congregation was much divided about him, upon that and some other errors, and both parties repaired to the Governor for assistance, who promised to give them a meeting at Watertown, December 8, 1631, which accordingly he did, being accompanied with the Deputy Governor and others of the Assistants, with the elder² of the congregation of Boston. When they were assembled, the Governor told them they might proceed either as magistrates, their assistance being formerly desired by them, or as members of a neighbor congregation; in which respect they yielded to let the matters in controversy be declared; when after much agitation they came to this conclusion, that their ruling elder was guilty of errors in judgment and conversation, on which account they could not communicate with him till they were reformed. Whereupon they agreed to seek God in a day of humiliation, and so by solemn writing³ each party promised to reform what was amiss; yet this agreement was not so well observed but that afterward new stirs were raised in that town, but upon a civil and not ecclesiastical account. For in February following, those of Watertown made some op-

¹ Should probably be *Court*. See Savage's Winthrop, i. 67.—H.

² Increase Nowell. *Ibid.*—H. ³ This word should be *writing*. *Ibid.* 68.—H.

position against a levy that was to be raised upon them towards public charges, of which their share was but £8, which yet they stood so much upon their liberty as to refuse the payment [of,] because they took the government to be only like that of a Mayor and Aldermen, who have no power to make laws, or raise taxes, without the people. But being called before the Governor and Assistants,¹ they were told that the government was rather in the nature of a Parliament, in that the Assistants were chosen by the people at a General Court every year, when the people had a free liberty to choose Assistants and remove them, if need were, to consider and propound matters of that nature, or any matter of grievance, without being subject to question; with which they were not only fully satisfied, but convinced of their former error, which they publicly acknowledged.

Yet for all this did some further leaven of the former schism still continue at Watertown, so as they saw it necessary, in July following, to set the Separatists a day,² wherein to come in, or else to be liable to church censure. All persons submitted within the time, save one,³ who had so much stomach as not to yield till he was censured, soon after which he submitted himself.

During the infancy of the government, in these their weak beginnings, when they were both feeble and few in number, it pleased God, who hath the hearts of all men in his hand, to lay such a restraint on the heathen, (or else the false alarms in September, 1632, that made such distraction, might have been to their destruction, if it had been a true one,) so that their chief sagamores, both near by and more remote, made divers overtures of friendship with them, proffering some of them many kindnesses, which they ||knew|| not well how to refuse, nor accept; not much unlike them that hold a wolf by the ears.

Amongst the rest, August 5, 1632, one of the great sachems of the Narhagansets, (that most populous company of all the Indians in those parts,) called Mecumel,⁴ but afterwards Miantonimo, of whom there will be more occasion to speak in the year 1643, came down to Boston to make peace or a league with the English, either out

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¹ On Feb. 17. Sav. Win. i. 70.—H.

² John Masters, by name. Ibid.—H.

³ July 5. Ibid. 81.—H.

⁴ Meeameh. Ibid. 86.—H.

of fear or love ; and while himself and his followers were at the sermon,¹ three of them withdrew from the assembly, and being pinched with hunger, (for "venter non habet aures,") broke into an English house in sermon time to get victuals. The sagamore, (an honest spirited fellow, as his after actions declared,) was hardly persuaded to order them any bodily punishment, but to prevent the shame of such attendants, forthwith sent them out of town, and followed himself not long after.

About the same time,² came a company of Eastern Indians, called Tarratines, and in the night assaulted the wigwam of the sagamore of Agawam. They were near an hundred in number, and they came with thirty canoes, (a small boat, made with the bark of birchen trees.) They slew seven men, and wounded John and James, two sagamores that lived about Boston, and carried others away captive, amongst whom one was the wife of the said James, which they sent again by the mediation of Mr. Shurd of Pemaquid, that used to trade with them, and sent word by him that they expected something in way of ransom. This sagamore of Agawam (as was usually said) had treacherously killed some of those Tarratines' families, and therefore was the less pitied of the English that were informed thereof.

These are the principal occurrents that happened at the first settling of the Plantation of the Massachusetts, wherein are briefly hinted the troubles they met withal upon the place. But Sir Christopher Gardiner, Thomas Morton, and Philip Ratcliffe, being sent back to England for several misdemeanors, endeavored what they could to undermine the Plantation of the Massachusetts, by preferring complaints against them to the King and Council ; being set on by Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain Mason, which had begun Plantations about Pascataqua, and aimed at the general government of New England for their agent, Captain Neale, as was said. Their petition was affirmed to contain many sheets of paper, wherein, among some truth represented, were many false accusations laid to the charge ; as if they intended rebellion, having cast off their allegiance, and that their ministers and people did

¹ On Sunday, Aug. 5 ; he had lodged two nights in Boston, so that he came on the third. Sav. Win. i. 86.—H.

² Not so ; it was on Aug. 8, 1631. Ibid. 59-60.—H.

continually rail against the State, Church, and Bishops of England. But Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Humphry, and Mr. Cradock, the first Governor of the Company, being then in England, gave a full answer to all those bold allegations and accusations, the effect of which shall more particularly be declared in the following chapters.

Captain Levett,¹ about this time returning for England, died at sea; by which occasion some letters, sent from indiscreet persons, fell into the hands of them that had no good will for the Plantation, and by that means clamors were raised against them, which furnished their enemies with matters of complaint against them, which their petitions were stuffed withal. Information hereof was brought by Mr. Trevore, that arrived² February 22, 1633, who brought goods and passengers for the Massachusetts. Yet, notwithstanding all their endeavors, multitudes of passengers came over every year, in all the succeeding years of the two first lustres, sc. till 1640; when, by the turn of times in England, great hopes of reformation possessed men's minds that they need not travel so far for liberty of conscience, which they expected should be granted them where they were: which put a stop to the coming over of any more passengers to New England, and occasioned a great change of their affairs thereby.³

CHAP. XXVI.

The first Courts kept in the Massachusetts, after the coming over of the Governor. The carrying on of their civil affairs, from the year 1630 to 1636, with the accusations against them before the King and Council.

THE first Court of Assistants, after the arrival of the Governor and Patentees in the Massachusetts, was held at Charlestown,⁴ August 23, the same year, 1630; at which time orders were made concerning the planting of the Colony, in the several Plantations that soon began to be erected; as likewise for the regulating the wages of artificers employed in buildings, &c.; it being commonly found that men, gotten from under the reins of govern-

¹ See Sav. Win. i. 26.—H.

² At Plymouth, in the ship William. Sav. Win. i. 100.—H.

³ See page 273.—H.

⁴ See Prince, pp. 313-14; Sav. Win. i. 30.—H.